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THE

MAGAZINE

OF

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

VOL. IV.

APRIL, 1891, TO SEPTEMBER, 1891.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE CO.,
35 BOND STREET,
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THE

MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. APRIL, 1891. No. 1.

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

IS IT WORTH WHILE TO GO ON PREACHING?

BY REV. WILLIAM KIRKUS, M.A., LL.B., RECTOR OF THE (P. E.) CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, BALTIMORE, MD.

THE question I have written at the head of this paper may be supposed to be one of those which are often said to answer themselves; that is to say, they suggest alternative answers which are either too obviously true or too obviously absurd to need stating. Thus: Is it worth while to go on preaching? might elicit the retort, "When the Christian religion, both doctrinal and practical, is acknowledged to be an obsolete delusion!" Or again, "When our preachers are so stupid and incompetent that they neither know what to say nor how to say it!" Or again, "When 'faith cometh by hearing,' and without faith men must perish everlastingly!" Or the question might be simply set aside as having no longer any serious practical interest. Rightly or wrongly, it may be said even Christian people are tired of sermons; they no longer care for theology; it is enough for them if they can achieve religion. Anyhow, a subtle and complex science is best taught, if at all, by books. Business men want Sunday for rest. They can manage to keep awake during an abridged service, the parts of which are judiciously distributed between the solos and choruses and orchestral overtures or marches of a "sacred concert," but they are in no mood for being preached to. In fact, so entirely has the music of these "services of song" superseded the rational worship, the "reasonable service" on certain occasions, of our fashionable, well-to-do congregations, that it seems of no importance that the words sung are in flat contradiction to the doctrinal standards of the people of whose "worship" they form a part. I have before me, for instance, a printed programme, of which the following is the title-page: "Church Choral Society, New York. Third season. Eighteen hundred and ninety-one. Second service, St. George's Church, Stuyvesant Square, Rev. Wm. S. Rainsford, D.D., Rector. Thursday evening, Feb. 19th, 1891. At a quarter after eight o'clock." Of this "Second service," ending with "Collect and Benediction," the principal part was that beautiful hymn, the *Stabat Mater;* and lest the plaintive Latin should, to an ordinary Protestant congregation, be unintelligible, lest they should miss the full significance of *Pia mater, fons amoris,* or of *Virgo virginum præclara, mihi jam non sis amara,* or of *per te Virgo sim defensus, in die judicii,* the Latin is translated into English. Nobody can fail to understand the words, *Oh, screen me from the vengeful ire of my great Judge above.* This shows, to be sure, the natural alacrity with which the Christian affections express themselves in the invocation of the *Mater dolorosa.* But what is the use of, at any rate, doctrinal preaching, when all differences of opinion about the objects of worship are rapidly disappearing under the potent solvents of charity and indifference? Why not say our *Hail Mary* morning, noon, and night, with the rest of Christendom?

These are some of the ways in which people are continually talking or writing about preaching, and it is surely worth while to consider them. Remembering the past, we can very safely predict that the removal of so potent a factor as the pulpit from the life both of the Church and the world will very seriously alter the product in *some* way. The problem which confronts us in Christendom is not so much to convert an ignorant world as to re-convert an apostate world, or, at any rate, to convert a world which has become indifferent through familiarity. It is, of course, perfectly conceivable that the method most efficacious for one of these purposes may be powerless for the others; but this cannot be safely taken for granted. Preaching is only a particular mode of employing human language for the purpose of producing a certain kind of belief, or emotion, or conduct. It is the employment of the spoken as distinguished from the written language; and until oral instruction and persuasion are proved to have become powerless in every other department of knowledge and practice, it may easily be true that they are as effective as ever, and may be made more effective than ever in the department of religion. Preaching, as a particular mode of employing language, exactly resembles the speeches of advocates addressed to juries, or the speeches of those who address political meetings during, for instance, a Presidential campaign. The object of all these speakers is essentially the same—viz., to induce people to believe something; to excite in them a particular state of feeling; and to obtain from them a particular kind of conduct.

Thus between now and the next election an orator on the Democratic side or, *mutatis mutandis,* on the Republican, would endeavor to make his hearers believe that the proceedings of the late Congress really were as he affirms that they were; that certain bills were passed largely by lobbying, bribery, and log-rolling; that they were unjust and in the highest degree injurious to the great mass of the people; that the conduct of the Speaker of the House of Representatives was tyrannical and revolutionary; that by reckless and dishonest extravagance the country had been brought to the verge of national bankruptcy; and the like. He would set this before them not only in such a way as to convince the understanding, but also in such a way as to excite at the same time the deepest or the most tumultuous emotion; he would intersperse his exposition of facts with anecdote or sarcasm or "odious" comparisons, so as to make his political opponents the objects of contempt, or disgust, or abhorrence; he would work his hearers into such a state of excitement that they would cheer and hiss and clap, and throw up handkerchiefs, and wave hats like men possessed. But every now and then he would calm them again; he would praise their honest and noble passion, but he would remind them that the true end of feeling is action; he would explain to them, after every burst of enthusiasm, exactly what they were to do; and he would feel that his success was unachieved until he could be morally certain that he had secured for his candidate or party the vote of everybody who listened to him. And, in like manner, the preacher.—But perhaps before I proceed, it may be well for me to try to define these terms—preaching, preacher, sermon—or to describe what I mean by them. *A sermon,* then, is a composition prepared for oral delivery to a relatively large audience; having for its object to impart the knowledge and secure the belief of the facts and doctrines of the Christian religion; to do this in such a manner as to excite the emotions which such facts and doctrines are fitted to produce; and to persuade men, through their intellects and feelings, to a Christian mode of life. *Preaching* is the oral delivery of such a composition. *A preacher* is a person by whom such a composition is orally delivered.

These definitions are not, perhaps, exactly accurate, but they will suffice. Of course words spoken to a congregation of listeners may be stenographically reported and printed; but in that case they are no longer sermons, but *reports* of sermons. Similarly the words to be spoken to a congregation may be written or even printed beforehand. But *oral delivery* is of the essence of a sermon; and anything, such as writing beforehand and reading or reciting from memory, which affects the oral delivery, will so far also, for better or for worse, affect the sermon. Again, a composition which is not intended to promote Christian edification, intellectual, emotional, or practical, is not a sermon. A London physician—Dr. Stroud—for instance, wrote a very ingenious book about thirty years ago on *The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ.* In like manner the crucifixion of Christ might be treated as a particular case of Roman criminal law. A discourse on the crucifixion of Christ, so treated, would be no more a sermon than a similar account of the crucifixion of the two thieves.

With these remarks we may go back to the question with which we set out: Is it worth while to go on preaching? And it is obvious that we must say *no,* if the Christian religion itself has become a detected and abandoned delusion. For my own part, I do not believe that the Christian religion is in any such predicament. It might be plausibly argued even that most men are far too stupid rationally and deliberately to abandon Christianity, and for these two reasons: they neither know, with any approach to accuracy, what the Christian religion is, nor the force of the objections that might be plausibly urged against it. Mr. Robert Ingersoll is a very popular lecturer, and has incurred the responsibility of using his not inconsiderable power for the purpose of destroying the belief of hundreds of thousands of his fellow-citizens in Christ and the Gospel. In that endeavor he has very likely had a considerable and most unfortunate success. He has produced among his admirers a general impression that Christianity is ridiculous and demoralizing. But, apart from the fatal folly of *proving too much*, he never seriously deals with Christianity at all. There is not a single Church—there is probably not a single individual—that would not at once repudiate that caricatured Christianity which Mr. Ingersoll takes so much trouble to destroy. Nobody is interested in its defence, and nobody would pay a cent or waste an hour upon hearing his lectures if he had not deliberately tricked his hearers by the false pretence that he is dealing with that great religion which has been, whether we like it or not, by far the most powerful factor in modern civilization. His lectures on Christianity exactly resemble the accounts of the characters and doings of distinguished people furnished by the most impudent of reporters to the most disgusting of our sensational newspapers. They cannot damage a great reputation, but they do a great deal of harm by encouraging impertinence and lying. Blasphemy against Almighty God has, for scores of vulgar people, exactly the same piquancy as a filthy scandal about an American millionaire or an English prince.

Again, I believe that very much of the "infidelity" of persons who are distinguished as professors of the various natural sciences is, so far as it exists, wholly negative. It is not denial, but the absence of belief, and can be accounted for by the preoccupation of the mind by subjects which seem to them to possess, on the whole, a higher interest. Most scholars and divines are in a precisely similar condition of unbelief in respect of many scientific theories and speculations. They have, for instance, absolutely no opinion whatever on the relation between heat and motion and electricity. They have never read Darwin's books, and neither believe nor disbelieve his theory of the Origin of Species. And this results from the fact that both time and the faculties of the human mind are strictly limited; and hypertrophy, not to say full development, in one direction, must often be secured at the cost of atrophy in another. It might seem very strange to a Tischendorf that a Darwin should be more interested in barnacles than in manuscripts of the Greek Testament; but so it was. And to many people of great intellectual power, physics are far more interesting and seem far more useful than metaphysics and theology. Moreover, the methods of physical research seem to them far more certain and the results far more easily verifiable. Their attitude toward Christianity is not one of antagonism, but of gentlemanly indifference; it is, to them, one of a large number of religions with none of which they are personally concerned. Or, perhaps, they regard it with the mild admiration of men of letters.

The indifference to Christianity of honest and industrious working people as distinguished from anarchists, nihilists, and revolutionists, is also to be regarded, for the most part, as the result of preoccupation of mind; and for that indifference the ministers of religion of all denominations are largely and directly responsible. People who find it hard to make both ends meet are compelled to devote the greatest part of their time and thought to loaves and fishes. If Jesus Christ were to be seen going about the streets of our large cities doubling wages and paying rents, He would have no lack of followers. But everybody knows that He does nothing of the kind, and nobody knows it better than working people. So they plainly tell us they have no time for religion; it is a luxury for the rich. Nor can they be blamed, they claim, for those faults or vices which are the direct effects of the circumstances in which they live. Crowded and ill-ventilated houses and inadequate incomes suspend the operation of the ten commandments. What used to be called sin they boldly describe as disease; and physical laws are allowed to supersede the human will. Amend our social institutions, give us a fair day's work and a fair day's wage, lift off from us the heavy yoke of tyrannical and selfish capitalists, enable us to get decent clothes, so that we can sit in church as the equals of the best people there, and then, they say, we shall be glad to hear your Gospel and join your congregations. Unfortunately it has become the fashion among a certain class—and, unfortunately, a large and an increasing class—even of the ministers of religion, to encourage this way of regarding the misfortunes and even the vices of the poor. They justify, and even invent and propagate, these excuses for sin, which, in point of fact, are sheer materialism, and abolish all moral distinctions. On this theory the "conversion" of the very poor is religiously superfluous; for nobody pretends that a man's soul will be damned for lack of impossible excellences. And, on the other hand, the Christian religion is offered to working people as a form of socialism, a system of truth and life which supplies both a divine example and general principles by which an Irish tenant may determine his just rent and a

New York seamstress her just wages. It takes a very short time and very moderate intellectual powers to demonstrate by actual experiment the absurdity of this preposterous teaching; and when people have once recovered from the fascination of delusive hopes, Cardinals of the Roman Church and Officers of the Salvation Army alike, "charm they never so wisely," will sing their incantations to deaf ears. To the anarchic classes Christianity is, no doubt, detestable, as being by far the strongest existing support of social order.

The neutrality, much more the carefully reasoned opposition, of even a small number of highly educated men who, for various excellent reasons, can always secure a respectful hearing, is a very serious danger to religion. Their power is out of all proportion to their numbers, as indeed it ought to be. Still it may be doubted whether either their number or their power is increasing. The great service they have rendered to religion is, that they have stated with unmistakable clearness the question at issue. That question is: Is the knowledge of anything beyond sensible phenomena within the reach of the human faculties? If not, there is an end, of course, of religion, as there is also an end of scientific certainty. But the question itself is purely metaphysical; and, in its discussion, the naturalist has no special advantage. On the other hand, there is in many directions an undeniable increase in the number of "believers." The agents of the Salvation Army, "evangelists," "revivalists," and such like, assuredly do not present religion to the world in the form most acceptable to refined and educated people. But they reckon their converts by hundreds of thousands; and with a charmingly illogical adroitness they contrive to combine antinomian doctrine with Puritanical rigor of life. We may safely affirm that, if the Christian religion can be propagated at all by preaching, the world will gladly receive it.

But the next objection to preaching is, if possible, more serious than the one I have just been considering—viz., It is not worth while to go on preaching, because your preachers are so stupid that they know neither what to say nor how to say it. Even those who make such a statement would most assuredly admit that it is exaggerated. They put their case strongly for the very purpose of provoking a complete and straightforward discussion. They would certainly allow that Liddon, Farrar, Spurgeon, Dale, Maclaren, Phillips Brooks, H. C. Potter, Henry Ward Beecher, Storrs, Hall, Taylor—a list which might be increased many fold—were or are preachers who, merely as public speakers, as men who knew what they wanted to say and how to say it, have seldom met their match. Still it is undeniably true that these men are in the highest degree exceptional; and as they pass, alas! too rapidly away, who are rising up to fill their empty places? It is not worth while to discuss such a subject as preaching, if we are to waste time and space on idle compliments. It is much better for all of us to know the very worst of the matter. And the worst of the matter is, we are confidently assured, that a large amount of our preaching is utterly worthless; that thousands of sermons are, as compositions, contemptible; that scores of preachers have never been properly trained for their work, and never will be; that they have neither audible voices nor effective delivery; that they cannot half fill their churches, nor keep the few people awake who are persuaded to come. To this many add, making the worst worse still, that our preaching is deteriorating, and that both our college training and our ideals of clerical life and work are wholly incompatible with effective pulpit ministrations.

I am not inventing these grave charges out of my own head; I am summing up a part of what we can all read any day of the year in newspapers or magazines, to say nothing of what we are continually forced to listen to in private conversation. I read, for instance, in *The Spectator*, London, February 28th, an article on *The Training of Curates*, which is founded partly on a letter from "An Octogenarian Rector." That excellent old gentleman asserts that, in many churches, the first step of the clergyman on the pulpit stairs is the signal for a general *stampede* of people who look "genteel," etc. Almost every Diocesan Conference in England discusses the preparation of preachers, with the distinct understanding, as of an undeniable and admitted fact, that preparation of preachers does not as yet exist; although in England, even now, the large majority—almost all—of the candidates for Holy Orders are graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. In Oxford and Cambridge it may be said that there is no training for the pulpit worth speaking of; and when a young man is ordained deacon and sent as curate to help a beneficed clergyman, his "training" then consists in being taught, by hard experience, how to avoid incurring the odious consequences of exciting the jealousy of a sensitive rector. The excuses for utterly bad preaching, and the aids and remedies suggested by the devoted friends of the Church, are far more insulting than the outspoken insolence of contemptuous enemies.

For instance, it is urged that a young clergyman should not be expected to prepare more than one sermon—such as that may be—for one or two weeks. He might be allowed to read that same precious sermon three or four times on one Sunday; and if any parishioner were so over-religious as to attend at every service, he might go out when the miserable priestling began to read his discourse the second or the third time. On this delightful theory the first duty of a well-educated layman is to excuse the clergyman from giving any religious instruction. All these excuses are invented by people who, perhaps unconsciously—and perhaps, also, truly—assume that they know a great deal more than the clergy can teach them; and that any sermon is to be barely tolerated and received with the presumption in its disfavor. This, I confess, may be true; but if so, it is *not* worth while to go on preaching.

Suppose we were to give similar advice to a young member of the Bar; suppose we were to suggest that he ought to be excused from taking more than a very moderate number of cases, on the ground that his *knowledge of law* is too limited, and that he might exhaust his resources and wear out the patience of judge and jury. He would very likely tell us to mind our own business; or, if he were exceptionally courteous, he would say that he wanted as many cases as he could possibly get, and that he had devoted many years to such study of the law as would qualify him to undertake *any case whatever* that might be entrusted to him. Our excuses for bad preaching *assume* that a preacher is wholly incompetent; that he has no sufficient knowledge of his subject; and that no sensible person would employ him as a religions instructor if he had not, for one reason or another, a monopoly of the position.

Or suppose we were to offer similar advice to a political "orator" about to take the stump on a presidential campaign. Suppose we advised him to let out his knowledge by driblets, *because he had very little of it;* and to run no risk of making any assertion that anybody else might contradict, because he would most likely be unable to maintain his ground. "Politicians" sometimes give piquancy and force to their confidential communications by a dash of profanity. But a man of that sort who really knew his business might be excused for answering the "fool" who advised him, "according to his folly." "What do you take me for?" he might well exclaim. "Do you think I am going on the stump with a week's numbers of the *New York Tribune* and *Times?* I can assure you there is not a politician on either side who can ask me a question I can't answer. Name a politician on either side for five-and-twenty years, and I can give you his whole record. Tell me any measure passed or lost in Congress, and I will tell you its entire history—who introduced it, how it was carried, how it failed. I know every office-holder, every machine, every nickname, every 'pull;' I know exactly what our party wants, what must be done to win, whom to frighten, whom to buy, whom to flatter, whom to despise. Exhaust my material in a few speeches! Good heavens! you don't know what you are talking about. *My materials are myself.* I am soaked with them. I can talk of nothing else. My real danger is that I have too much material, and that I can't help using it, even when it is not worth while." *On the other hand,* we introduce a newly ordained clergyman—or, for that matter, a clergyman of half a century's "experience"—and we say, "Don't be hard on him, poor fellow! how can you expect him to speak *twice a week* on a subject to which he has devoted his whole intellectual power, and on which depends the everlasting salvation of all who hear him?"

Complaints of execrably bad preaching are well-nigh universal. One of the very best books on preaching ever written is *The Ministry of Preaching: An Essay on Pastoral and Popular Oratory,* by Mgr. Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, Member of the French Academy. "These examples," he says—meaning St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom—"seriously considered, will tell us better than any description, what is that eloquence which we call *popular.* But let us ask ourselves seriously, Have the addresses delivered among us from the pulpit at all that character generally? The facts and the truth oblige us to say that it is not always thus; no, the teaching which falls from the pulpit is too often not popular; it does not take hold of souls—of all souls; and I speak here, in the first place, of great discourses, of the solemn and dignified teaching which echoes from our principal pulpits; very frequently nothing, it is well known, is less popular than that preaching, and on that account nothing is more inefficacious and more sterile. But I speak, also, of the ordinary pastoral preaching—of that which congregations hear most often—

and which, therefore, ought to have the most influence over them. But if we inquire into the truth as to this preaching, and whether it is really preaching to the people, what do we find? Too frequently that it is quite the reverse. There is not wanting in that preaching another kind of merit than that of popularity; but without *that* other merits are of no value, and do no practical good. And it happens, on this account, that from the want of a practical character which all can appreciate, a character which is essential to a sermon, certain fine discourses lose all their charm, and are not only useless, but wearisome.

"Who is there of us who has not known many men, virtuous and intelligent, even very able, say, 'In truth I know not how it is, but I am no longer able to endure sermons; they fatigue me.' There is assuredly some injustice in this complaint; and the preaching thus blamed would merit to be less severely characterized. But too often, also, in place of finding in our sermons and addresses the simple and practical tone of popular preaching, are they not couched in language which cannot be understood without some trouble? 'And I am not the only one who has the courage thus to find fault. A dull and spiritless phraseology, a hundred times repeated; a desultory mixture of rhetoric, of philosophy, of art, of metaphysical or mystical language, of which no one can comprehend anything; a monotony capable of sending to sleep even those who have lost the habit of sleeping—in truth, I believe that I should do better not to attend these sermons; but, for the sake of good example, I resign myself to submit to them.'

"By no means let it be thought that I go as far as men of the world, or even as men of the Christian world, in casting reproach on the mass of preaching; there have been, there are still at the present day among our sacred orators, preachers truly popular. . . . But it is none the less true that I put my finger here upon a very delicate spot—one of the weak sides of preaching among us, and perhaps the fundamental reason of its too frequent insufficiency; it ought to be, before everything, popular, and it is not."

POPULAR! Yes, indeed. Bishop Dupanloup well explains what he means, what every educated man would mean, by that term. He means having power to convince the understanding, arouse the affections, and determine the conduct, not of a mob, but of *a people*—the whole body of citizens, rich and poor, learned and simple, all who have conscience and intellect. But to speak of our ordinary young preachers as, in this sense, *popular*, would be "to flatter beneath abhorring." If you doubt it, ask the first six people you meet what they thought of last Sunday's sermons.

Popular! Look at him, and look at him through the eyes of those who, not being parsons themselves, are no way unwilling to describe him with a truly terrific candor. Having duly posed, he begins to *read* a very slender essay, having some remote relation to a passage of Scripture which he calls his text. And the fact of his *reading* it turns the whole performance into a comedy. It is like listening to an exceedingly bad actor playing Hamlet or Iago. First of all, one is disgusted at the sheer impudence of attempting such a part; but by degrees one yields to the absurdity, and the tragedy becomes screaming farce. There is something irresistibly comic in imagining a young man sitting down, perhaps near midnight, with a wet towel round his aching brow, actually to *write* those inane paragraphs. Phillips Brooks may write and read; but then he writes what is worth reading. Think of a professor of mathematics solemnly reading from a manuscript the multiplication table down to twelve times twelve!

It is *not* worth while to go on preaching unless people can preach. And preaching means *oral delivery*. No matter how severe and complete the previous preparation may have been, and it cannot have been too severe and complete, when the time for *preaching* comes, it must be voice to ear and eye to eye. The real *preacher*, the true *orator*, will be governed almost as much by his hearers as they will be governed by him. He cannot possibly predict, in every minute detail, how far what he has prepared in his study will suit even the congregation for which it is intended. But he can perfectly well predict that it will certainly not be suitable for any number of congregations through any number of years. A man who would be at a standstill if his manuscript were blown out of the window may be a great scholar and a sound divine, but is not a great preacher.

It is affirmed that our preaching is even deteriorating; that our "raw material" is like the "sow's ear", out of which no skill can make a "silk purse"; that even our ideal of clerical life excludes the possibility of preaching power. Perhaps this charge is exaggerated, but there is only too much truth in it. I love a splendid ceremonial; no spectacle in the United States can be compared for impressive solemnity to a Pontifical Mass; a "master of the ceremonies" is no mean official. But to walk with downcast eyes at the tail of a surpliced procession; to parade the streets of a great city in a cassock or long cloak; to go through a poor imitation of the "Hours" without a Breviary; to pick up Church history and theology out of a Church newspaper or an almanac; to do without books, and find the authority of the Catholic Church in one's inner consciousness; to complete a theological education in two years, with no previous training, and with a knowledge of Greek which has been dismally arrested at the end of the alphabet —THAT is *not* the preparation which will make it worth while to go on preaching.

But let a man ascend the pulpit *saturated* with Christian knowledge, burning with love and zeal for souls, ready to be made all things to all men if by any means he may save some; so profoundly humble that he has not a thought of self-glorification, but only of his work and his Master; let him have a natural power of voice and eye and action, and that man will be the absolute lord, for the nour, of the congregation to whom he preaches. He will *compel* them to listen; he will hold their hearts in his hands; he will inflame them with holy passion and conquer them for God.

Nor is *oral* instruction—that is, *preaching* —by any means superseded by the press or any other agency. For it is emotional and practical; and it is not books, but the living voice only which can excite feeling and rouse to action. And if books had very much more power for such purposes than they really have, the majority of religious people read very little. Of the thousands of people who used to throng St. Paul's Cathedral to listen to Liddon's *sermons*, how many would read or could thoroughly appreciate his *Bampton Lectures* on the Divinity of our Lord? And yet those remarkable lectures are so exceptionally popular that they have passed through eight or ten editions. As a rule, even the very sermons which were listened to with the keenest enjoyment are bought, when published, out of mere compliment or personal friendship, and are read with a bitter disappointment. It is scarcely too much to say that the effectiveness of a printed sermon will be in inverse proportion to its effectiveness as a preached sermon. I confess that I am becoming more and more sceptical as to the general amount of intelligent and fruitful reading even among average Americans. Let a clergyman who is the minister of a congregation of eight or ten hundred grown-up people look quietly round as he makes his pastoral visitations, to get a glimpse of their libraries. I am inclined to think that a very small percentage possess a hundred books which a man of letters would think it worth his while to receive as a gift.

The majority of American men are very busy people. Newspapers they *must* read. They are occupied all day long by the routine and often very exhausting and difficult work of their trade or profession. They get home at night both fatigued and preoccupied. They must have an hour or so, if possible, with their wives and children; and "society" also has its claims. Is it reasonable to expect that they can be kept awake by a treatise on dogmatic theology, or Church history, or the controversy with Rome, or the last and longest complete disproof of the theory of evolution? It is more than they can do, with the tick of the telegraph or the bell of the telephone still sounding in their ears, to fix their attention even upon familiar truths, which address them only with the unobtrusive silence of the printed page. A chapter from the Bible before going to bed seems to get longer and longer every night. The mind, like the body, demands repose, and unless repose can be secured, nature will exact a terrible punishment.

In ninety-nine cases out of every hundred for receiving religious knowledge and religious impressions there is in this country only one day, only one place, and only one method: the day is Sunday, the place is the Church, and the method is preaching. We may think ourselves very lucky if we can secure for this purpose anything like the whole even of Sunday. In our very complex civilization the "works of necessity," which every "Sabbath" law excuses, are rapidly multiplying. Still if men will abstain from reading business letters and despatches, and go regularly to church on Sundays with their wives and children, there is some fair chance for their religious edification. They need be neither over-fatigued nor preoccupied. The weekly day of rest, conscientiously observed, will produce its own habits and moods and expectations as certainly as does the newspaper, the car, the office, the mail of every other day of the week. And for a man seriously inclined, a Church, with its solemn services and suggestive symbols, furnishes the best conditions which could be devised for spiritual improvement. There is sufficient variety to counteract the *soporific* effect—we may as well confess it—of maintaining for a very unusual length of time a merely passive and receptive attitude of mind. And even with such aids and appliances, nothing but the living voice of an earnest and competent preacher will arrest and retain the attention.

In any case, to arrest and retain the attention is excessively difficult, and it is sometimes made more difficult not only by the imperfect training, but by the theological accomplishments of the preacher. Let us hear Bishop Dupanloup once again, as he impresses upon his clergy the admirable direction of the Council of Trent, "to preach *cum brevitate et facilitate sermonis, pro eorum capacitate.*" "Sermons," he goes on (pp. 31, 32), "with lofty phrases and long periods are not for the masses; they are lost, and cannot follow them. People are like children: they must be addressed in short and compact phrases; then only they understand you, and are attentive. An academic—*i.e.*, a lofty and pompous style—is not a living style for them, and it is nothing more nor less than waste of time to speak thus before ordinary parish audiences. *Cum facilitate sermonis.* You want a simple style—very short, very clear; in a word, a popular style. Brevity and conciseness will do much to give your preaching this necessary quality, and you must study to gain a great clearness of expression. Our habits of mind, our reading, the theological tongue to which we are accustomed, bring naturally under our pens, without our perceiving it, a quantity of abstract or technical words to which the people can attach no meaning whatever.

"Now, gentlemen, reflect; it is truly and simply absurd to pronounce before an audience, which we wish to instruct or persuade, words that they do not understand. That, in writing, such expressions should escape us, who are so familiar as we are with the subjects and the language of philosophy, is perhaps unavoidable; but when we read over our sermon, or the notes that help us to speak, let us be earnest, by a severe revision, to erase without pity all the terms that our hearers do not understand. This word is fine, it is effective, it is learned, but it will not be understood. I efface it, therefore, and put another there.

"To be clear, gentlemen, to be intelligible to all, is the first condition of being listened to; and even though your hearers give the most sustained attention, how can you touch or convince them if you are not understood by them? Every unintelligible word is no longer a word of life; it is a dead word—nothing else.

"Do not fear that this simplicity will injure your eloquence. True eloquence is to speak so as to be understood, so as to produce in the mind and in the heart of the hearers the effect that the preacher proposes to attain; in the mind, light and conviction; in the heart, persuasion and generous determinations of the will."

This is one of the very strongest reasons for what is called *extempore* preaching as distinguished from reading sermons. The person who is closely reading a manuscript cannot see what effect he is producing on his hearers, and can make no change in his sermon if he does see. Nothing is easier to detect than the eagerness or apathy of a listener. There are scores of sermons read which produce not an atom of effect except drowsiness or disgust; which not only do no good, but deepen the suspicion that listening to sermons is sheer waste of time and temper. The moment a preacher discovers that the attention of his hearers is slipping away from him he should at once change his plan; roll his little manuscript into a ball and drop it on the pulpit floor; trust to his accumulated knowledge, his profound interest in his subject, and his resolute determination to compel men to understand it.

Perhaps, however, the people who press the question I have been dealing with in this paper, and who seem to expect a negative answer, are really thinking about a very different question—viz., How can people be induced to allow themselves to be preached to, or even to go to church at all? However good preaching may be, nothing can enable us to dispense with missionary zeal or with personal appeals to individuals; but neither the missionary work of the laity nor the pastoral work of the clergy comes within the scope of this paper.

THE TSAR AND THE JEWS.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), March, 1891.

No one was surprised at the rebuff administered to the Lord Mayor of London by the return of the memorial addressed to the Tsar on behalf of the Jews.

On February 1, 1882, a meeting was held at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the then Lord Mayor, in response to a requisition signed by peers and gentlemen of influence who desired, in as public a manner as possible, to call the Russian Government to account for the outrages of which Russian Jews were at that time alleged to be the victims. But the Russian Government were little disturbed by this gathering of

English gentlemen. Naturally, they felt some resentment at the interference in their affairs, but they did not alter their policy. Three months afterwards they promulgated the laws of which so much lately has been heard, the "May Laws of 1882." These laws have, however, been marked more by their transgression than their observance. The Government authorities have seemed either unable or indisposed to enforce them. Latterly, however, the Russian Government have formed the opinion, on grounds which to them seem sufficient, that the extent to which these laws are being broken or evaded constitutes a serious danger to the best interests of the empire. Accordingly, they have taken steps to lessen the danger. They have issued instructions that in future the May Laws of 1882 are to be strictly observed and enforced. As was to be expected, the carrying out of these instructions has inflicted much hardship on the Jews, hardship which all but the absolutely heartless, whatever they may think of the policy which has caused it, must sincerely deplore. A pitiful wail has gone up from the sufferers, and western Europe, which hears it, stands horrified at what it terms the "brutal" policy which has called it forth.

A decade has not passed since the date of the meeting already referred to, but London has been again the seat of another meeting of protest, similarly presided over and similarly requisitioned. The voice of this assembly has penetrated no further than did that of its predecessor. The autocrat who wields the sceptre of Russia is not turned from his resolve. He declines, as Mr. Froude and every man in his right senses expected he would decline, to receive the English deputation who were to interview him on behalf of his Jewish subjects, and he returns the memorial addressed to him. He does not feel that such officious aid will help him and his advisers to cope the better with the difficulties of this question, and prefers to remain unencumbered with it. He does not see why he should trouble himself about a meeting held in the London Guildhall any more than our Queen would trouble herself about a meeting in the Town Hall of St. Petersburg convened to protest against the alleged coercion of the Irish people. Not only does His Imperial Majesty decline with "one stroke of his pen" to "annul those laws which now press so grievously on the Jews," but he seems more than ever resolved that those laws shall be strictly enforced.

Yet friend and foe alike bear testimony to the Tsar's excellent personal qualities, to his innate humane and pious disposition, to his many domestic virtues. This being so, is it not clear that something has hardened this Sovereign's heart, some strong motive dictated this stern policy? It is not reasonable to suppose that this policy has been adopted from mere caprice. What motive, then, has actuated it? Surely until we have discovered the motive, and considered its sufficiency, even as partial excuse, if not total justification, it is only fair that we should withhold our condemnation of the Tsar and his advisers. Further, in interfering at all with the Tsar in his internal policy, we adopt a course which cannot but fail to make bad blood between the two countries, and we expose ourselves to a retort such as that which appeared in the St. Petersburg *Novoye Vremya* of December 18:—

> "The concern of England," this paper sarcastically remarks, "which has beggared the population of India and Egypt, which has poisoned the people of China with opium, which destroyed like dangerous insects the natives of Australia, and which under pretext of abolishing the slave-trade is now exterminating in most wholesale fashion the numerous races of Africa—the concern of a people who do these things is certainly touching."

With many other people in this country who do not see in the existing government in Russia, in reference to this question, that object of detestation which fills the vision of so many estimable English folk, I have been expecting to see some reply to the many bitter attacks which from time to time in our magazines and newspapers have been made on the Jewish policy of the Tsar.* I had thought that, keenly sensitive as the Russian Government are to all aspersions on their character, they would by this time have found some competent writer to put their case before the British public. Madame Novikoff appears to think that her country can afford to be indifferent to the opinion of the world, but she cannot but know that international opinion is now a force which has to be reckoned with. She would have done better, I think, if she had devoted the energy which she expended in endeavouring to turn the Guildhall meeting into ridicule to penning a plain statement of the case for the Russian Government. Her epistles to the *Times* were certainly amusing, were indeed to a certain extent warranted, but they were by no means calculated to allay the feeling aroused in this country against the policy of her Sovereign.*

Failing any exposition of the motives of the Russian Government from an authoritative source, and thinking it to be a pity that any unnecessary bad feeling should exist between England and Russia, I feel it incumbent upon me, an Englishman of many years' residence in Russia, to place before the English public a few facts and deductions which may serve to throw some light on the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Jews. At present, if we are to rely on the articles which have already appeared on this subject in English periodicals as a full and sufficient statement of the problem, the Tsar's policy would appear to be either wholly motiveless, or actuated by the most sordid and wicked considerations. Turning to the article on this question which appeared in the *Fortnightly* of October last, I search in vain for any clear expression of the writer's opinion as to the motives of the Russian Government. I find quoted at the head of the article a passage from the song of Rabbi Ben Ezra :—

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* Since this was in type, I have been pleased to notice a report in the newspapers stating that Madame Novikoff is preparing a pamphlet on the subject.

> " Something is wrong, there needeth change,
> But what or where ?"

but I cannot discover any satisfactory answer to the inquiry. I read an able summary of the laws affecting Russian Jews, and a heartrending description of the sufferings of that ill-starred people, but there the argument seems to end. We are not even informed, as the *Spectator* has pointed out, how it happens that the Tsar does not feel " the usual impulse of despots to protect the lowest class in the community, one, too, which is unresisting to a fault." The article in *Blackwood* of the same month is similarly incomplete. Yet to Mr. Lanin

> " it is a matter of wonder that so very little should be known and so much rashly written in this country about Russia,"

and to the writer in *Blackwood*

> " nothing is more remarkable about Russia than the general ignorance in Europe concerning the social condition and internal affairs of that country."

Surely, from gentlemen so anxious to dissipate the crass ignorance of the average Briton on Russian questions, some enlightenment on the all-important point to which I have referred was only to have been expected.

Mr. Lanin is frank. He owns to being perplexed when he asks himself what has called forth the hostility of the Russian Government. " It is not," he says,

> " the Jewish religion that is so unrelentingly pursued, for it is admitted even by the orthodox Church to be superior to Mohammedanism, which enjoys toleration in Russia. Neither is it the Jewish race, for once a Jew adopts Christianity as his ' faith,' he is placed on a level with born Christians. It cannot be the supposed economical influence for evil exerted by the Jews, for the same evils complained of, only in much larger dimensions, are to be found in other parts of the Empire, into which a Jew never sets foot ; and yet [mark the words] objectless as this persecution evidently is from any reasonable point of view, not only is it warmly advocated by a portion of the press, but a fiendish delight is taken in contemplating the results."

In other places he writes : " The powerful government of the Tsar is employing all its pecuniary resources, and all the ingenuity of human hate to crush them [the Jews] out of existence," " Alexander III. is resolved to grind the Jews down to the intellectual level of his orthodox subjects," and " Russian Judophobes—many members of the Government included—positively take a pleasure in the disgusting conditions in which Jews exist."

I read somewhere that Mr. Lanin " always seems to exaggerate." Will he not himself admit when he reconsiders the words which I have quoted from his article not only that he has *seemed* to exaggerate, but that he *has* exaggerated ? No fair-minded opponent of the Russian Government will, I feel sure, go all the way with this powerful writer in such violent phrases.

However, if we are to ascribe to the present Government the diabolical intentions which Mr. Lanin imputes, we must ascribe these also to most of their predecessors right back to the time of Catherine I. For, according to Mr. Lanin's own showing, the Jewish question has been as much a trouble to successive Russian Governments as the Irish question has been to successive English Governments. How was it, may I ask Mr. Lanin, that the Empress Catherine I., after the annexation of the province of Little Russia, found it desirable to order the expulsion of this intelligent and harmless people from that territory, and that the gentle Peter II. could only find it in his heart so far to relax this order as to permit Jews to visit South Russia for the purpose of attending the fairs there ? How was it that the Empress Anna found it desirable to withdraw the permission she had given to Jews to visit her country for purposes of commerce, that the Empress Elizabeth felt obliged to frame more stringent laws, and that the enlightened and philosophic Catherine II. saw fit to pursue the same policy, modifying it eventually only so far as to permit Jews to settle in the government of New Russia, a concession which constitutes the foundation of the famous Pale of Settlement, " the main grievance of the Jews and the source of all their sufferings"? How did it happen that Alexander the Blessed failed in his effort to bring about the brotherly union and ultimate amalgamation of the Jews with the Russians?

Is all this exceptional legislation to be ascribed, like the laws of the present reign, to sheer devilry on the part of the rulers of Russia? The hypothesis is unreasonable and unwarrantable. Even the speakers at the recent Guildhall meeting, one and all, steered clear of uttering so outrageous a libel on the Russian Government. The writer of the article in *Blackwood*, too, prefers to leave the question of motive alone, rather than make an attack of this kind. All that he ventures to say, by way of explaining the cause of the hostility felt in Russia towards the Jews, is, that "it is chiefly as a trader that the Jew excites the jealousy of his neighbour," and that "though the Jew middleman is often useful he is decidedly an unpleasant character, and contributes much to the unpopularity of his race."

The promoters of the Guildhall meeting would seem to be as much in the dark on the question of motive as the writers of the articles in the magazines. They leave us to infer it from the resolution moved by the Duke of Westminster, which ran as follows:—

> "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the renewed sufferings of the Jews in Russia from the operation of severe and exceptional edicts and disabilities are deeply to be deplored, and that in the last decade of the nineteenth century religious liberty is a principle which should be recognised by every Christian community as among the natural rights."

This resolution consists, it will be observed, of two distinct propositions, which, so far as their wording is concerned, might be presumed to have no relation to one another. Separately considered, no more innocent-looking propositions could have been framed. Few would hesitate to subscribe to them. But, of course, nobody present at the meeting regarded them in this way. They were intended to be read as cause and effect. It was desired that the Tsar of Russia should understand that, in the opinion of the citizens of London, the exceptional legislation referred to in the first proposition was the effect of his not recognising the principle referred to in the second proposition. The sting of the resolution lay in the juxtaposition of its component parts. Otherwise the resolution is meaningless.

We may therefore take it as the opinion of the "Citizens of London in Guildhall assembled," notwithstanding the terms of the memorial do not seem to support it, that the Jewish question is at bottom a religious question.

I do not agree with these "citizens of London." I am one with Mr. Lanin in the opinion that the Jewish question is *not* a religious question. Religion, to my thinking, no more enters into it, than it did into the Jewish question with which some four thousand years ago the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" had to deal. I assert that the Russians are the most tolerant of people on religious subjects. If you are not orthodox, they look upon you as lost, but they do not add to your misfortune by persecuting you. Rather, they pity you. During the whole period of my residence in their country I have never once, English and heretical as I am, been attacked by Russians on the score of my religious opinions. I have not enjoyed this immunity when in England and other countries. Catholics and Dissenters alike have attacked me. In Russian villages, Tartars, Lutherans, and Catholics may be found living side by side with orthodox peasants on most amicable terms.

No, in all seriousness, it is not religion which is at the bottom of the trouble with the Russian Jews. The real cause is much the same as it was in Pharaoh's time.

> "Now there arose a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph, and he said to his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are too many and too mighty for us: come, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies. . . . . And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve them with rigour. . . . . And Pharaoh charged all his people saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive" (Exodus, chapter i., revised version).

The children of Israel of the present century are becoming "too many and too mighty" for the people of Russia, and the modern Pharaoh is endeavouring in his own way to reduce their number, and to weaken their power. Like his prototype he considers his best plan is to make them "to serve with rigour," to make existence harder for them. Perchance, then they may be induced to start in search of a new Canaan. He will not refuse to let them go. No heaven-sent plagues are necessary ere he will give his consent. The very presence of the Jews in his country is, in his opinion, plague enough. He would be only too well pleased, if a Moses were to arise to lead them across his western frontier.

Fear, then, and not religious bigotry lies at the root of the Tsar's policy toward the Jews. Rightly or wrongly, he and his advisers consider that they have reasonable grounds for regarding the Russian Jews in their number and their peculiar characteristics as a real menace to the stability of the Empire. They strive, therefore, in obedience to the "First Law of Nature" to preserve their own existence. Are they to be blamed?

We are now come to the crux of the matter, to the important question: Do these reasonable grounds exist? Before any one can give an accurate answer to this question, he must first rid himself of all personal bias against either Russian or Jew, and then listen to, and carefully weigh, the arguments of both parties.

Probably, the most important, and at the same time most moderate, statement of the case for the Russian Government, is to be found in the article on the Jewish Question in "Contemporary Russia,"* the work of M. Skalkoffsky, Vice-President of the Russian Mining Department, a travelled and well-informed man. No English translation of this book has, I am told, yet been published, and I shall therefore refer to the article in question at considerable length.†

Dealing with the origin and growth of the Jewish Question, M. Skalkoffsky points out that

> "The Jewish problem in Russia is a legacy from the Poles. The lazy and unprincipled Polish nobility, incapable as they were of independent action, were glad of the assistance of the Jews in exploiting a down-trodden peasantry, and thus their country soon became the nucleus to which the Jews were attracted. When a part of the country was annexed to Russia, it became imperatively necessary to relinquish the existing policy of ignoring the Jews altogether which had been favoured by Peter the Great and Elizabeth, the former saying that he had rogues enough among his own people, and the latter that she desired no material benefit from the enemies of Christ.
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> "The question had to be considered seriously, and the Government, taking the only course at all practicable, secured to the race comparative freedom of action in the particular districts where they had been settled for centuries, and even invited them to populate a part of South Russia then very thinly inhabited; taking the strictest measures, however, to prevent the farther spread of the race into the remaining portion of the Empire.
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> "In time, however, the strictness of the laws became relaxed, and the Jews spread into the interior, causing the same complaints to be uttered on every side as had been made against them in the western provinces. Here the state of affairs soon became almost unbearable, especially about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the influence of the Polish nobility in Russia was at its height. The remedy proposed by the partisans of the Jews was to abolish the Pale of Settlement altogether, and by permitting the Jews to settle anywhere throughout Russia, to assist them to lose themselves among the native population.
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> "Unfortunately, this hope can only be treated as an illusion. The idea of grafting the race on the natives would perhaps be tenable if we could imagine the necessity, or rather the scope, required for the utilisation of the peculiar talents of the race. As we have said elsewhere, the class of business men which the Jews almost invariably belong to should form a very trifling percentage of the entire population.
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> "It is, moreover, a matter worthy of consideration, seeing that the Jews multiply with such astonishing rapidity under their present conditions, what is to be expected if they are permitted to live at the expense of the whole empire?
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> "The disturbances in Rostoff on the Don, Ekaterinoslav and Nijni-Novgorod plainly demonstrate the untenable nature of the theory—which, however, was never shared by the Government—that the distribution of the Jews in small portions among the population throughout Russia, in other words, the suspension of the Pale of Settlement, is the best means of solving the Jewish problem. In the towns named the proportion of Jews is very insignificant, yet the disturbances plainly prove that even so small a dose of the national distemper is more than the popular organism can support.
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> "This may be illustrated by a few more instances. We learn from the official report of M. Augustinovitch, published by the *Pravitelstvenni Vestnik*, that the colonisation of the Island of Sahalin was observed to be making most satisfactory progress until lately, when a few Jews appeared among the convicts. With their advent all was changed. The most stringent measures taken by the Governor and his officials proved unavailing. The secret sale of spirits was introduced, and while the Jews succeeded in acquiring small fortunes, the convicts of other religious persuasions lost everything, including the assistance which was given them by the Government on having served their time. Scarcely a single Jew performs the hard labour allotted to him, as he is always in possession of the means to hire other convicts to work for him, while he himself carries on his illicit trade, and gradually robs his fellows of the last of their possessions."

On the fecundity of the Russian Jews, and its bearing on the problem, M. Skalkoffsky observes that

> "according to ancient writings, the Jews first made their appearance in Kieff during the tenth century, and since then their number in the south-western governments alone has attained the formidable figure of over two millions.* The significance of this figure (which is slightly below the actual truth) will be perceived if we take into consideration the following well-known facts. With few unimportant exceptions the Jews are not personally concerned in any productive industry, but almost invariably occupy a sort of intermediate position as middlemen, petty traders, agents, brokers, etc., between the producer and the consumer. Without denying the utility of this feature of trade, it is necessary to bear in mind that so enormous a proportion of middlemen is far above the requirements of the country. In France, when the population exceeded forty millions, the proportion of individuals occupied in all the branches of commerce was computed at about 1,800,000, and there can be no comparison made between the trade of France and that of the south-western governments of Russia. Being essentially a migratory people, the Jews simply

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* "Sovremennaia Rossia." 2nd edition. 1890.

† For the translation of this article I am indebted to Mr. Alex. Coates, of St. Petersburg.

* There are now over 6,000,000 Jews in Russia.

inundate this or that point according to the opening presented to their trade. It is well known, for instance, that the emigration of the Jews to Odessa, which has resulted in the alarming preponderance of the race now existing in that town, only assumed its present proportions quite lately. Towards the close of the sixth decade of the present century the Jews commenced to pour into Odessa in regular hordes. A census taken in the year 1859 shows the proportion then borne by the Jews to the mass of the population of the town to have been as 1 is to 7.4, while a second census in 1873, a very incomplete one, shows that, notwithstanding the growth of the original population, which showed an increase of over 50 per cent. against the census of 1859, the proportion borne by the Jews to the remaining population was as 1 is to 3.7. In many towns, as, for instance, Vilno, Titomir, Kramenetz, Podolsk, and others, not to mention Berditscheff and Shkloff, the number of Jews greatly exceeds that of the Christians. The steady growth of the Jewish element in the district in question would surely indicate that the race had fallen into conditions eminently favourable for its development, however clamorously the opposite may be urged by the Judophiles. In an exceedingly interesting paper published in the Address Calender of the Odessa police by the local Statistical Committee, which deals with the fluctuations observed in the population of the town, figures were produced which will serve to demonstrate the degree of truthfulness contained in the numerous complaints daily made of the supposed hardships and oppression to which the Jews are subjected within the pale of their settlement. On comparing the death rate with the register of births during 1883, in the classifications according to the various religious persuasions, the Jews were found to be particularly favoured. The mean increase among the Christian portion of the population, by a preponderance of the number of births over the number of deaths registered, was found to be 78.2 individuals, while that of the Jews was 628.5! Thus the Jewish element is shown to increase by natural means alone *eight times more rapidly* than the Christian. A similar disparity will be observed if we turn our attention to the subject of marriage. During a period extending over eight years, the total percentage of marriages contracted was 65.59 per cent. between Christians of all persuasions, and 34.41 between Jews. The significance of these figures will be perceived if we bear in mind that the Jews alone constitute one-fourth of the entire population of Odessa. So enormous a difference in the number of marriages points unmistakably to a difference in the relative affluence of the two elements. A few further data may be interesting as tending to confirm this premise. The average number of births to every Christian marriage during the eight years alluded to was 4.54; among the Jews it was 4.63. And the death rate during the same period was 37.13 per cent. of Jewish infants, and 48.08 per cent. of those of Christian parents, thus showing an excess of 11 per cent. in the mortality of the latter. It is obvious that the peculiar characteristics of this people, their amazing fecundity, their early marriages, and frequent divorces in cases of barren unions, as also the tendency to mutual support and combined action observable in them, tend to create for the race conditions eminently favourable to their further growth and development."

As to the "supposed economical influence for evil exerted by the Jews," which Mr. Lanin asserts cannot be the cause of the hostility of the Russian Government, the author of "Contemporary Russia" has much to say.

"The Jews are," he continues, "*par excellence*, a commercial race. In Russia they are gradually insinuating themselves into all the various branches of commercial enterprise. The vitiating effects of this movement are observable everywhere, yet a few particulars which would serve to illustrate the principles on which the Jew brokers and petty traders conduct their operations may be worth the reader's attention. The official *Vestnik of Commerce and Finance* thus describes their mode of procedure in the most important of Russian industries, the grain trade:—

"'The Jew-buyers are rarely possessed even of the means of depositing an advance of ten or twenty roubles on a parcel of grain; the purchase is therefore arranged by a Jew broker, whose commission-money amounts to one rouble on every waggon-load of grain sold. The goods are then warehoused, the person under whose superintendence this is done receiving fifty copecks per waggon-load, another thirty copecks being paid to a third Jew who attends to the despatch of the grain and makes out the receipts and other necessary documents. The buyer then deposits the railway quittance in a Jewish counting-office, and receives the full value of the grain, paying a discount of from one to one-and-a-half per cent. for every ten days. Only then does the seller receive his money for the grain he has sold. To the expenses enumerated must be added a considerable loss on the grain incurred by the seller through the petty swindling of the Jews connected with the transaction. These swindles have often formed the subject of articles in the Russian periodical press, and so deeply have they taken root in the trade, that a special slang vocabulary exists among the Jews to express the various forms which they take. The liquor trade in all its branches is almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, though the numerous methods resorted to by that talented fraternity render it rather a difficult task to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the extent to which they are concerned in the various subordinate features of the trade. The commonest method employed is that of running an establishment in the name of a Russian, who, for a consideration, procures the necessary papers, and in some cases attends in a great part to the business. Again, it occasionally happens that the Jew who is the real proprietor figures in the papers as the servant of the nominal proprietor of the establishment.'

"These frauds are conceived and carried out with remarkabe intelligence and caution, so that the revenue officers and the police are practically unable to detect them, and, except in a few isolated cases, the Jew is allowed to carry on his illicit trade in undisturbed security. In the meantime the system is carried on with true Jewish effrontery, so that, for statistical purposes, the Jews do not even trouble themselves to conceal their connection with the trade. Thus, it is officially known that the percentage of drinking-houses of all kinds illegally held by Jews is thirty-five throughout Russia, while in the south-western provinces particularly, where the Jews form a recognised element of the population, the proportion of public-houses owned by them is nearly eighty-nine per cent.! Thus, while complaints are daily being made of the persecution to which the race is systematically subjected, more than ten thousand Jews are allowed to disobey the laws specially promulgated for their restraint. It is necessary to bear in mind that the pale of Jewish settlement in Russia includes, besides the south-western provinces, only fifteen of the governments of Russia proper. In the remaining districts the Jews form, happily, only an accidental contingent of the population.

"We will pass over the governments in which the Jews are not numerous, and devote our attention to that portion of the Empire which has been laid open to the race, and in which there are actually more Jews than there were in Judæa in the days of Solomon. Here we find that, until very lately, this down-trodden and cruelly persecuted people owned more than one-half of the entire number of distilleries, nearly three fourths of the breweries, seven-eighths of the wholesale spirit warehouses, nearly one-half of the number of public-houses, and a similar proportion of drinking-saloons, wine cellars, and beershops. Comment would be superfluous. The figures speak for themselves."

Mr. Lanin urges that these evils are to be found in larger dimensions in other parts of the Empire into which a Jew never sets foot, and that they cannot therefore be the cause of the present trouble. The writer in *Blackwood*, too, observes that

"official statements have proved that the rate of interest paid by the peasants to the Jewish usurer in the western provinces is far lower than the rates charged by the Russian *koulak* in the provinces from which the Jews are excluded. The *koulak*, too, enforces his claim with rigour, whereas the Jew, unsupported by the authorities, has frequently to compromise, or even accept a total loss."

As to this, the author of "Contemporary Russia" writes as follows :—

"It is often argued that the people suffer no more from the Jewish middlemen than they do from the native *koulaks* and *miroyeds*. We are ignorant of a single instance of public resentment of which the *koulaks* or *miroyeds* have been the object, while instances where the populace have been incited to demonstrations against the Jews are familiar to every one. It is obvious, therefore, that the populace must make some distinction between their native persecutors on the one hand, and the Jews on the other."

This distinction, M. Skalkoffsky maintains, does undoubtedly exist. "To begin with," he continues :—

"The *koulak* is a native product, his education and moral training do not differ from the education and moral training of the community in which his operations are conducted. He is in most cases illiterate, and, in general with the ignorant, possesses a wholesome appreciation of the inconveniences connected with the law. He is not averse to an occasional carouse with his compeers, and is in no way connected with others of his calling, invariably working for himself. It is natural, therefore, that the people should see in the *koulak* merely one of themselves, with no points of difference except the energy and consistency necessary to enable him to make capital out of the weakness and stupidity of his less capable fellows.

"In the case of the Jews, the opinion of the populace is based on entirely different considerations. The Jew is a product of a civilisation entirely foreign to the village community on which he lives. His religion, his moral training, his customs, all differ materially from the customs, the religion, and the moral training of the Russia peasant. He is never quite illiterate, and far from possessing the horror of the law observed in the *koulak*, he actually prefers that means of settling his disputes, and consequently very frequently resorts to it. Having absolutely nothing in common with the rural community in which his operations are conducted, their ostracism has no terror for him ; nor does he, like the *koulak*, act individually, but invariably is in close communication with all the Jews in the neighbourhood, by whom he is advised and assisted. With the *koulak* the peasant is able to treat on common ground : with the Jews, an element entirely foreign to his own sphere, the *moujik* has no common ground to treat on. The relations of the Jews to the Christian community are, moreover, regulated by the degree of affluence of the latter. If there is neither a sufficiency of wealth, nor a reasonable facility offering for trade, the Jew, being absolutely parasitical in his instincts, soon rids the place of his presence, and proceeds to some more promising neighbourhood. The *koulak* cannot do this ; he is bound by the ties of birth and relationship to a particular community ; there are for him no 'fresh woods and pastures new.' Thus, while it sometimes happens that a *koulak* relinquishes some of his predatory habits, a Jew is practically incorrigible.

"Taking the statistics of a government like that of Kherson, where the Jewish contingent of the population is comparatively inconsiderable, we find that for every ten individuals of the native population there is one Jew. If we then turn our attention to the fact that *koulaks* or *miroyeds* are not to be found in every village, and that sometimes in a small town, with a population of upwards of three or four thousand, not more than ten *koulaks* can be pointed out, the disparity in point of numbers is still more obvious."

Mr. Lanin and the writer in *Blackwood* have not denied the extreme unwillingness of the Jew to become a soldier. On this peculiarity of the Jewish character, M. Skalkoffsky says :—

"The recruiting system is in every possible way avoided by the Jews. A report issued in 1876 showed, for instance, that, notwithstanding the strictness with which the rules of conscription were enforced by the Government, the result was not what was expected. Even the revival of an ancient statute which provided that, in cases where the defection of Jews caused a deficiency in the number of recruits, the number wanted was to be supplied from among their own people, has not improved matters, for in the same year, of twenty-three per cent. not answering to the summons, *twenty per cent. were Jews!* The figures of other years give still more astonishing results ; thus in 1878, of the entire number of recruits who did not respond when called on, eighty-seven per cent. were Jews !"

I purpose now giving the views of a Russian journalist, whose name is more widely known than M. Skalkoffsky's, and who expresses himself in more energetic fashion.

I refer to the editor of the St. Petersburg *Graschdanin*, Prince Metchersky.

As every one in Russia is aware, this well-known personage has made the Jewish Question his hobby. According to him the proposal that the Jews should be allowed to spread beyond the Pale is altogether inadmissible. If approached on the subject he will express himself in this wise :—

> " There are already in Russia six million Jews ; in twenty years time there will be twenty million Jews. The condition of the Jews is hopeless, beyond recovery. Like a man afflicted with a terrible disease, the Jew seems only to exist ; he does not live. His affliction does not kill him, but it renders him to all intents and purposes lifeless. We cannot allow him free rights of residence in all parts of the Empire, for our peasant would soon be in a similar plight. The *moujik*, in his simplicity and ignorance, is no match for the Hebrew. He must therefore be protected. In England and France the masses are sufficiently wideawake to know how to protect themselves. Here, the contrary is the case. Moreover, with such freedom as the Jews already have, they have shown themselves able to do incalculable harm to Russia. For instance, look how they have spoilt our grain trade. They ruin the peasant farmers financially and morally wherever they get the chance. They combine together to bring down the price of his produce far below its natural value, and get him wholly in their power by selling him vodka and lending him money. Look how they are getting everything into their hands, restricted even as their liberties are. They are becoming paramount in the Press, and they practically control the finances of our country. Even in the law and other professions they are making themselves indispensable. Soon they will have us at their feet. Like Austria, we seem destined to become, to all intents and purposes, a Jewish Empire."

Prince Metchersky takes, it will be seen, an extreme view on this question. Fearing the Jews as he does, it is not surprising to find him very bitter against them. He regards them as destructive microbes. They feed on and promote the degeneration of the social organism. They must therefore be got rid of. And " when microbes have to be destroyed, we do not," he says, " pause to inquire how microbes like the process." To the cynicism of this remark the Rev. Dr. Herman Adler called attention some time back, when preaching on the alleged persecution of the Jews.

His views on this question would not, perhaps, demand much attention, if they were not to some extent shared by the Tsar and the Russian Ministers. The *Graschdanin* is regularly perused by His Imperial Majesty, and is also in some degree the organ of the Government officials and of the privileged classes. It will be interesting to hear, therefore, what the Prince has to say at the present juncture concerning the alleged persecution of the Jews. In an issue of his paper in September last, I find an account of a most interesting conversation which he had had with an Englishman on this subject. The enemies of the Prince charge him with carrying on conversations with imaginary individuals, and then printing them in his paper as *bonâ fide* interviews. In the present instance, however, the conversation was not imaginary, the English interviewer being Mr. Barnes Steveni, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle.*

> " One day," begins the Prince, " amongst the numerous 'dead souls' that visited me, was, if I am not mistaken, an English correspondent, who inquired why I was for ever attacking the unfortunate Jews. Having placed my interrogator in a chair, I replied : 'The Jews, as you know well, are everywhere ; they are, moreover, not only unbidden guests, but very unwelcome ones. In Russia they possess a peculiar significance. As you probably know, in some districts of this country the Jews have all the rights of residence ; in other districts they are allowed to live temporarily on certain conditions. The trouble at the present time is occasioned by the Jews endeavouring to obtain the right to live everywhere without restriction. With this end in view, they and their Russian allies have circulated the following paradox—viz., " The Jews, when confined to one spot, may possibly become a source of danger to the Empire, but distributed all over the Empire, they will grow up and intermingle with the mass of the Russian people, and so become harmless." This is absolutely false. In those districts where the Jews have the right of settlement they are identified with the natives so much that they have become predominant, and compel the latter to see the necessity for living as they do. The case is quite different when they invade a new district. There, then, at once begins a struggle for existence between them and the native population. Jews can endure far more suffering and deprivation than Russians. They have also greater energy and fixity of purpose. They pursue every path, and especially every crooked path, which enables them to creep to the top from below. The end of the struggle, therefore, generally is that the Jews succeed in stifling the life and enterprise of the original inhabitants. They are *trichinæ*. They fasten on and embed themselves in the muscles and nerves of the local organism, consume them by degrees, and ultimately destroy the whole organism.[*]
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> " 'This, in the first place, is why the Government, acting in pure self-defence and for the safety of the Empire, should under no pretence and in no case whatever permit the settlement of Jews outside the legal boundaries of the Pale of Settlement.'
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> " 'No !' exclaimed my interlocutor. 'Where, then, are the Jews to go ? It appears that in the districts where they are allowed to reside they are already too numerous. Formerly they numbered only four millions, now they number six millions. What is to be done with the remaining two millions ?'
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> " 'Allow me to explain,' said I, in answer, 'that I and my paper are at loggerheads with the liberals and humanitarians of the present day upon this

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[*] Here the Prince refers particularly to the exploitation of the south-western provinces by the Jews, who, not being allowed to own land or forests, exhaust the former and cut down the latter without any regard to the welfare of posterity.

very point. The question—What is to be done with the Jews?—must, according to my firm conviction, be solved by the Jews themselves, and it can be solved by them. In no case is it the business of the Russian Government or of Russian society to solve it. For the Jews there is a legally-defined Pale of Settlement, no more and no less. Where they should go when they become cramped for room is no business of ours. Let them go where they like.’

“ ‘Why not let them go to Siberia?’[*]

“ ‘The Lord preserve us! The Government would make a great mistake in giving them any such permission. Siberia! why in that country lies the whole future of Russia.’

“ ‘But look at us in England,’ replied my Englishman; ‘we neither persecute the Jews nor have any complaints to make about them.’

“ ‘In the first place, excuse me, I will raise an objection to the word “persecute.” Nobody in Russia *persecutes* the Jews. This accusation is an abominable lie concocted by the Jews themselves, and circulated in all the Jewish papers of Europe (the name of which is Legion). There is no truth in it; not an atom of truth. It is only a big “tit for tat.”[†]

“ ‘The Government in this matter, as in all other affairs, have begun to act with firmness. They demand that the laws shall be carried out and that greater respect shall be paid to the authorities. In the past the Jews, profiting by the laziness and feebleness of the Government officials, have managed, it would appear, by all kinds of methods, to obtain for themselves various illegal positions in Russia. These infringements of the law are no longer permitted. They are, as in other countries, regarded as deliberate breaches of the law.[‡] The Jews now begin to make an outcry, to call the legal demands of the Government “persecution.” At one time the peasants were allowed almost to hew down the forests, and to pasture their beasts on anybody’s land. Even when caught on the spot they were let off almost scot-free, to such an extent had the administration of the law become weakened. At the present time, however, all trespassing and forest exploitation is impossible without sure punishment of the guilty parties following. Now, will you not agree with me that it would be very unreasonable of the peasants to begin to deafen our ears with outcries of “persecution,” merely because they are not allowed to continue to break the laws with impunity? The case is exactly the same with the Jews.’

“ ‘In the second place, there is a vast difference between England and Russia in regard to this question. England is too full of the English, who are too energetic and self-reliant a race to have reason to fear the Jews. In England the Jews are only in the crevices. It is the same, only in a less degree, with France. French blood is too hot, too boiling over, one might say, to allow the Hebrew blood to overcome it. In France the Jews have only occupied a position amongst the higher intellectual and financial classes. But there is a country in Europe where the Jews have met with a more passive resistance. That country is Austria. And what do you see there? There is no more an Austria, no more a Hungary. From top to bottom there is only a kingdom of Jews! The villages belong to Jews, the Ministry is a Jewish office, the palaces are temples of Hebrew cult; and the hour of the political death of that Empire has approached terribly near.

“ ‘Yes, when I look at Austria, I am dreadfully alarmed for my own country. Russia, also, is a passive Empire. It is not noticed how the Jews are everywhere increasing, and when it is—it will be too late. The Jews are not creeping into the chinks, they have already crept into them. But they will not stop in them. They will advance farther and farther. They will sit everywhere, openly and in high places, meeting from our people no active opposition. What will happen, should they succeed in breaking through the dam and inundating the country, will be an outburst of popular vengeance which is to be feared, in no case desired. That this should not happen, that the Jews should not conquer Russia as they have conquered Austria, it is essential that the laws relating to the Jews should be strictly carried out, that none great or small should be allowed to break these laws to their profit.’ ”

By the publication of these pessimistic views Prince Metchersky raised quite a storm in the Russian press, and became the object of much abuse from Judophile quarters. A series of eloquent letters soon appeared in the *Novosti* from the pen of M. Gradoffsky, a Russian, yet a staunch Judophile, who essayed to prove that Jews are no worse than other people, and that Judophobist views are not held by people of repute. Space does not permit of my stating M. Gradoffsky’s argument. I can only say that though this champion of the Jews writes powerfully, he does not appear to me to state anything that would induce the Russian Government to adopt a different policy.

During the past few months I have spoken on this subject to Russians of all classes, and on my asking why Jews should not be allowed to spread all over Russia, I have generally been met with the ejaculation, “*Gospodin pomeele pasliednaika roobaska sneemant*” (“The Lord have mercy upon us; they would take our last shirt and become our masters.”) My inquiries have convinced me that the objection to the Russian Jew is based on material as opposed to spiritual considerations, and that the Russian Government are not only not guilty of the charge brought against them of objectless persecution, but to some extent are justified in the policy which they have adopted.

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[*] Mr. Steveni here did not mean as exiles, but as tillers of the soil. Southern Siberia is not only almost uninhabited but is extremely fertile.

[†] This reference to the power of the Jews in the Press seems to be founded on facts. Nearly all the telegraphic agencies of Europe are either directly or indirectly owned or managed by Jews. The Russian Government have discovered that the Jewish telegraphic agencies and the Jewish newspapers of Europe have of late years been systematically used for disseminating false reports about Russia, the object being chiefly to depress the value of the rouble when convenient to the big Jewish bankers and speculators on the Exchange.

[‡] It may be observed here that Russian officials, by their extreme corruption, make the law worse for the poor Jews than it otherwise would be. A rich Jew can buy almost any privilege; a poor one is completely at the mercy of the authorities. This state of affairs is, it must be admitted, a great stain on the administration of justice in Russia, and the Government should set about improving it by every means in their power. They would be well-advised if they paid their officials better, and organised a better system of supervision. If the laws against the Jews are necessary, they should be enforced equally on rich and poor. Russia, however. is not the only country where complaints are made of there being one law for the rich and another for the poor.

Is it not a fact that the tendency of the Russian Jew is to act as a middleman? Is it not also a fact that there are already more than enough middlemen in Russia? Are not the Russian peasants within the Pale of Settlement completely in the hands of the Jews? Is it desirable, in the best interests of the Empire, that this demoralisation of the peasant should spread? Is there any ground for hoping that Jews, if allowed rights of residence all over Russia, would take to agriculture? Is it not certain that they would swell the ranks of the middlemen? Are Jews or Russians the chief concern of the Russian Government? If the latter, are not the Government bound to take steps to protect them from the "aggressiveness of the Hebrew?" Is not their present policy calculated to afford this protection?

A disciple of Mr. Darwin may say, "On your own showing, the Russian Jew is the superior of the Russian peasant. Why not let the superior survive?" I reply: "Is the superior in this case the fittest?" "Would the Jew till the soil as the Russian peasant does? Is not his whole record against him as a tiller of the soil? Would he make as good a soldier as the Russian peasant?" These are the considerations which weigh with the Russian Government. I hear some one else say: "Granted that the unsophisticated *moujik* falls an easy prey to the Jew, is not that an argument rather for the education of the *moujik* than for the repression of the Jew?" I reply that it is an argument for both. It is impossible to educate the peasant until he is out of the clutches of the Jew. The peasant certainly needs educating. But the principal subject on which he needs instruction is agriculture. He is sadly in want, too, of instruction in the advantages of industry, thrift, and sobriety. But no amount of good advice will benefit him if the Jew is always at hand to ply him with drink, and "help" him with money.

The Russian Government may therefore be well advised to pursue their present policy—viz., to make Russia an undesirable place of residence for those of their subjects whose presence does not make for the ultimate good of the country. As the author of "Contemporary Russia" points out, the Jews must be convinced "that their halcyon days in Russia have gone by." They will then soon rid the country of their presence.

> "As it is," this writer proceeds, "no small percentage of the race emigrate to America, and it is in America and Western Europe that their sterling qualities will receive the acknowledgment due to them. Instead, therefore, of encouraging them to overrun Russia, it would be wiser, as the *Novoye Vremya* says, to persuade them to spread west, where they form at present only a fraction per cent. of the population. For this purpose neither the application of force nor any other old-world measure is required. It will be sufficient to elaborate a plan of legislation which will render their farther sojourn in Russia moderately inconvenient to them. Easily evaded statutes, professing to protect the revenue from their encroachments, or forbidding them to travel in Russia, have been proved inadequate, for the country is overrun with the Jews, and inundated with poisoned spirits. What is really necessary is a measure prohibiting their settlement under any pretext, however plausible, outside the prescribed pale, or engaging in any trade calculated, directly or indirectly, to place the peasantry in their clutches. The schools should be reorganised on a thoroughly Russian plan, and intermarriage with Christians freely permitted. The crowning measure, however, would be an income-tax to be imposed on the more affluent of the Jews, the proceeds of which should be utilised as an emigration fund for their poorer brethren. Count Ignatieff once very aptly remarked to the 'Universal Jewish Alliance' that the Jews in Russia were a perfectly free people, 'for,' said he, 'the western frontier is wide open to them.' The only difficulty is, that the emigration of the Jews, to be at all considerable, requires tthe material assistance of the Government, as it will be the poorer class that will leave the country. As the enormous incomes acquired by the Jews in Russia are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the proceeds of elaborate swindling, the victim of which is the Government, the latter has obviously a perfect right to tax them, though were it to be proposed to tax the Jews in the interests of the Gentile, the measure, however just in principle, would bring all the fat into the fire in an instant. All that is claimed, however, is that a moiety of the wealth which is daily passing into the hands of an obnoxious race should be utilised for the benefit of its own members. To render the measure beneficial it would be indispensable to ensure that a Jew on once receiving the sum assigned to assist him out of the country should not be able to return and claim it a second time. For this purpose it would be necessary to forbid once for all the entrance of Jews into the Empire, whatever the pretext, were it only for twenty-four hours, were it on the staff of a diplomatic corps, or were it with a proposal to pay the national debt twice over!"

As reported in the newspapers, the policy of the Tsar is having its designed effect. Thousands of Jews are finding that life in Russia is no longer worth living, and are starting in search of a less inhospitable shore. No fresh legislation has been found necessary to bring about this result. Statements have been made in the Press to the effect that new edicts against the Jews will come into force in the present year. They are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, absolutely without foundation. No new edicts have been issued, and none are in contemplation. None are necessary. The existing laws are amply sufficient, if properly enforced, to meet the exigencies of the present situation. In the past, Jews have chosen to disobey these laws. Past masters in the art of evasion, they have, up to the present time, found little difficulty in escaping the penalty of disobedience. In the Russians they found a flabby, easy-going people, always accommodating in the matter of bribes. It was the easiest thing in the world for them to corrupt the poorly paid and not over-scrupulous Russian official, and when a Governor or Governor-General chanced to get into monetary difficulties, they knew well how to turn his misfortune to their advantage. So successful have their artifices been that the boundaries of the Pale of Settlement may be said to exist at the present time only on paper. Look at Moscow. In that "city of the throne," there are now over one hundred thousand Jews. Had the laws regulating the sojourn of Jews outside the Pale been observed, that city would not now contain many more than one thousand Jews. Look at St. Petersburg. Thirty years ago one hardly ever came across a Jew in the streets of that capital. Now the city swarms with Jews. As like as not, you have a Jew as your next-door neighbour, a Jew as your neighbour over the way, and a Jew as your neighbour in the tenement over your head. In the theatre, in the street, everywhere the Jew is in evidence. The banks and institutions depend almost solely upon him.

Few of these gentlemen are merchants, and pay their guild-money; few pursue the callings in respect of which they have obtained permission to reside outside the Pale. Only a small proportion have had an education fitting them for the professions. The Jew artisan who practises his art is a rarity. He is not to be found except in the most abject poverty. No sooner does he save a few roubles than he takes either to broking or the liquor trade. He scorns physical exertion if he can live by his wits.

It seems to me, therefore, that Russian Jews have chiefly themselves to blame for their present troubles. Knowing well what the law was, they chose to disregard it. They smart now from the strokes of a rod of their own making. None the less, it is to be hoped that their present chastisement will be made as light as possible, that they will be treated as men, and not as microbes, and that the corrupt officials, who are partly to blame for the present condition of things, will not be allowed to go off scot-free.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN.

SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

BY PROFESSOR SAYCE, LL.D., AUTHOR OF "FRESH LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS."

From *The Sunday at Home* (London), December, 1890, January, February, and March, 1891.

III.*—EDUCATION.

THE Babylonians were the Chinese of the ancient world. They were essentially a reading and writing people. In spite of the intricacy of their system of writing with its multitudinous characters, each of which had more than one phonetic value, and might be used to express an idea or word, books were numerous and students were many. The books were for the most part written upon clay with a wooden reed, or metal stylus, for clay was cheap and plentiful and easily impressed with the wedge-shaped lines of which the characters were composed. But besides clay, papyrus and possibly also parchment were employed as writing materials; at all events the papyrus is referred to in the texts, though all vestiges of it have long since disappeared in the damp climate of the valley of the Euphrates.

The use of clay for writing purposes extended, along with Babylonian culture, to the neighbouring populations of the East. In the century before the Exodus recent discoveries have shown that clay libraries existed, and that an active correspondence was carried on by means of clay tablets, in all parts of the ancient Oriental world. The Babylonian language and characters were taught and learned not only in Mesopotamia or Aram, but also in Kappadocia, Syria, Palestine, and even Egypt. Letters on clay in the cuneiform script were sent from Phœnicia and the cities of the Philistines, from Gaza and Ashkelon, from Lachish and Megiddo. If ever the site of Kirjath-Sepher or "Booktown," which was destroyed by Othniel (Judges i. 12, 13), be discovered and excavated, it is possible that we may find a store of records in clay among its ruins. The invasion of Syria by the Hittites and their subsequent wars with the Egyptians, together with the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, put an end to the early intercourse between Babylonia and the West. The use of the Babylonian language was discontinued among the educated circles of Syria and Palestine; the cuneiform syllabary was supplanted by the simpler Phœnician alphabet; and papyrus or parchment, rather than clay, became the ordinary writing material. But in the later days of the Jewish monarchy the employment of clay seems to have again come into favour. From the reign of Ahaz onwards, Assyrian influence was strong in Judah ; Ahaz himself set up a sun-dial in Jerusalem (Is. xxxviii. 8), in imitation of those which had existed from time immemorial in Babylonia, and Hezekiah caused old texts to be edited (Prov. xxv. 1) like the kings of Assyria and Chaldea who kept scribes constantly employed in copying out the ancient literature with which their libraries were filled. It is not surprising, therefore, that the common writing material of Assyria and Chaldea was also introduced into Judah. We may gather from Jer. xxxii. 10, 14, that, as in Assyria, so too in Judah in the age of Jeremiah, legal documents were inscribed on tablets of clay which were then sealed and covered with a clay envelope. On this was written a summary of the deed it contained ; the whole document being subsequently consigned to the safe keeping of an earthen jar.

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* Nos. I. and II. are in the December (1890) number.

It is astonishing how much matter can be compressed into the compass of a single tablet. The cuneiform system of writing allowed the use of many abbreviations—thanks to its "ideographic" nature—and the characters were frequently of a very minute size. Indeed so minute is the writing on many of the Assyrian (as distinguished from the Babylonian) tablets that it is clear not only that the Assyrian scribes and readers must have been decidedly short-sighted, but also that they must have made use of magnifying glasses. We need not be surprised, therefore, to learn that Sir A. H. Layard discovered a crystal lens, which had been turned on a lathe, upon the site of the great library of Nineveh.

Where it was found impossible to compress a text within the limits of a single tablet, it was continued on a second, a very clever arrangement being adopted in order to facilitate reference. The tablets were called "the first" or "second" of a series which received its name from the first word or line of the work inscribed upon them, and the last line of the first tablet was repeated at the beginning of the second. In this way the librarian and reader were able without loss of time to refer to any tablet which was required in a particular series or work. Of course the scribes who copied the tablets endeavoured to make each tablet correspond with what we should call a chapter, so that the several tablets of a series may be described as the successive chapters of a book.

To learn the cuneiform syllabary was a task of much time and labour. The student was accordingly provided with various means of assistance. The characters of the syllabary were classified and named ; they were further arranged according to a certain order which partly depended on the number of wedges or lines of which each was composed. Moreover, what we may term dictionaries were compiled, in which every character not only had assigned to it the different phonetic values it possessed, but also the different ideographic significations with which it had been used, or was thought to have been used, in earlier literature. These ideographic significations resulted from the fact that the cuneiform system of writing had been pictorial and hieroglyphic before it had developed into a syllabary, each character representing an idea or word.

To learn the signs, however, with their multitudinous phonetic values and ideographic significations, was not the whole of the labour which the Babylonian boy had to accomplish. The cuneiform system of writing, along with the culture which had produced it, had been the invention of the non-Semitic Accado-Sumerian race, from whom it had been borrowed by the Semites. In Semitic hands the syllabary underwent further modifications and additions, but it bore upon it to the last the stamp of its alien origin. On this account alone, therefore, the Babylonian student who wished to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing was obliged to learn the extinct language of the older population of the country.

There was, however, another reason which even more imperatively obliged him to study the earlier tongue. A large proportion of the ancient literature, more especially that which related to religious subjects, was written in Accado-Sumerian. Even the law cases of early times, which formed precedents for the law of a later age, were in the same language. In fact Accado-Sumerian stood in much the same relation to the Semitic Babylonians that Latin has stood to the modern inhabitants of Europe. Even words and proper names had been borrowed from it, and just as the etymology and meaning of many of our words can be understood only by a reference to Latin, so the etymology and meaning of such words could be understood only by a reference to Accadian.

Besides learning the syllabary, therefore, the Babylonian boy had to learn the extinct language of Accad and Sumer. For this purpose he was provided with lists of words or vocabularies in which the Accadian word was explained in Semitic Assyrian, with grammatical paradigms giving the forms of the Accadian verbs and postpositions, with the explanations of difficult phrases, with extracts from ancient books translated into Assyrian, notes being sometimes added upon obscure and important words, as well as with interlinear or parallel translations of long and complete texts. The student was also encouraged to write himself in this literary Latin of Chaldea, and numerous works exist which show by their age, their idioms, and sometimes even their errors, that they must have been the work of Semitic scribes. The Accadian of the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar could be as faulty as monkish or schoolboy's Latin.

But a knowledge of Accadian was not all that was demanded from the Assyrian or Babylonian gentleman if he wished to make his way in the world. It will be remembered that the Rab-shakeh, or "Vizier" of Sennacherib, addressed the Jews at Jerusalem in their own language, and that the ministers of Hezekiah asked him to use "Aramaic" or "Syrian" instead (2 Kings xviii. 26). They thus assumed that he could speak a language which, though unknown to the uneducated "people on the wall," was evidently considered to be included in the course of study of an educated gentleman. Aramaic, in fact, had come to occupy a similar position to that occupied by French in modern diplomacy and society. It was the international language of the statesmen of the day. But, unlike French, it had come to occupy this position from its being the language of trade. Aramaic traders were settled in the towns of Babylonia and carried on business in the midst of Nineveh. Commercial documents exist of the age of Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors, in which an Aramaic docket is attached to the cuneiform text, and weights have been found in Assyria which have upon them both Aramaic and Assyrian inscriptions. The Assyrian and Babylonian merchant was consequently compelled to read, write, and speak Aramaic; and the Assyrian conquests, which had for their chief object to divert the trade of Aram and Phœnicia into Assyrian hands, had made it necessary for the politician to follow the example of the merchant. The Assyrian or Babylonian boy had his Latin and French to learn no less than the English boy of to-day.

The history of the Rab-shakeh of Sennacherib shows that a knowledge of these two languages might be supplemented by the knowledge of a third. In addition to Assyrian and Aramaic, he was also able to speak Hebrew, learned, perhaps, from one of the exiles from the northern kingdom who had been carried away from Samaria eighteen years before. Assyrian contract-tablets of this age have been found, in which mention is made of persons with Israelitish names who resided at Nineveh. The dragoman, or interpreter, moreover, had long been a recognized institution in the East. As far back as the fifteenth century before our era, the king of Aram Naharaim speaks of the *targumannu*, or "dragoman," whom he sent to Egypt; and, seven centuries later, an Assyrian writer makes mention of a *targumannu* of the country of the Minni. When the ambassadors of Gyges of Lydia first arrived in Nineveh, it is recorded, as an evidence of the distance from which they had come, that there was no one found there to understand what they spoke.

The study of foreign tongues naturally brought with it an inquisitiveness about the languages of other people, as well as a passion for etymology. The latter led the grammarians to invent Accadian etymologies for Semitic words, like the Greek or Latin etymologies invented for Teutonic words in English by the dictionary makers of a former generation. Thus we find *Sabattu* or *Sabatuv*, "the Sabbath," derived from the two Accadian words *sa*, "the heart," and *bat*, "to end," and accordingly explained to mean "a day of rest for the heart." The inquisitiveness about foreign languages produced better results. We owe to it the preservation of the meaning of several words in the ancient languages of Elam, and of the other countries by which Babylonia was surrounded. We have, for instance, a list of words belonging to the language of the Kassites on the eastern side of Babylonia, together with their translation; and even a conqueror like Sargon goes out of his way to tell us that a particular architectural term was of Phœnician origin.

But there were other things besides languages which the young student in the schools of Babylonia and Assyria was called upon to learn. Geography, history, the names and nature of plants, birds, animals, and stones, as well as the elements of law and religion, were all objects of instruction. The British Museum possesses what may be called the historical exercise of some Babylonian lad in the age of Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus, consisting of a list of the kings belonging to one of the early dynasties, which he had been required to learn by heart. The last ruler of the Babylonian Empire, Nabonidos, the father of Belshazzar, was himself an enthusiastic antiquarian, and the pioneer of archæological excavation. He caused excavations to be made on the sites of the older temples of Babylonia, in order to discover the inscriptions and records of the kings to whom their foundation was ascribed. His search for the buried monuments of the founder of the great Temple of the Sun-god at Sippara reads like the history of similar searches made in recent years in Westminster Abbey or Canterbury Cathedral. Natural history, as distinguished from the history of the monumental past, was, of course, in its infancy, and consisted of little else than a descriptive catalogue of natural objects. The work of King Solomon on trees, and "beasts, and fowl, and creeping things, and fishes" (1 Kings iv. 33), must have been of a like character.

The libraries were established in the temples, and the schools, in which the work of education was carried on, were doubtless attached to them. Strabo, the Greek geographer, tells us that Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon, was famous for the schools or universities that had once existed there; and the medical college of Borsippa seems to be referred to in a Babylonian treatise on medicine, fragments of which are now in the British Museum. The library of Borsippa was stored in the great Temple of Bel; and as late as the time of Darius we find a Babylonian copying out a portion of the Epic of the Creation, and depositing it in the library, "for the preservation of his life, and the life of all his house."* To add fresh copies of books to the collection was thus considered a pious act.

The libraries were open to the public. Assur-bani-pal, for instance, is never weary of declaring that the library of Nineveh had been founded and enlarged "for the use of readers," and from a very early epoch the office of librarian was held in high honour. One of the earliest Babylonian librarians of whom we know calls himself the son of the king. It was, without doubt, a well-paid post, and the number of scribes employed in the library required in its holder the possession of administrative abilities.

A considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Babylonia could read and write. The contract tablets are written in a variety of running hands, some of which are as bad as the worst that passes through the modern post. Every legal document required the signatures of a number of witnesses, and most of these were able to write their own names. It was only when they could not do so that the law was satisfied with a simple "nail-mark" in the clay, the name of the witness being appended to the nail-mark by the clerk. In Assyria, however, education was by no means so widely spread. Apart from the upper and professional classes, including the men of business, it was confined to a special body of men—the public scribes. Indeed, it is probable that, before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727), it was only the scribes, as a general rule, who had learned to read and write. In Assyria, accordingly, we find none of that variety of handwritings which often makes the decipherment of a Babylonian document so difficult. A neat official hand was in use there, which seldom displays any individual peculiarities, and remained practically unchanged for several centuries.

Women, as well as men, enjoyed the advantages of education. This is evident from the Babylonian contract-tablets, in which we find women appearing as well as men as plaintiffs or defendants in suits, as partners in commercial transactions, and as signing, when need arose, their names. There was none of that jealous exclusion of women in ancient Babylonia which characterises the East of to-day, and it is probable that boys and girls pursued their studies at the same schools.

The education of a child must have begun early. The strain put upon the memory by the cumbersome cuneiform syllabary and the Accadian language that lay behind it were so great that the acquisition of them must have commenced at an early age. The fragment of an old Accadian folk-tale, which once formed part of a lesson-book for the nursery, shows, however, that it was probably not before the age of five or six. The story is that of a foundling who was picked up in the streets, and taken "from the mouth of the dogs and ravens," being subsequently adopted by the king as his own son. The child, we are told, was first brought before the *asip*, or "prophet," who marked the soles of his feet with his seal;* he was then handed over to the nurse, to whom the boy's "bread, food, shirt and (other) clothing were assured for three years." "So," the story proceeds, "his rearing went on for him for a time." Had the rest of the tale been preserved, we should doubtless have heard something about his education, and light would thus have been thrown on the school-life of a Babylonian lad.

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* As the copyist was the son of "an irrigator," one of the poorest of the free labourers of Babylonia, the fact is a striking illustration of the extent to which education was spread in the country.

* Compare Job xiii. 27: "Thou settest a print upon the soles of my feet."

We already know enough, however, to see that education was by no means backward in the old empires of Western Asia. As in Egypt, so too in Babylonia, if not in Assyria, a knowledge of reading and writing was widely spread, books were multiplied, and there were plenty of readers to study them. So far from being illiterate, the ancient civilized East was almost as full of literary activity as is the world of to-day. The so-called critical judgments that have been passed upon it, begotten of ignorance and prejudice, must be revised in the light of the fuller knowledge which we now possess.

The Israelites in Canaan were surrounded by nations who were in the enjoyment of ancient cultures, and abundant stores of books. There is every reason for believing that the Israelites also shared in the culture of their neighbours, and the literary activity it implied. We now know that Egyptians and Babylonians wrote and read, not only in the time of David and Solomon, but ages before; why should not the Hebrews also have done the same? If the historical authority of the Old Testament Scriptures is to be overthrown, it must be by other arguments than the unwarranted assumption that letters were unknown in the epoch which they claim to record.

IV.—MARRIAGE AND DEATH.

It is doubtful how far polygamy was practised among the Assyrians and Babylonians. The rich and powerful, indeed, permitted themselves to indulge in the possession of more than one wife, though even in their case one of the wives ranked before the others, and her children alone, so far as we can gather, were considered legitimate. The bulk of the people, however, as in the modern East, could not have afforded the luxury of several wives. Most of the contract tablets which relate to matrimony, imply that the household acknowledged two heads only, and that the husband was contented with a single wife. Moreover the position held by the woman in the Babylonian community is inconsistent with an extensive system of polygamy. It was rather the nomad Arab tribes on the frontiers of Babylonia than the settled and civilised Babylonians themselves, who considered the possession of several wives to be the privilege of the man.

But while polygamy in the strict sense of the term seems to have been rare, concubinage prevailed as widely as it did among the inhabitants of Palestine. But it was fenced about with stringent penalties which fell with especial force upon the woman. The Babylonian who made a *mésalliance* received no dowry with his spouse; should he wish to divorce her, however, he had to pay her a considerable fine in money, which served for her maintenance after she had left his house. Any unfaithfulness to him upon her part was punished with death. We hear, for instance, of a certain Nebo-akhi-iddin in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who married a singing-woman, and in the marriage contract it is laid down that if he should divorce her and marry another, he shall pay her as much as six manehs of silver, or about fifty-four pounds; on the other hand, if she commit adultery, she is to be put to death with "an iron sword."

In ordinary cases the husband received a dowry with his wife. This dowry served not only to provide the wedding *trousseau*, but also to make the wife independent of the husband in the matter of property. In this way she was protected from tyrannical conduct upon his part, as well as from the fear of divorce on insufficient grounds. If a divorce took place, the husband was required to hand over to the wife all the property she had brought with her as dowry, and she then either returned to her father's house or set up an independent establishment of her own.

The dowry usually included furniture and slaves as well as money. The slaves were valued at a certain price and might be given in place of a portion of the money which was originally stipulated to be handed over. In one case, for example, a female slave was accepted in place of two-thirds of a maneh of silver (six pounds) which the father of the bride had agreed to pay. Where the dowry was not immediately forthcoming, security for the payment of it was taken by the bridegroom.

The dowry was paid by the father of the bride, if he were alive. If he were dead, or if the mother of the bride had been divorced and was in the enjoyment of her own property, it was she by whom the dowry was given. In such a case permission to marry the daughter was asked by the suitor from the mother instead of from the father, and the mother accordingly was called upon to contribute the dowry.

If the husband died, and his widow married again, she carried her former dowry with her. In such a case, however, the children of the first marriage received two-thirds of the dowry after the mother's death, and the children of the second marriage only one-third. This was in accordance with the law that in the case of a second marriage the children inherited only one-third of the father's property, the other two-thirds going to the children by the first wife. Besides her dowry, the wife might hold other property, either bequeathed to her by her parents or given by her husband. On her death this was usually reckoned along with the dowry for purposes of division among the heirs. It was also reckoned along with the dowry as constituting her property during life. Thus, in the thirty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, we find a father stipulating that the creditors of the father of his son-in-law should have no claim upon either the dowry or the other property of his daughter. Where the dowry had been promised merely, and not symbolically handed over to the bride, the bridegroom could claim only a proportionate amount of it should his father-in-law have incurred pecuniary losses after the promise had been made. The heirs had to pay the dowry if the father-in-law died between his agreement to give it and the actual marriage, and when the wife died without children it returned to her "father's house."

The bridegroom was not usually required to offer anything, except his hand. In some instances, however, we find him buying his wife like a slave, with a present of money to her parents, and receiving no dowry in return. Thus a certain Dagil-ili, who married the daughter of a lady named Khammâ, gave the mother one and a half manehs of silver, and a slave worth half a maneh (or about eighteen pounds in all), and stipulated that if he married a second wife he would pay her daughter one maneh of silver and send her back to her mother's house. Here it would appear that Dagil ili was marrying beneath him, the consequence being that his wife, as long as she lived with him, had no property of her own, and was somewhat in the position of a slave. It is therefore interesting to learn that even in this case marriage with a second wife brought with it as a matter of course the divorce of the first. Nothing could show more clearly how little hold polygamy had upon the Babylonian people.

Marriage, however, was permitted among near relatives by blood. We hear of a man marrying his niece, and, in the time of Cambyses, of a brother marrying his sister by the same father. Perhaps this was in imitation of a well-known Persian custom.

Marriage was partly a religious and partly a civil function. The contracting parties frequently invoked the gods and signed the contract in the presence of a priest. At the same time it was a contract, and in order to be legally valid it had to be drawn up in legal form and attested by a number of witnesses. Like all other legal documents it was carefully dated and registered.

The possession of property by the wife brought with it the enjoyment of considerable authority. The wife could act apart from her husband, could enter into partnership, could trade with her money, and conduct law-suits in her own name. Numerous deeds exist which record the sale and purchase of slaves by women, who appear in them as the legal equals of men. In other instances the husband and wife, or brother and sister act together, the property sold or bought being regarded as their joint possession. In the eighth year of Nabonidos, for example, we hear of a brother and sister selling a Persian slave-girl "and her son who is on the breast" for 19 shekels of silver (£2 17*s.*), and four years later (B.C. 544), of a husband and wife borrowing in common a sum of money on which they promise to pay interest at the usual rate of 20 per cent. Even more interesting is a contract dated in the 2nd year of Nabonidos (B.C. 555) in which a father transfers his property to his daughter, reserving to himself only the use of it during the rest of his life. In return, his daughter undertakes to take care of him and to provide him with the necessaries of existence, food and drink, oil and clothing.

Equally interesting is the case of a mother in the 5th year of Cambyses who "brought a document" to the priest of the Sun-god at Sippara and "gave" him, like Hannah, her three sons, that they might "enter the house of the males." She alleged that they had not yet entered it, as she had "lived" and "grown old" with them since they were "little ones" until "they had been counted among grown up men."

The "house of the males," into which the young men were introduced, seems to have been a sort of monastic establishment attached to the great temples of Babylonia. The community was under a head, or superintendent, who received each month a certain amount of food and other provision for the support of himself and his associates. They appear to have been celibates, to have lived together in a kind of college, into which women were forbidden to enter, and to have taken part in the daily services of the temple to which they were attached. The expenses of their maintenance were borne partly by endowments, partly by the tithes and other offerings made to the temple. The institution reminds us of the college in which Daniel and his companions were placed, where they were under a superintendent who provided them with the food furnished by the king (Dan. i. 3–5, 11).

The naming of a child was an important event to the Babylonians and Assyrians. The name was believed to bring with it good or evil fortune, and to represent the owner of it not only symbolically, but even in a more material sense. To change the name, it was believed, had an important bearing on the course of events. When Sennacherib determined to nominate his favourite younger son for the succession to the throne he changed his name from Esar-haddon to Assur-etil-mukin-abla—" Assur, the lord, is the establisher of (my) son." The child was consequently named immediately after birth, perhaps in the presence of the *asip*, or "prophet," to whom reference is made in the nursery-tale which has been already quoted. As circumcision was also practised in Babylonia, it is possible that the two ceremonies of circumcision and name-giving were performed at the same time.

If the parents were childless, it was not unusual for them to adopt a son or daughter, to whom the property of the family could be handed on. The act of adoption consisted in allowing the hands to be taken by the person who was to be adopted, and thus symbolically receiving him into the family. The ceremony must have come down from prehistoric days, as it served to establish the king as the legitimate ruler of Babylon. Babylon was theoretically under a theocracy, under the divine government of Bel Merodach; and before a claimant to the throne could be recognised as its sovereign, it was necessary that he should clasp the hands of the image of the god, and thereby become the adopted son of the true ruler of the city.

A very curious document has been preserved which indicates the close relation that existed between adoption and the devolution of property. A certain Babylonian, named Bel-katsir, had married a widow, and having no children of his own, wished to adopt his step-son. His father, however, intervened, and "made a will" to the effect that the father's property should descend only to a genuine son of Bel-katsir; if no son of his own were born to him, it was to pass after his death to his brother, and in case of his brother's death to his sister; in no case was it to go to an adopted child. Bel-katsir was compelled to assent to these stipulations.

The document is interesting from several points of view, as it shows that a Babylonian had the same power as ourselves, not only of willing his property as he chose after death, but also of tying it up.

The dead were carried to the grave on biers, and were accompanied by mourners. The cemetery in which they were laid was outside the town, and formed a city in itself. The corpse was placed on the ground, wrapped in mats of reed, and covered with asphalt; it was clothed in the dress and ornaments that had been worn during life—the woman with her earrings in her ears, her spindle-whorl and thread in her hand; the man with his seal and weapons of bronze or stone; the child with his necklace of shells. Over all was laid a thick coating of clay, above which branches of palm, terebinth, and sandalwood were frequently placed; the whole was then set on fire, and the corpse and all about it were reduced to ashes. This at least was the earlier custom; in later times ovens of brick were constructed, in which the corpse was placed in its coffin of clay and reeds, and the cremation was not allowed to be complete. The skeletons of the dead are consequently often found in a fair state of preservation. Offerings were made at the same time that the body was burned: these consisted of dates, calves and sheep, birds and fish, which were consumed along with the corpse.

After the process of burning was over, the remains were either allowed to continue on the spot where the cremation had taken place, or were collected into urns and vases of clay. Of course it was only where the cremation had been complete that the latter mode of burial was possible, and even in such cases a portion only of the ashes was deposited in the urn. Where the cremation had been partial, an aperture was made in the shell of clay with which the body had been covered, the aperture was then closed, and a tomb of bricks built over the whole. A similar brick-tomb was built over the urns containing the ashes of those whose bodies had been completely consumed.

It was believed that the spirits of the dead needed sustenance in their new home, and clay-vases were accordingly placed in the tombs, some of them filled with dates and grain, others with wine and oil; but a more bountiful provision was made in the case of water, which, it was thought, was wholesome to drink only when it was fresh and running. Little rivulets were made by the side of the tombs, through which a constant supply of water could be kept flowing for the spiritual needs of the dead. This represented "the water of life" of which we hear so often in the inscriptions. Pure water was indispensable in all religious ceremonies, and ancient legends recorded that there was a spring of "life" bubbling up beneath the throne of the spirits of the underworld, of which whosoever drank would live for ever. It was of this spring that the water which ran in numberless rills through the cities of the dead was a symbol and outward sign.

The Necropolis was constantly growing in height. Successive generations of the dead were burned one above the other, the tombs of the older serving as a floor for the funeral pyres of the younger generation. The tombs thus rose one upon the other like the houses of crude brick in an Egyptian or Babylonian village. In this way terraces were formed which were surrounded with walls, and became the special burial-places of particular families or districts.

The rich were distinguished in death as well as in life; for them houses were erected, in the chambers of which their corpses were burned and buried. The house consisted of several chambers, and sometimes served as the last resting-place of a single individual, sometimes of other members also of his family; rivulets of water were conducted into the house itself; here were laid, moreover, the various offerings of food and wine on which the soul of the dead man was supposed to live. At times tombstones were set up recounting the name and deeds of the deceased, at other times the tomb was adorned with seated statues of stone, which commemorated the features of the dead.

Only members of the royal family, it would appear, were permitted to be buried within the precincts of the town. Their bodies might be burned and entombed in one of the many palaces of the country. We are told of one king, for instance, that he was "burned" or buried in the Palace of Sargon, of another that he was "burned" in his own palace. The practice throws light on what we read in the Books of Kings: there too we are told that Manasseh "was buried in the garden of his own house," and Amon in the "Garden of Uzza." Private burial in the palaces they had inhabited when alive was a privilege reserved for the kings alone.

V.—The Market, the Money-Lender and the Tenant.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis (ver. 11) mention is made by the side of Nineveh of "the city Rehoboth," which should rather be translated "the public square of the city." It represented, in fact, the great open square on the north eastern side of Nineveh in which the market was held. Every city of Assyria and Babylonia was provided with a similar market-place; here were the magazines of the corn-merchants, the booths of the vendors of country produce, and the stalls in which cattle, horses, and camels were sold. It thus differed from the *suqu*, or "street"—the "bazaar" of a modern Oriental city—which contained only the regular shops.

Most commodities had to pay a duty, corresponding to the continental *octroi*, before they were allowed to pass the gates of the city and be exposed to sale. It was accordingly to the interest of the purchaser to contract that country goods should be delivered to him within the walls of the city before they were paid for. Thus, in the 18th year of Darius, we hear of a lady named Akhabtu* selling 200 sheep on her property in the country and agreeing to send them into Babylon before receiving for them the stipulated price of 15 manehs of silver (or £135). The purchaser was allowed 10 days within which to pay the money; if he failed to do so, he was to be charged 20 per cent. interest upon the whole amount.

Prices naturally varied, according to the quality or scarcity of what was to be sold. In the 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, we find one full-grown ox, which was required for the service of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, costing 13 shekels, or about £2. In the time of Cambyses 10 shekels (30 shillings) are given for an ox, and 58 shekels (£8 14*s.*) for 8 "fine sheep"—that is to say about a guinea apiece. The price, however, included the "bakshish" paid to "an Arabian" who looked after them. In the same reign "a mouse-coloured ass, seven years old," was sold for 50 shekels (or £7 10*s.*), though we also hear of an ass of inferior quality, whose price was only 13 shekels (about £2). It is rather surprising, after this, to learn that a copper libation-bowl and cup together cost as much as 4 manehs, 9 shekels (or £37 7*s.*); at the same period a good-sized house, with field attached, could be had for only 4½ manehs (£40 10*s.*), while the rent of another house, with the use of the water in its neighbourhood, amounted to one maneh. In the first year of Cambyses 1 mane, 7 shekels of silver were paid for a month's work to a seal-cutter, and half a shekel (1*s.* 6*d.*) for painting the stucco of a wall. The work alone seems to have been paid for, the materials being furnished to the workmen, as is still the custom in the East. This at all events was the case as regards metal-work; thus, in one instance, 3 manehs of iron were handed over to an "ironsmith" to be made into rods for bows. Three manehs of iron, it may be added, were considered sufficient for the manufacture of 6 swords, 2 door-rings, and 2 bolts.

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* A feminine form of a masculine name corresponding to the Hebrew Ahab.

In the 14th year of Nabonidos (B.C. 542) a contract was made by a builder which included 2 shekels (or 6*s.*) for 200 bundles of reeds for constructing a bridge across a canal, 1 shekel for 100 bundles of reeds for torches, 50 shekels (£7 10*s.*) for 500 loads of bitumen for building a tower, 55 shekels for 8000 loads of brick, and 1 shekel for a piece of wood for the handle of an axe. In the same year skins for covering a boat or coracle cost 1 maneh (£9), while in the previous year 18 sheep were sold for 35 shekels (not quite 6 shillings each), and 12 shekels derived from the rent of a house were expended upon digging a trench or canal. In the 4th year of Nabonidos one maneh was demanded for an ass; and in the following year 1 maneh, 7 shekels were paid for an ox, and 6 shekels (or 18 shillings) for a sheep.

The price of wine varied according to its quality. Thus, at one and the same time, 2 "large" casks of new wine were purchased for 11 shekels, and 5 other casks for 10 shekels. Wine was chiefly imported from Armenia and Syria, the wines of the Lebanon being especially prized. Nebuchadnezzar has left us a list of several of the best, among which we find the wine of Helbon, mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 18).

Clothes were comparatively inexpensive. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar, for example, a "mountain-cloak" cost 4½ shekels (13*s.* 6*d.*), though doubtless this particular article of dress was made of cheap materials. Half a maneh of silver, together with a *gur* of corn from the royal granary, were given in the 17th year of Nabonidos to five men for work performed in the city of Ruzabu, in the presence of the superintendent of the clothing-department, from which we may infer that they were working tailors. Wages, however, were low, partly in consequence of the employment of slave-labour. Even a porter of the royal granary received only half a shekel a month by way of pay.

On the other hand grain was correspondingly cheap. In the reign of Cambyses, 2 artabs (or about 100 quarts) of corn cost 6½ shekels, and as a quart of corn was considered in ancient Greece a sufficient daily allowance for a man, we may calculate that the Babylonian could manage to live on 2½*d.* a day. Under Nebuchadnezzar 12 *qas*, or the third part of an artab, of sesame were sold for half a shekel—that is to say the quart of sesame cost a little over a penny. Similarly in the 12th year of Nabonidos one maneh (or £9) was paid for 6 *gurs* of sesame, and as the *gur* contained 5 artabs, the quart of sesame would have been a little less than 1½*d.* In the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar one shekel only had been given for 1⅓ artabs of dates, or about a halfpenny a quart; while in the 38th year of the same reign we find the quart valued at only $\frac{1}{25}$ of a penny.

Prices, however, were frequently calculated in grain and dates—that great staple of Babylonia—and payments accordingly made in kind instead of in coin. The tithes, for instance, were always paid to the priests in kind, as among the Jews. In the first year of Cambyses we are told that the price of an ox was 150 *gur*, 114 *qas* of dates, the *gur* containing three homers. It was in dates, again, that the wages of the gardeners were paid by the priests attached to the temples of Babylon. In the 19th year of Darius 120 *gur* of dates were sold for 1 maneh, 35 shekels of silver. At this time, therefore, the quart of dates was worth about the tenth part of a penny.

Fish, both from the sea and from fresh water, were a common article of food, and must have been cheap and plentiful. We find them included among the offerings made to the gods. As at Athens, salted fish were largely eaten.

The streets, where troops of dogs acted as scavengers, as they still do in the East, were lined with shops; the business was sometimes conducted by a woman, and often consisted of a joint partnership. Deeds relating to the formation or dissolution of a partnership are by no means rare. Generally it was customary for each of the persons who entered into partnership to contribute an equal share to the business, the profits on the business both "in town and country" being afterwards divided equally between them. When one of the parties contributed more than the other, provision was made for a proportionate distribution of gains and losses The following deed may be taken as an illustration of the way in which a partnership could be dissolved: "A partnership was entered into between Nebo-yukin-abla and his son Nebo-bel-sunu on the one side, and Musezib-Bel on the other, which lasted from the 18th year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, to the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar. The contract was brought up before the judge of the judges. Fifty shekels of silver had been adjudged to Nebo-bel-Sunu and his father, Nebo-yukin-abla. No further agreement or partnership exists between the two parties. They have ended their contract with one another. All former obligations in their names are rescinded." Then follow the names of the witnesses, and the date, "The 8th day of Sebat (January), the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon."

A business could be carried on by the wife in the absence of her husband. A document belonging to the second year of Neriglissor or Nergalsharezer (B.C. 559) shows this very clearly. Here we read: "As long as Pani-Nebo-dhemi, the brother of Ili-qanua, does not return from his travels, Burasu, the wife of Ili-qanua, shall share in the business of Ili-qanua, in the place of Pani-Nebo-dhemi. When Pani-Nebo-dhemi returns, she shall leave Ili-qanua and hand over the share to Pani-Nebo-dhemi." Among the witnesses to this deed is a certain "minister of the king" called Solomon (Salammanu), the son of Baaltammuh. The name indicates that he had come from Palestine or Syria, and it is therefore interesting to find him holding high office at the Babylonian court.

Other goods besides money and houses might serve as the subject of a deed of partnership. Thus, in one instance, we are told that "200 barrels full of good beer, 20 empty barrels, 10 cups and saucers, 90 *gur* of dates in the storehouse, 15 *gur* of chickpease (?) and 14 sheep, besides the profits from the bazaar and whatever property Bel-sunu has accumulated, shall be shared between" the contracting parties.

Even the members of the royal family did not consider commercial dealings beneath them. The name of Belshazzar, the son of Nabonidos, more than once appears in the contract-tablets, though it is true that he acted indirectly through the steward of his house, as well as through his secretaries. One of these tablets reads as follows:—

"Twenty manehs of silver, the price of wool, the property of Belshazzar the son of the king, which, by the hands of Nebo-tsabit, the steward of the house of Belshazzar, the son of the king, and the secretaries of the son of the king, has been handed over to Nadin-Merodach, the son of Basa the son of Nur-Sin, in the month Adar, the silver, namely 20 manehs, he shall give. The house of . . . a Persian, and all the property of Nadin-Merodach in town and country shall be the security of Belshazzar, the son of the king, until Belshazzar shall receive in full the money. The debtor shall pay the whole sum of money as well as the interest upon it." The names of six witnesses, including that of the priest who drew up the deed, are then added, as well as the date: "at Babylon, the 20th day of the month (Adar), the 11th year of Nabonidos king of (Babylon)."

It will be seen from this document that Belshazzar, whose name has been made familiar to us through the Book of Daniel, was not averse to acting as a wood merchant, when money could be made thereby.

It will also be seen that in his trading transactions the heir to the throne had to conform to the requirements of the law like the meanest of his father's subjects. Witnesses and a properly attested deed were necessary to protect the prince against fraud. The fact illustrates the commercial and legal instincts of the Babylonians, as well as the restrictions that were placed by them on the exercise of the royal authority.

Money-lending was naturally carried on upon an extensive scale. Under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors the usual rate of interest was 20 per cent., the interest being paid each month, though at times we find it was reduced to 13¼ per cent., and in a time of famine even remitted altogether by a patriotic money-lender. In concluding a bargain it was ordinarily stipulated that if the money were not paid by a specified date, interest upon it at the customary rate should run on until it was paid in full.

In Nineveh in the age of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sennacherib the rate of interest seems to have been different from that which afterwards prevailed in Babylonia. Thus we are told of 6 manehs, 10 shekels of silver being lent out at interest which was to be at "a fourfold" rate, and of 2 talents of "the best bronze" being given on a loan, the interest on them to be "three times" their value. In Assyria, besides the national standard of "the royal maneh," the Hittite standard of "the maneh of Carchemish" was in use, according to which commercial transactions could be regulated.

The metal, whether gold, silver or bronze, was measured out by weight, and it was only in the later Babylonian period that this somewhat cumbersome way of conducting business was replaced by symbols or coins. On these was marked the weight represented by each.

The extensive system of credit implied by the Babylonian contract-tablets proves what a trading centre Babylonia had become. Goods were imported into it from all parts of the known world, and in return corn, dates, and palm-wine were exported abroad. A good deal of the business, however, carried on by the money-lenders was due to the necessity the poorer classes were frequently under of paying their taxes in coin. Many of these taxes, it is true, could be paid in kind, but it is probable that the capitation-tax which was levied on the whole community had to be paid in cash. The tribute paid by the subject-states, as well as the contributions to the royal treasury due each year from the cities and districts of the kingdom, had also to be made in coin. These contributions were levied both in Assyria and in Babylonia. In the time of Sennacherib, for example, the contribution due from Nineveh was assessed at 30 talents; that from Calah at five. At the same time, Carchemish, the ancient Hittite capital, had to pay 100 talents.

In Babylonia, if not in Assyria, even the brick-yards were taxed, the privilege of making bricks—the universal material of the buildings of the country—requiring the permission of the government. It is also probable that the owners of property, if not the tenants, were obliged to contribute a fixed amount of grain each year to the royal *sutummu*, or "granary," which existed in each of the large towns, and out of which grants of food were made to the religious and civil functionaries.

Whether houses were taxed is not known. At all events nothing is said upon the subject in the numerous deeds that relate to them. These deeds, however, throw a flood of light on the laws which regulated their sale or letting. The exact limitations of the property to be let or sold and the condition of the house were minutely described, as well as the length of time for which it was to be leased, and the rent to be paid by the tenant. The tenant usually agreed to return the property in the state in which he found it, keeping the fabric in repair at his own expense and carefully cultivating the garden. Any transgression of the terms of the lease was punished with a severe fine.

The value of the house depended on its size, position, and character. In the reign of Cambyses we hear of a house being let for three years at 16 shekels a year, while, at the same time, another house was rented for a year at only 5 shekels. In the latter case it is stipulated that half the rent shall be paid at the beginning and the other half in the middle of the year, and that the tenant shall repair all damages to the walls of the building. Any transgression of the terms of the contract was to be punished with a fine of 10 shekels, or double the amount of the rent, which was to be paid to the wife of the owner of the house. It is therefore probable that the husband was dead and that the property had passed into the hands of his widow.

At the beginning of the same reign we find 4½ manehs of silver (or £40 10*s.*) given for a field and house, and another house sold in the joint name of a man and his wife for 2 manehs (or £18). At the same time a woman pays only two shekels (or 6*s.*) for the house "in which she lives." It must, therefore, have been a mere hovel. It is curious to learn how many of the houses which were sold or let in Babylonia belonged to women; some of them had doubtless formed part of their dowries, but others must have been left to them by their husbands after death. One of them, which belonged to a lady named Buhiti, is described as being situated in "the Broad Street" of Babylon, "the passage of the gods and the king." In the deed of sale of this house it is stipulated that if the buyer asserts that "the house has not been given up" to him, the owner shall receive twelve times the amount of its purchase-money.

The same formalities which accompanied the sale or letting of a house in Babylonia were observed in Assyria. Here, for example, is the translation of a deed of sale, which is dated in the year 692 B.C., or eleven years before the death of Sennacherib: "The nail-mark of Sarludari, the nail-mark of Atar-suru (and), the nail-mark of the woman Amat-Suhla, the wife of Bel-dur, a captain (?), the owner of the house which is sold." [Then follow four nail-marks.] "The house, well-constructed, with its beams and doors, situated in the city of Nineveh, adjoining the houses of Mannu-ki-akhi and Ilu-ittiya, and the Street of the Messenger, has been sold, and Tsil-Assur, the superintendent, an Egyptian, has bought it for one maneh of silver, according to the royal standard, in the presence of Sar-ludari, Atar-suru, and Amat-suhla, the wife of its owner. The full sum has been paid, the house in question has been bought: there shall be no retractation or annulment of the contract. Whosoever hereafter, among the sellers, shall claim an annulment of the contract fromTsil Assur shall be fined 10 manehs of silver. The witnesses are: Susanqu, the son-in-law of the king, Kharmaza, the captain (?), Rasuh, the sailor, Nebo-dur-zikari, the spy, Kharmaza, the naval captain, Sin-sharezer, and Zedekiah. Dated the 16th day of the month Sivan (May), in the eponymy of Zazâ, the governor of Arpad. The contract has been signed in the presence of Samas-yukin-akhi, Latturu, and Nebo-sum-utsur."

In Babylonia, where education was more widely-spread, the contracting-parties would have attached their names and seals to the deed instead of their nail-marks. One of the witnesses, Zedekiah, seems to have been an Israelite, while the purchaser of the property is described as an Egyptian, who held a high position in Nineveh. It would therefore appear that foreigners in Assyria were able to hold property as well as offices of State.

House-property, like slaves, could be bought and sold through the intervention of an agent. In this case the purchaser was careful to state that the property which had been bought did not belong to its nominal buyer, and also to keep the deed of sale in his own hands. When the money for the purchase was advanced by the agent it was agreed that it should be repaid within a limited time—in one instance within two months; failing its repayment within the specified period, what had been bought became the property of the agent. Advantage was occasionally taken of this system of purchase to buy a piece of land or other property in the name of the wife, whose property was usually protected from distraint for her husband's debts.

The legal formalities attendant on the sale of property in Assyria and Babylonia are an interesting commentary on the purchase of Hanameel's field by Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii.). The prophet agreed to pay 17 shekels of silver for it, and the money was accordingly weighed out in the presence of witnesses. He then added his signature to the deed, and sealed it afterwards, as it would appear, enclosing the whole in a clay envelope, on which was inscribed a statement of its contents. The witnesses had previously attached their names to the document. The deed, containing both the document that had been sealed, and the document that was exposed to view (v. 14), was subsequently deposited "in an earthen vessel," which must have resembled the earthen jars in which the Babylonian contract-tablets are found. Such jars served the purpose of a modern safe, and were each appropriated to a particular set of documents, or to those that related to a particular family. Who can say whether we shall not yet recover the deed of sale signed by Jeremiah, and the jar to which it was entrusted, as we have already recovered the similar deeds that were drawn up and signed by his contemporaries in Babylonia? Stranger events have happened in the romance of modern excavation.

VI.—SLAVERY AND THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.

In Assyria and Babylonia as throughout the ancient world, slavery formed one of the most important elements of social life. The distinction between the freeman and the slave was one which it is difficult for us of Western Europe to realise. The gulf between the two was profound while it lasted, but it was not necessarily permanent. The slave might always look forward to the recovery of his freedom. Nay more, it was possible for him to rise to high offices of state and become the political ruler of his former master. Moreover, between the slave and his owner there was none of that antagonism of race or colour which has characterised slavery in the America of our own days. They belonged to the same or an allied race, sometimes to the same population: their ideas, beliefs, religion, even education were not very dissimilar. The slave was, in fact, a member of the family, like the child, with this difference, however, that when the child grew up he necessarily became his own master, whereas the slave remained subject to another until he recovered his freedom.

From an early period the slave had been an object of care to the legislature. In Accadian law it had already been laid down that the life of the slave was not absolutely at his master's disposal. If the master, it is enacted, kill, beat, maim, or destroy the health of the slave, the hand which has so offended, shall pay each day half a measure of corn. This was doubtless to be given to the slave for his maintenance if he still lived; we are not informed as to who should receive it in case of his death. We hear, however, of a master receiving a maneh of silver as compensation for the murder of his slave by another person.

In later times a slave could even appear as party to a suit. In the 10th year of Nabonidos (B.C. 546) a slave called Nergal-ritsua brought the following case before the judges. He had been sent by his master with 480 *gur* of fruit from the fields to the ships of a certain Baalnathan, who had been commissioned to transport it to Babylon. A portion of the fruit was stolen on the way to that city, and Baalnathan, whose name indicates his Phœnician origin, undertook to replace it. Instead of doing so he absconded, and had but just been caught again. Five judges deliberated on the matter and gave judgment in favour of the slave and his master.

The slave could also, under certain circumstances, engage in business upon his own account, and so lay by a sum of money by means of which he might eventually purchase his freedom. He could also hire himself to another than his own master. In the 28th year of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 577), for example, a deed was drawn up before several witnesses enjoining that "on the day when Nebo nadin-akhi the slave of Ina-Esaggil-suma-epus enters into the service of Ubar he shall give his wages" to his former master. In this case, however, it may be questioned whether the deed does not mean, not that the wages the slave received on first entering the service of another were to be given to his original owner, but that he was as it were lent by his master to a second employer, the wages he received from the latter being his master's property during the whole period of his absence from the latter's house.

The slave could become a freeman, either by manumission, or by purchase, or by proving that he had been unlawfully enslaved. He might also recover his liberty by being adopted as a son into the family of a citizen. His master might also lose him by his being taken into the household of the king as "a royal servant," or, in the case of a female slave, as a concubine. As the "royal servant" enjoyed a considerable amount of civil power, the position was highly prized. Any slave, it would appear, was liable to be impressed into the royal service, just as he was liable to be adopted into a family. Accordingly, in buying a slave, it was usual for the seller to agree to bear all the risk and trouble which such claims would cause. Here, for instance, is a deed of sale which was registered at Borsippa before three witnesses in the 29th year of Nebuchadnezzar: "The woman Bahu-edirat and Itti-Nebo-panya, the son of the Woman Ubartu, the slaves of the lady Gusummu, the daughter of the lady Sabullatu, have been sold on account to Merodach-edir-napisti, the son of Mandidi, for half a maneh of silver in shekel pieces; Gusummu undertakes all responsibility, whether as plaintiff or defendant in regard to claims for freedom or for royal service on the part of the slaves."

A curious case which was decided at Babylon on the 17th of Marchesvan, in the 7th year of Nabonidos (B.C. 549), illustrates the attempts sometimes made by a slave to recover his freedom, and at the same time the care taken by the law that justice should be done to all parties, freemen and slaves alike. A certain Barachiel, whose name seems to show that he was of Jewish descent, had been sold in the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar by Akhi-nuri, the son of Nebo-nadin-akhi, to a lady named Gaga. Gaga had given him to her daughter Nubta ("the Bee") as part of the latter's dowry, and Nubta had subsequently "alienated him by a sealed contract in exchange for a house and slaves." Barachiel then asserted that he was a freeman, born of a noble Babylonian family and unlawfully detained in servitude. The case accordingly came before the court, consisting of "the high priest, the nobles and the judges." Akhi-nuri did not appear, and it was eventually decided by the confession of Barachiel and a true account of his former life, that his claim was a fiction.

"Twice have I run away from the house of my master," he said, "but many people were present and I was seen. I was afraid, and said (accordingly) that I was the son of a noble ancestor. My citizenship has no existence; I was the slave of ransom of Gaga. I am a slave. Go now (pronounce sentence) upon me." The court consequently "restored him to his condition of slavery."*

One of the proofs of his citizenship brought forward by Barachiel had been that he had joined the hands of the brother and daughter of Akhi-nuri in matrimony. It would therefore appear that this was a ceremony which could be performed only by a freeman, and that Akhi-nuri should have allowed Barachiel to perform it was a tacit admission that he was no longer a slave. In order to prevent similar attempts to escape on the part of the slaves it was usual for the owners to brand or tattoo them, generally with their master's names.

The husband and wife must often have been separated when a slave was sold. Thus in the time of Nebuchadnezzar we hear of a woman Sakinna and her daughter a little girl of three years of age being sold for 35 shekels of silver, or five guineas, and in the 8th year of the same reign a brother and sister sold two Persians, a slave-woman and "her son who was upon her breast" for 19 shekels. The ancient Accadian law ordered that if children had been born to slaves whom their former owner had sold while still keeping a claim upon them, he should in buying them back take the children as well at the rate of one and a half shekel each. At times, however, husband and wife were sold together. In one case the price received for a slave and his wife was 55 shekels, or £8 5*s*., part of which was paid on the spot, part on account; and in the reign of Cambyses two slave who had been sold along with their wives, but afterwards reclaimed by the seller, were not given back to him without their wives. We even find that parents sold their children into slavery, especially if they were girls, and it is possible that debtors might be treated in the same way. By the early Accadian law, a son who denied his father was ordered to be shorn and sold as a slave.

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* See Dr. Oppert's translation and remarks upon the case in the new series of "Records of the Past," i., pp. 154–162.

The slave was regarded as a chattel like any other kind of property. He could form a portion of a daughter's dowry as we have seen; he could serve as the security for the payment of a debt; he could be lent by his master to a friend; and the master could hire him out, the wages he received in this way going into his master's pocket. His price depended on his strength, abilities, age and appearance, and varied from a very high to a very low figure.

In parting with a slave the seller commonly stated that he did so "in the joy of his heart," which seems to mean that he had not been driven to the act by any faults in the slave himself. The expression, in fact, denoted that he had nothing to say against the slave's character, and that he was not deceiving the purchaser into a bad bargain. That the purchaser of a slave had to be on his guard is evident from a case which was brought before the judges in the early part of the reign of Nabonidos, and which has been translated by Dr. Oppert as follows: "Beli-litu, the daughter of Bel-yusezib, the wine-merchant (?), gave the following evidence before the judges of Nabonidos, king of Babylon: 'In the month Ab, the first year of Nergal-sharezer, king of Babylon, I sold my slave Bazuzu for 35 shekels of silver to Nebo-akhi-iddin, son of Sula, the descendant of Egibi; he has pretended that I owed him a debt, and so has not paid me the money.' The judges listened, caused Nebo-akhi-iddin to be summoned and to appear before them. Nebo-akhi iddin produced the contracts which he had made with Beli-litu; he proved that she had received the money and convinced the judges. And Ziriya, Nebo-sum-lisir and Edillu gave (further) evidence before the judges that Beli-litu their mother had received the silver. The judges deliberated and condemned Beli-litu to (pay) 55 shekels (by way of fine), the highest fine that could be inflicted on her, and they gave it to Nebo-akhi-iddin." The text affords a good example of the independent position occupied by the Babylonian free-women.

The regulations relating to slavery were similar in Assyria to what they were in Babylonia. A deed of sale of three slaves, dated B.C. 709 in the reign of Sargon, may be quoted, as it is interesting on account of the names of three of the witnesses, Pekah (*Paqakha*), Nebabiah (*Nadbiyâhu*), and Ben-didiri, all of whom were evidently Israelites. Pekah and Nebabiah are described as holding offices of state. The slaves were sold by a certain Dagon-melech for 3 manehs of silver, "according to the standard of the maneh of Carchemish," and it is stipulated that if the seller or any of his sons, grandsons or relatives shall maintain that the price was not paid, or that the contract had been violated by the purchaser, the latter was to receive ten times the amount of the price he had paid, while the offender was further punished with a fine of one maneh of gold (or £140) to the goddess Istar of Arbela.

Another deed of sale of somewhat later date is equally interesting on account of its contents. It relates to the sale of his daughter by a certain Nebo-rikhti-utsur for 16 shekels of silver (£2 8*s.*) to a lady who wished to marry the girl to her own son and heir. The contract could be annulled by the father or relations of the girl upon the payment of 10 silver manehs, that is to say £90. We learn from it that the women of Assyria had the same power of transacting business as the women of Babylonia, and that in both countries parents were able to sell their children into slavery. But it is new to find that a wife could be bought in this way.

There were few Babylonians so poor as not to be able to keep a slave; even one slave might possess another slave of his own. A deed exists, dated in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar, which records the sale of a female slave for two-thirds of a silver shekel (2 shillings) to "the slave of Nebo-baladh-yulid, the porter" of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara. The smallness of the price indicates the poverty of the purchaser, and as it is stated that the money was to be paid on account, it would seem that even the small sum required was not forthcoming at the moment. The deed was attested by several witnesses, the first of whom was a slave. Nothing can show more clearly what a definite legal position a slave must have occupied in Babylonia.

The large amount of slave-labour necessarily caused wages to be low; it also introduced into the country a numerous population, which might be dangerous in times of war or civil discontent. We know from the history of Barachiel that the slave was not always contented with his lot in life, and sometimes seized an opportunity of running away. On the other hand, the slaves possessed neither cohesion nor discipline ; they had no leaders, they belonged to different nationalities, and were without arms. Moreover they were divided into different classes. There were the royal slaves, among whom the eunuchs may be included, who occupied posts of importance and power, and regarded themselves as the superiors of many of the poorer freemen. Then, secondly, there were the temple-slaves, devoted to the service of the gods, like the Nethinim in the temple of Jerusalem, whose persons were consecrated and sacrosanct. Thirdly, there were the household slaves, a large number of whom were virtually members of the family in which they lived, and who might look forward to being adopted by their masters. Those who belonged to rich households were probably well-fed, well-clothed, and little worked. Lastly, there were the slaves who laboured in the country, whose lot was doubtless harder than that of the slaves in the towns ; but who, nevertheless, enjoyed a certain amount of freedom, which country life necessarily brought with it.

It is probable, however, that the number of slaves employed in the country was vastly exceeded by that of the slaves who lived in the towns. The Babylonians were an agricultural people, and the greater part of the work carried on in the country was conducted by free men. They were irrigators, gardeners, shepherds, and goatherds, tenders of cattle, and agricultural labourers. The gardener and shepherd held a high place in popular esteem. Tradition alleged that Sargon I., the founder of the first Semitic Empire, and of the great library of Accad, had been a gardener before he was called to the throne through the love of the goddess Istar, and it further related that when, like Moses, he had in his infancy been consigned to an ark of bulrushes and bitumen, and cast upon the Euphrates, he was discovered and brought up as a son by Akki, the irrigator. Tammuz himself, the young and beautiful Sun-god, had been a shepherd according to the old belief, and the Bedouin Arab, or nomad Aramæan, who usually looked after the flocks of the wealthy Babylonian in the later days of the kingdom, was not only a freeman, but respected on account of his strength, his courage, and his connections.

We hear a good deal about the life of the Babylonian farmer or labourer from the fragments of an old Accadian work on agriculture, extracts from which were provided with translations into Assyrian, and used as a reading-book by students who were learning Accadian.* Here we are told that the agriculturist must begin his work in the sixth month of the year when he agrees with his landlord about his rent, pays his taxes to the government, hedges in his fields, brings together his flocks, and works from dawn to dusk.

The sixth month, as Mr. Bertin points out, was Elul, hence we may conclude that the agricultural year originally began with Tisri, or September, the 7th month, and not with Nisan, or March. This throws light on the fact that Tisri was the first month of the Jewish civil year, and that the Feast of Trumpets was celebrated on its first day.

The tenure of a farm was of various kinds. In some cases the property belonged half to the landlord, and half to the tenant, when the tenant bound himself to plough, sow, manure, and water, and to hand over the produce of the landlord's half to the agent appointed by the latter. In other cases the whole farm, with its produce, was shared equally between the landlord and the tenant ; the tenant giving his labour, and the landlord in return providing him with carts, oxen, and other necessaries. But there were several modifications of this system of partnership. The landlord might stipulate that the farmer should receive only a third, a fourth, a fifth, or even a tenth of the produce, the rest being appropriated by himself. In addition to this, it would seem, the tenant was required to pay a fixed rent, which consisted of two-thirds of the dates gathered from the trees on the farm, or their equivalent in money. The dates had to be handed over to the landlord on the last day of the month Marchesvan, or October. The landlord reserved to himself the right of dismissing his tenant, who was required to keep the farm in order, repair the walls and fences, plant date-palms, and water the young trees. When taking a new farm, moreover, on which there was no house, he was required to build the house in the middle of the property, paying the wages of the workmen when the work was finished. If the house was badly or improperly built, it is stated that he might be fined as much as ten shekels.

It must be remembered that all these are regulations of a very early period, and that as time progressed, the tenure of land, and the laws and customs relating to it necessarily became much more complicated. Still the general outlines of the system remained unaltered ; the farmer paid his rent in kind rather than in money, and the tenure resembled that of the French *métayer*. The system of farming was essentially co-operative.

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* The fragments have been translated by Mr. Bertin for the new series of "Records of the Past," iii., pp. 91–101.

Some of the songs have been preserved to us with which the Accadian peasants beguiled their labour. They, too, were translated into Assyrian, and formed part of a reading-book used by students of the ancient language. This is how the cattle were addressed as they ploughed the field :

A heifer am I ;
To the cow am I yoked :
The plough-handle is strong—
A shaft of palm—
Lift it up, lift it up !

Or again, while threshing was going on, the peasant would sing :

My knees are marching,
My feet are not resting ;
Working not thyself,
Drive me in company !

Like all agricultural populations the Babylonian peasantry delighted in proverbs : "Like an oven which is old be firm against opposition." "The corn is high, how know we it is ripe ? The corn is cut down, how know we it is good ?" "The fruit of death a man may eat, and yet find it the fruit of life." Such are some of the sayings which have come down to us from the popular wisdom of ancient Chaldea.

THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

BY W. R. BRADLAUGH.

From *The British Weekly* (London), February 19, 1891.

My brother, named after my father, was born on September 26th, 1833, at Bacchus-walk, Hoxton, the environments and associations of this spot being very different some sixty years ago to what they are to-day. When my brother was very young, my father, who was quite a connoisseur of dahlias, removed to a cottage surrounded by a garden measuring about three-quarters of an acre in extent. This cottage was situated within five minutes' walk of the site now occupied by Columbia, and therefore to one like my father, passionately fond of flowers, it must have proved a very paradise, for within the half-hour he could be away from the confinement of the office and the din of the city, breathing fresh air and wholly absorbed in the care and culture of his pets. Under the ruthless march of metropolitan extension, the garden had to give place to bricks and mortar, and as a consequence the family were compelled to remove ; this time to Warner-place, Hackney-road.

In most reports it has been asserted that my brother's "early education was of the scantiest character." If by this statement it is intended to show that he did not, as a youth, receive a classical education, then it is correct, not otherwise : for, judged by present-day standards, the education my father gave my brother would be considered a good, sound English one ; and while it would ill become a Christian and a brother to say or write one word calculated to reflect on the memory of one over whose grave the grass has not yet had time to grow, there is also a debt due to the memory of a dead father, and therefore the best tribute of respect that I can pay to the memory of both is to speak the truth.

It is an admitted fact that my brother was a most precocious child, and if it were stated that the late Charles Bradlaugh had no real boyhood, it could scarcely be looked upon as an exaggerated description, as infancy in his case appeared to be followed by premature manhood. That my brother received his elementary education at Abbey-street is perfectly true, but afterwards he attended Mr. Marshall's Academy in the Hackney-road, and as I know of one Nonconformist minister and also a lady of literary tastes in the neighbourhood of Wellington, Somerset, both of whom received their education from the same source, it is not at all difficult, even after this lapse of time, to ascertain what was the nature and character of the book-learning imparted.

It has been further stated that my brother "at the early age of twelve, entered on the struggle of life as an errand-boy." Well, as regards that, the thing remains the same, though it goes by a more euphonious name at the present time—a junior clerk ; and many of our great naval commanders, merchant princes, and others who saw the first light of day some sixty years ago faced the stern battle of life at precisely the same age, because it was the custom at that time to do so. Call my brother's first position, however, by what name you will, it could scarcely have been a mere menial one, when it was under the supervision of my father, who was in supreme command. Certain it is that at the present day many a gentleman's son would consider it an honour to be able to place foot in an office of like standing and under like circumstances as a first start in life. After two or three years' experience of office under the eye and training of my father, my brother became cashier to

Messrs. Green, Son & Jones, the well-known coal merchants, City-road Bridge.

In writing an unbiassed account of the early days of the late Charles Bradlaugh, the chief difficulty that one encounters is the fact that few, if any of his biographers have given either names, dates, or places. It is important to note this, because if it is shown that there was no considerable lapse of time between my brother leaving home and entering on the duties of orderly-room clerk, then it stands to reason that the education that fitted him for that post must have been what he received at his father's hands.

While a teacher in the Sunday-school in connection with St. Peter's Church, the Chartist movement rapidly developed, and assumed formidable proportions, and my brother, joining the general current, was soon swept along by the flood. He attended the various open-air meetings held in his neighbourhood, at first possibly more out of mere idle curiosity than for any other reason. In fact, for a long time he was little more than a spectator, or if he ventured to essay a remark at any time it would be on the side of orthodoxy. The principal meeting-place was Bonner's Fields, where the Victoria-park Hospital for the Diseases of the Chest now stands. Here groups, composed mostly of men, varying in number from fifty to five hundred, would congregate. Raised on little hillocks or accumulations of rubbish above the heads of the bystanders, the various speakers would air their social, political, or theological opinions. Temperance advocacy was then, comparatively speaking, in its infancy, and in the centre of one such group might be seen and heard some champion of the cause, who, speaking with the fervour of an emancipated slave, would be sending forth winged words, some of which not only arrested my brother, but caused him too to battle for the right in the same direction for many years after. Around the expounders of the five points of the Charter a still larger company would be gathered; others would gather around those engaged in religious discussion. It was in such heterogeneous company that my brother found himself thrown at the early age of sixteen. In this exciting atmosphere, it is not at all surprising that, oblivious to the fact of his own want of fitness for the task, with that zeal, rashness, or boldness—call it what you will—a trait of character so prominent in after life, he challenged one of the secularist advocates to discuss the question of the inspiration of the Bible.

Poor Charlie, at a loss for arguments to repel the objections brought by his opponent, Mr. J. Savage, in that first discussion, the poor boy imagined, because he was vanquished, the Bible was overthrown too. What other result could be expected than the defeat of the novice at the hands of the propagandist? Speaking of this episode in the life of my brother, A. S. Headingley says, "After this, to him, memorable struggle, Bradlaugh was obliged to confess that he could not hold out any longer. Frankly recognising that he was beaten, he soon proclaimed himself a Freethinker."

It is alleged that about this time my brother, while preparing for confirmation, encountered difficulties in the study of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and the four Gospels, and "forthwith wrote to the Rev. John Graham Packer, the incumbent of St. Peter's, Hackney road, soliciting his aid and some explanation. Instead of showing discretion and self-control in such a matter," it is stated that the Rev. J. G. Packer "lost his temper and wrote to his parents, denouncing the inquiries of their son as atheistical, and, further, suspended him for three months from his office as Sunday-school teacher." Now, it is impossible for me to speak here without appearing to cast a reflection on one whose tongue is silent, and whose pen is no longer mightier than the sword; but on this *ex parte* view of the case, to say the least, have not certain London ministers unnecessarily gone out of their way to hold up, from their pulpits, this clergyman to obloquy and contempt? Ministers of the Gospel should always speak gently of the dead, especially when they are referring to one of their own calling, ever remembering that the laudation of one dead man at the expense of another is to inflict a deep wound in the hearts of those who survive the one maligned.

An appeal to admitted facts will clearly prove that the Rev. J. G. Packer's offence was no very heinous one, and the very worst construction to be put upon it is that he might have acted more wisely in dealing with his inquirer. Had my brother's biographers stated clearly which of the Thirty-nine Articles were stumbling blocks and what were the difficulties presented in the four Gospels, some opinion might be even now formed as to whether the late John Graham Packer, together with my father, acted harshly or otherwise towards my brother; because any minister, whether Episcopalian or Nonconformist, who would declare the *whole* of the Thirty-nine Articles unscriptural, would scarcely be a safe guide for his people to follow. Adolphe S. Headingley says in the winter of 1849 Bradlaugh again ventured to approach the Rev. J. G. Packer, and submitted to him Robert Taylor's "Diegesis." Few know the nature and character of this work. The author went by the name of the "Devil's Chaplain," as he was in the habit of delivering blasphemous discourses attired as a clergyman of the Church of England. I am possessed of a copy of this work, and can, without fear of contradiction, assert that it is one of the most blasphemous productions ever issued from the Freethought press, notwithstanding my intimate acquaintance with atheistic literature. This action on the part of my brother, therefore, would scarcely betoken the true humility of an anxious inquirer, but rather the spirit of braggadocio; and consequently, in looking at Mr. Packer's conduct at a previous stage in the light of this admitted fact, it certainly bears a different colour to that put upon it by brother ministers.

After receiving Taylor's "Diegesis," the Rev. J. G. Packer consulted with my father, and it was deemed advisable, as it was evident that my brother was now fairly on the road to pronounced Atheism to bring pressure to bear upon the lad, in order to save him from going to the bad altogether. It may not have been the wisest step for a minister and a father to take, but before being severe in censure, may it not be well for every minister and parent reading these lines to ask himself the question, Should I have acted more wisely—nay, should I have as well—if it had been a member of my flock, if it had been my son, and I had been placed in like circumstances?

It had been arranged that the Rev. J. G. Packer should inform my brother "that his employers gave him three days to change his opinions or lose his situation." Though ministers and others have made so much of this, what were my brother's own feelings on the subject in after life? In the biography by A. S. Headingley, and published with the approval of my brother, these words occur: "Bradlaugh, looking back at these circumstances with the calmer reflection which years bring, is now inclined to think that the threat would probably have never been enforced."

This incident is thus described by his biographer: "When threats are used on one side, resistance is generally forthcoming on the other, and Bradlaugh, even at that age, was the last person to recant his expressed opinions merely out of fear for the consequences they might entail. He therefore determined to leave home and fight the battle of life. Bradlaugh was barely seventeen years old when he found himself in the streets of London." One source of anxiety Bradlaugh was, however, spared; his parents did not institute any pursuit, simply for this reason—his whereabouts were known, his lodgings being in the same street.

Only a few brief months had flitted by after leaving home before my brother found himself, like the prodigal of old, "in want." His occupation during that period has been thus described: "When he was not lecturing or seeking to sell coals or braces, he was engaged preparing himself for discussion by studying Hebrew, Greek, and other tongues, or, it should be added, in making love to Miss Hypatia Carlile. Being proud, penniless, and inelegant in his dress, he naturally, with the unreasoning impulsiveness of youth, added to his other troubles that of falling hopelessly in love. Fortunately, considering the state of affairs, his affections were not returned."

It is clear from this that under such embarrassing circumstances little or no progress could have been made during this period in studies of any kind, and therefore, though the greatest credit is due to my brother for the use he made in after life of any early advantages that he may have received, that education and training that fitted him for the office of orderly-room clerk was what he obtained at the hands of my father, and therefore it is a positive reflection on the memory of that dead father to say that my brother's early education was of a most meagre description.

The grip of poverty becoming more and more intense a short time before Christmas, 1850, my brother, too proud to return home, determined to put an end to a crisis which had already been prolonged beyond endurance. This he did by taking "the Queen's shilling" and enlisting in the 7th Dragoon Guards. My father, immediately upon hearing of the step that my brother had taken, had an interview with him at the depot at Westminster; and as my brother was determined to remain in the service, my father obtained permission from the commanding officer for my brother to spend the Christmas Day at home, on condition that my father himself brought my brother back to his quarters at night.

I well remember my brother arriving at breakfast time, dining with the family, and leaving in the evening with my father. My father and brother kept up a regular correspondence all the time my brother was in Ireland, but he never saw my father again, my father only surviving my brother's departure from home about eighteen months.

On the death of my father, my brother obtained a furlough and came home for a fortnight. I opened the door to him, and shall never forget his paroxysms of grief or forget the cry of anguish of my big soldier-brother when he discovered that my father had been buried some days. "If I could only have knelt by his coffin and asked his forgiveness !" was his repeated cry.

At the expiration of his furlough he returned to Ireland, keeping up a regular correspondence with his mother, constantly informing her of the hatred he had towards his captain, saying that unless she obtained his discharge he would put a bullet through this officer.

And here let me repeat what I wrote in my own autobiography in January, 1882 : "As in many books and pamphlets containing a record of my brother's life the statement has appeared to the effect that, in consequence of the death of an aunt, who left him a legacy, he secured his discharge from the army, I wish it to be distinctly understood that there is no foundation whatever for such a statement, as my mother and no one else purchased my brother's discharge from the 7th Dragoon Guards on the eve of the commencement of the Crimean War. This explanation is necessary, inasmuch as Secularists are constantly questioning the truth of my affirmation in this particular, and my dear mother, being dead, cannot be appealed to."

My brother returned home in November, 1853, and having been nearly the whole three years of his service orderly-room clerk, he received from Colonel Ainslie a "very good character." Soon after this he entered the office of Mr. Rogers, solicitor, Fenchurch-street. As from this period the life-history of my late brother is common property, for the purposes of this article there is no need, so far as it concerns my brother, to carry this narrative further.

JOHN WESLEY.

BY ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), March, 1891.

MARCH 2, 1891, is the centenary of the death of John Wesley. Many biographies of him have been written, and the minutest incidents of his life are familiar to the members of the religious community who are called by his name. Others are far less acquainted with his personality, and may not be sorry to be reminded what manner of man he was.

For, indeed, the reformers of Churches, the redressers of injustice, the reawakeners of dead consciences, the slayers of dragons and monsters, have in all ages been men marked out to their great work by similar characteristics. They who would beat down the hundred-headed hydra of inveterate evils must use the same Hercules-club of moral conviction and absolute self-sacrifice.

The father of John Wesley was the good Vicar of Epworth, and laboured for long years in poverty, disappointment, debt, and many trials, amid a rude, hostile, and heavy peasantry. John and his brothers and sisters in a numerous family had, to his own great advantage, to bear the yoke in their youth. Mrs. Wesley was an able, active, and deeply religious woman. She gave herself up, heart and soul, to her home duties and the right education of her children. We are told that she taught her children, even as infants, to cry softly, and trained the little boys and girls in habits of the finest Christian courtesy.

The discipline of those days was stern ; but in the hands of a good and wise mother it probably erred far less in the direction of sternness than ours does in the direction of effeminacy. Mrs. Wesley set apart an hour every day to talk and pray with her boys in turn, and retained a powerful spell of influence over them, even to advanced age. She did much to mould Wesley's character. In spite of the opposition of the commonplace curate of the parish, and the timid doubts of her own husband, when he was absent in London for the meetings of Convocation, she assembled the parishioners together in her kitchen to a service, which they found more profitable and blessed than the dry and soulless ministrations of the parish church.

The little John and Charles were present at these meetings, and we see in them the germ and spirit of their future work.

Brought up in such a home, John Wesley grew up so serious, so earnest, and so promising a child that even at the age of eight years his father admitted him to the Holy Communion. His impressions had been deepened by his remarkable escape from the burning ruins of his father's vicarage when he was six years old. Epworth parsonage was destroyed by fire. The children were all asleep, and John, left alone in the blazing nursery, was only snatched from death at the last moment, after the vain efforts of his father to reach the room. From that day his mother dedicated him to God, and regarded him as a child marked out for great ends. In one of his early publications a house in flames is represented beneath his portrait, with the words, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"

He tells us that till the age of ten he was not conscious of having committed any grave sin, or of having lost the grace of baptism. At that age he was sent to school in London, at the Charterhouse. English public schools in those days were not only very rough training places, but were also scenes of much vice and godlessness. But though Wesley as a schoolboy lost some of his deep religious seriousness, he still continued to go to church, to read his Bible, and to pray both morning and evening. We hear of him as a "brave boy, a good scholar, learning Hebrew as fast as he can," and probably his faults were not more serious than such as rise from a natural buoyancy and hilarity of spirit, which thinks but little of religion in the glow and bloom of opening life.

In 1720 he went to Christ Church, Oxford. Although at first he did not recover his old piety, we hear of no fault except that he got into debt; and it was difficult for him to do otherwise with the slender allowance which alone his father could afford. The religious atmosphere of Oxford at that time was singularly cold and dead, as indeed was that of England, and the Church of England generally. But a decided change soon passed over him. Without extinguishing a natural cheerfulness which made him say that he could never remember being in bad spirits for a quarter of an hour all his life, a sense of religion awakened him to deep seriousness. Young as he was, he wrote to his mother, "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live, if my health is so long indulged me."

After taking his degree, he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln, and acquired much reputation as an Oxford tutor. Various books fanned the flame of his religious earnestness. Thomas à Kempis, by the "Imitatio Christi," woke in his mind the desire for a closer walk with God; and the purely monastic and ascetic elements of à Kempis's ideal were corrected by Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." His soul was stirred still more deeply by Law's "Serious Call" and "Perfection." By these books, he says, "I was convinced more than ever of the impossibility of being half a Christian, and determined to be all devoted to God; to give Him all my soul, my body, and my substance."

He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Potter, and never forgot his advice: "If you wish to be extensively useful, do not spend your time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against notorious vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness." Another remarkable sentence was addressed to him when he was ordained Priest. Dr. Hayward, Bishop Potter's examining chaplain, put to him a question on which he often pondered, and of which his whole after-history was an illustration: "Do you know," he asked him, "what you are about? You are bidding defiance to all mankind. He that would live a Christian priest ought to know that, whether his hand be against every man or no, he must expect every man's hand would be against him." He had already learnt by experience the truth of the remark, for his very goodness, his blameless morals, his efforts to help others, were made grounds for sneers and opposition.

To any one who looks a little below the surface, and watches the reception accorded in our own age, as much as in any other, to any line of conduct not purely conventional, this will not appear wholly strange. No one in these days would openly venture to taunt another in the House of Commons as "the honourable and *religious* gentleman," as one member of Parliament taunted Wilberforce; nor would many men make personal chastity a ground for depreciatory innuendoes, as in the eighteenth century they did to the younger Pitt. But when Wesley stood for election to his fellowship at Lincoln College, there were some who tried to ruin his chance by ridiculing his serious behaviour; and he wrote to his father to ask for his advice. The letter of his father was admirable. "Does any body think," wrote the Vicar of Epworth, "that the devil is dead, or asleep, or that he has no agents left? Surely virtue can bear being laughed at. The Captain and Master endured something more for us before He entered into His glory, and unless we track His steps, in vain do we hope to share the glory with Him." Yet we are astonished to read that in those days, at an Oxford College, to attend the Sacrament was to make oneself a target for all the polite students, and the practice of visiting the poor was an offence to be punished with the threat of expulsion. Indeed, so serious did the opposition gradually become, that Wesley again sought his father's counsel. His father wrote that he rejoiced to have two sons at Oxford—for Charles had now joined his elder brother, John—"to whom God has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. . . . . Go on, then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour hath directed you ; . . . . walk prudently, though not fearfully. I doubt whether a mortal can arrive at a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason, patiently and meekly to suffer evil. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady."

In 1727 Wesley went to assist his father in the rude hamlet of Wroote, vhere he stayed till 1729. He tells us that he did not see much fruit of his labours, because, in his preaching, he neither laid the foundation of repentance nor of believing the Gospel, but rather assumed that his hearers were already believers and already penitent. In 1729 he returned to Oxford to find that his brother Charles had there founded a little brotherhood of students to encourage each other in the practice of a holy life. They met for prayer, self-examination, the study of the Scriptures and the Greek Testament. Later on they formed plans to visit the sick and the prisoners. They were nicknamed "the Holy Club," and Whitefield was one of the little band. They were also called by that name "Methodists," which still adheres to the Society of which they formed the earliest nucleus. The name Methodist had first been invented in the reign of Nero, for a school of physicians who thought that "all diseases could be cured by a specific method of diet and exercise."[*] Charles Wesley, who was of a more poetic, tender, and emotional cast of mind that John, had been the first leader in the movement, and he added a glow of warmer spirituality to the harder and more prosaic temperament of his brother. The numbers of this little Society were never large. Some of its members died early ; others fell away before the discouragement and ridicule heaped upon them. But John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield — the organiser, the poet, the orator of the Wesleyan movement—went on until they had become the revivers in England of a dead and torpid religionism ; the standard-bearers of what might well have seemed to be a forlorn hope ; the voices which cried over the valley of dry bones, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live."

In October 1735, the two brothers sailed with General Oglethorpe to Georgia. John's object was to sacrifice himself, not only as a chaplain to the emigrants, but also as a missionary to the American Indians. This was probably the least fruitful and the least happy episode in the lives of the young evangelists. Both of them were still High Churchmen of the old Anglican school, with strong notions of discipline. John never scrupled to reprove any one, not only for notorious sins, but for anything—such as dress, or what he regarded as levity in conduct ; and he excited deadly animosities by repelling from the Holy Communion any one who did not come up to his ideal standard, or who had not given him previous notice. His life, indeed, was as blameless and noble as it always was ; but we see in his conduct a certain hardness and autocracy, and want of sympathy and tact. Yet, nothing could exceed his earnestness and self-sacrifice. He had but a small salary, he ate but little, he drank no wine, he limited his hours of sleep, he rose at four in the morning, he laboured incessantly at preaching, visiting, and teaching. The early colonists were of various nations, and therefore he read prayers to them in Italian, in French, and in German, as well as in English ; and since he also taught the children of his schools, his Sundays were days of incessant and astonishing labour. "During his journeys in the colony he often slept all night in the open air, exposed to all the dews that fell. Sometimes he was wet through with dew and rain. He wore Indian shoes, and slept rolled up in a blanket. Though he travelled through places infested with wild beasts, he would never carry a weapon ; he said that he had a cane to try the depths of the rivers through which he had to wade, but would not have a ferrule at the end of it lest it should look like a weapon." One instance of his sincerity and self-denial is well worth recording. At Savannah he was told that some of the schoolboys were inclined to despise others who came to school without shoes and stockings. How was he to cure this ? He did, what not perhaps one teacher out of a million would have thought of doing, he himself went barefoot to teach them ! The boys could no longer look down on comrades who came to school without shoes and stockings, when their own teacher—clergyman, and scholar, and gentleman as he was—came to school shoeless and stockingless ! They were amazed ; but he kept them to their books, and before the end of the week had cured them of their vanity.

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[*] Auson, "Idyll," ix. 67 : "Triplex quoque forma medendi
Cui logos, et *methodos*, cuique experientia nomen."

"As many more
As *methodist* Musus killed with hellebore."
MARSTON, *Scourge of Villany*, 1599.

It is the custom to speak of Wesley's mission to Georgia as a failure. A failure it was *not*. Whitefield, who followed him to Georgia, even ventures to say "The good which Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people, and he has laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake." He felt, however, that he was flinging away his best years in a partial effort. He was driven to return to England, which he only reached in February 1738, after trying and dangerous adventures. He would hardly have survived the perils of this journey but for the fine health and unbroken cheerfulness which were the result and the reward of his habitual temperance, soberness, and chastity. By self-discipline he had strengthened a constitution so naturally weak that, but for it, instead of living to eighty-eight, he would certainly have been cut off in early manhood.

This fine health and simple diet enabled him rapidly to get over the misery of seasickness in his homeward voyage, and during the six weeks that it occupied, his work was characteristically energetic. Overcoming his reluctance, he went among the sailors, and spoke individually to every one of them. He taught the cabin-boy. He instructed two poor negroes who were on board. To the single French passenger he talked in French, and every day explained to him a chapter of the New Testament; and all this while he continued his own personal studies.

Yet, among these noble, evangelistic, apostolical, self-denying labours, Wesley, in his own opinion, had not yet found the light. "It is now two years," he wrote, "and eight months since I left my native country to teach the Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, (what I the least of all expected) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God."

His misgivings were the result of intercourse with simple, earnest, devout Moravians on his voyage out. He had consulted a Moravian minister named Spangenberg about his work. Spangenberg asked him a few questions. His first question surprised Wesley. It was, "Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Wesley, a little astonished at the question, hesitated for an answer. "Do you know Jesus Christ?" said Spangenberg. "I know," said Wesley, "that he is the Saviour of the world." "True," said the Moravian, "but do you know that He has saved *you?*" "I hope," said Wesley, "He has died to save me." Spangenberg only added, "Do you know yourself?" "I do," said Wesley; "but," he adds at a later time, "I fear they were vain words."

He dated his full conversion from the time of his conversations with a young Moravian missionary, Peter Böhler, who taught him a simpler form of the Gospel, and brought home to him the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. "By him," says Wesley, "in the hand of the great God on March 5, 1738, I was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith by which alone we are saved." He at once concluded that he was unfit to preach, but Böhler urged him to go on. "But what can I preach?" asked Wesley. "Preach faith till you have it," said his friend, "and then you will preach faith, because you have it." For a time he remained in uncertainty and heaviness, but on May 26, 1738, at five in the morning, he opened his New Testament at the words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises." That day, at St. Paul's, he heard the anthem, "Out of the deeps have I called unto Thee, O Lord," and in the evening he went to a little religious meeting, where some one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. "About a quarter before nine," says Wesley, "while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Shortly afterward, at the house of his friend Mr. Hutton, in College Street, Westminster, Wesley surprised a little company of friends by telling them that five days before he had not been a Christian. "Have a care, Mr. Wesley," said Mr. Hutton, "how you despise the benefits received by the two Sacraments." "If you have not been a Christian ever since I knew you," said Mrs. Hutton, "you have been a great hypocrite, for you made us all believe that you were one." Wesley explained what he had meant. He said, "When we renounce everything but faith, and get into Christ, then, and not till then, have we any reason to believe that we are Christians." He considered that up to that time he had only had the faith of a servant, not the peace and assurance of a son.

In this narrative is contained the secret of all the mighty work of revival which Wesley lived to achieve in England. A gentleman, a scholar, a High Churchman, a presbyter of the English Church, a fellow of an Oxford college, there would have been nothing even in the sincerity of his piety to lead to the great work of his life—nothing to uplift him above the somnolent respectability of the ordinary easy-going Christian—if he had not learnt from the Moravians something of the depth of their convictions, and the flame of their devoted zeal. It is needless to follow the further incidents of his life. It was spent, without any intermission, in the fullest work of an evangelist to masses of his fellow countrymen, whom the Church of England for the most part neglected and ignored, and whom it was his mission to convert from the practical heathendom into which they had fallen.

His vast success was owing, first and foremost, to his inspiring conviction that he was doing the work to which God had called him, and doing it with God's visible benediction. But no small part of the supreme impression which he made upon his age was due to the character which has left to all time a luminous example. In his case, as in all cases, self-sacrifice was infinitely fruitful. That spirit of self-sacrifice inspired especially his generosity, his courage, and his high endurance.

I. The example of such generosity as Wesley's is not only rare, but almost unique. He rose completely superior to that mammon-worship and avarice which are the sunken reefs on which so many a vessel of human life is shattered, and most of all as it nears the close of its voyage. It was one of the principles of the Holy Club to give away every year whatever of their income remained after they had provided for their own actual necessities. Wesley was foremost in this good work. "I abridged myself," he says, "of all superfluities, and many that are called necessaries of life." When he had an income of £30 a year, he lived on £28, and gave away the rest. Next year he received £60, and gave away £32 in charity. The next year, still confining his whole personal expenses to £28, he gave away £62; and the year after £90. In other words, he gave away treble of what he spent, when his whole income was only £118 a year.

Wesley, on less than the income of many an artisan, was able to found a school of twenty children; to clothe some, if not all of them; and to pay the mistress. And he continued this principle all through his life. When he was sixty-three years old, a lady left him £1000, probably the largest sum he ever had in his possession. But in reference to it, Wesley simply said: "I am God's steward for the poor." To the poor it was so speedily distributed that when, a year later, his sister, who had been deserted by a worthless husband, applied for some of it, he wrote back: "You do not consider: money never stays with me; it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my hands as soon as possible, lest it should find a way into my heart. You should have spoken to me before Miss Lewen's money flew away." Yet one of the numerous lies which religious wickedness, and irreligious wickedness was incessantly telling of him without a blush, was that he "made a good thing" out of Methodism!

A clergyman, who wrote one of the very numerous clerical pamphlets against Wesley, said "that after preaching so much against laying by money, he had put out £700 to interest." He replied; "I never put sixpence out to interest since I was born, and never had £100 of my own together since I came into the world."

He might have had thousands of pounds a year of his own, had he so chosen. The books he published in favour of Methodism were absolutely his own private property, and were very lucrative; but he gave all this money away. In one of his note books, when he was an extremely old man, he wrote: "For upwards of sixty-eight years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can, and give all I can, that is all I have." In 1782, he spent £5 19*s*. for clothes, and gave away £738. Never a rich man, he gave away in his lifetime perhaps £40,000.

II. Another great quality in Wesley's character was his heroic and unflinching courage. The world bestows a somewhat disproportionate admiration upon physical courage. But Wesley showed that highest form of physical courage which is not spasmodic, which is not only called out by a crisis, but which is required as a constant habit of life. And it was voluntary courage. It was courage in perplexing duties which were not demanded of him. We might think it strange that the desire to preach the gospel of Christ should evoke such deadly opposition, alike of the so-called respectable and religious classes, and of the rude and ignorant multitude. Yet, so it was. Wesley, and those who worked with him, never had any other object than to offer the highest boon which earth can give to those for whom there was no love and no pity among the religious classes. Yet he was opposed with infuriated violence. Every form of opposition, we are told, was tried against him. "Mill dams were let out; church bells were jangled; drunken fiddlers and ballad singers were hired; organs pealed forth; drums were beaten;" street-vendors, clowns, drunken fops, and Papists were hired, and incited to brawl or blow horns, so as to drown his voice. He was struck in the face with sticks, he was cursed and groaned at, pelted with stones, beaten to the ground, threatened with murder, dragged and hustled hither and thither by drinking, cursing, swearing, riotous mobs, who acted the part of judge, jury, and executioner. "Knock him down and kill him at once," was the shout of the brutal roughs who assaulted him at Wednesbury. On more than one occasion, a mad or a baited bull was driven into the midst of his assemblies; the windows of the houses in which he stayed were broken, and rioters burst their way even into his private rooms. "The men," says Dr. Taylor, "who commenced and continued this arduous service—and they were scholars and gentlemen—displayed a courage far surpassing that which carries the soldier through the hailstorm of the battle field. Ten thousand might more easily be found who would confront a battery than two who, with the sensitiveness of education about them, could (in that day) mount a table by the roadside, give out a Psalm, and gather a mob."

III. To face all this, and to face it day after day, and year by year, in England, in Scotland, in Wales, in Cornwall, in Ireland, required a supreme bravery, and persistence. Yet it needed even greater courage to meet hurricanes of abuse and tornadoes of slander. Wesley had to face this also on all sides. The most popular actors of the day held him up to odium and ridicule in lewd comedies. Reams of calumny were written against him; shoals of pamphlets, full of virulence and falsehood, were poured forth from the press. The most simple, the most innocent, the most generous of men, he was called a smuggler, a liar, an immoral and designing intriguer, a Pope, a Jesuit, a swindler, the most notorious hypocrite living. The clergy, I grieve to say, led the way. Rowland Hill called Wesley "a lying Apostle, a designing wolf, a dealer in stolen wares"; and said that he was "as unprincipled as a rook, and as silly as a jackdaw, first pilfering his neighbour's plumage, and then going proudly forth to display it to a laughing world." Augustus Toplady said, among floods of other and worse abuse, that "for thirty years he had been endeavouring to palm on his credulous followers his pernicious doctrines, with all the sophistry of a Jesuit, and the dictatorial authority of a Pope"; and described him as "the most rancorous hater of the gospel system that ever appeared in England." Bishop Lavington, of Exeter, denounced the Methodists as a dangerous and presumptuous sect, animated with an enthusiastical and fanatical spirit; and said that they were "either innocent madmen or infamous cheats." Bishop Gibson, of London, actually made it one of his grounds of complaint against them that "they have had the boldness to preach in the fields and other open places, and by public advertisement to invite *the rabble* to be their hearers"; and he was indignant because Methodists thronged to the Holy Communion in such numbers that the clergymen had no time to dine before afternoon service! The revival of religion had to make its way among hostile Bishops, furious controversialists, jibing and libellous newspapers, angry men of the world, prejudiced juries, and brutal lies. And yet it prevailed, because "one with God is always in a majority."

Wesley's labours were marvellous. He is described as a man not well fed or of Herculean frame, but slight and frail;—as a man without indulgences, feeding for eight months every year chiefly at the tables of the poor; wifeless, childless, homeless, yet always cheerful, always happy, always hard at work, even to the age of eighty-eight flying with all the sprightliness of youth through the three kingdoms, preaching twice every day, indoors and out of doors, in churches, chapels, cottages, and sheds, and everywhere superintending the complex and growing interests of the numerous Societies which had sprung into buoyant being through the labours of himself and his godly helpers. Once show him the path of duty, and with a dauntless step he trod it. Nothing frightened him out of it. Nothing could allure him from it. However arduous the work, however great the privations, if his Master bade him go he went. "My brother Charles," he once remarked, "among the difficulties of our early ministry, used to say: 'If the Lord would give me wings, I would fly.' I used to answer: 'If the Lord bids me fly, I would trust Him for the wings.'" Happily he outlived years of hatred, and died in honour. His work began in an undergraduate's room at Oxford, and, when he died, there were 120,000 members of his Societies. There are now 5,250,000, under 33,000 ministers, and if children and general worshippers be counted, there are, perhaps, 25,000,000. Might he not say now, in the words which he chose for his text when he laid the foundation stone of the City Road Chapel, "This hath God wrought"? In Westminster Abbey thousands gaze with interest on the beautiful memorial which has been raised to him and his brother—the presentment of their faces in white marble not whiter than their lives. On it are carved three of his memorable sayings. One is: "I look on all the world as my parish." Another is: "God buries His workmen, but continues His work." The third is his ejaculation: "The best of all is, God is with us." He uttered it on his deathbed, and then, once more, raising his arm and lifting his voice in grateful triumph, he emphatically repeated, "*The best of all is, God is with us!*"

Such was John Wesley. Exactly one hundred years have elapsed since his death, and now we can judge him aright. He was a man, and therefore by no means exempt from the faults and errors which spring from our human limitations; but few men have been more supremely faithful to the best he knew. My object in this paper has merely been to sketch the outline of his life, and to indicate those conditions of his labour and of his character which secured to one who in genius was not equal to many of his contemporaries the supreme honour of evoking the dormant religious instincts of millions of human souls. It is not possible in this paper to describe the great revival which roused England from the general slumber and the wide-spread godlessness of the eighteenth century; but the impulse which Wesley gave has not yet wholly spent its force, and the electric flash which he thrilled into drowsy hearts is still potent to kindle the phenomena and the reality of life. The Evangelical movement, the Oxford movement, even the recent enthusiasm of the Salvation Army, are traceable to his example, and to the convictions which he inspired. Faithfulness, energy, sincerity like his will never be ineffectual. He outlived the rage of the vicious whom he rebuked, and the jealousy of the neglectful who were shamed by his efforts and envious of his success. He has taken his secure place among the benefactors of mankind, and furnished one more illustration of the truth that

> "Good deeds cannot die:
> They with the sun and moon revive their light,
> For ever blessing those that look on them."

THE INFLUENCE OF WESLEYANISM ON CALVINISM.

BY REV. LEWIS F. STEARNS, D.D., PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

From *The Independent*, New York, March 5, 1891.

DURING the century and a half which have passed since the Wesleyan movement began, its great theological rival Calvinism has undergone some important modifications. It would not be true to ascribe these changes wholly to Wesleyanism. The system of the Genevan reformer had begun to feel the influence of a new life before Methodism made its appearance. When Wesley was just emerging into the joy and peace of Christian assurance, and Whitefield's preaching was tracing its first triumphs in white gutters on the grimy cheeks of the Kingswood colliers, four years had already elapsed since the commencement of the great revival in Northampton under Jonathan Edwards. In truth the Calvinistic *renaissance* and the movement which bears the name of the Wesleys were independent elements in the great revival of vital Christianity by which the reign of rationalism was brought to an end and the modern era of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism initiated. Each had its own principle, its own method, and its own problem to solve. Each would have had its history, if the other had not existed.

But while this is the case, the two movements have stood in close relations during all their history, and exerted an important reciprocal influence. We cannot, therefore, account for the changes which have taken place in the Calvinistic system without giving due credit to the constant impulse derived from Wesleyanism. The Calvinism of our times, in both its conservative and its liberal forms, shows the modifying effects of the sister system.

These effects may be brought under three heads, according as they relate to methods of Christian work, to the spiritual life, and to doctrine.

1. We see the influence of Wesleyanism on Calvinism in the modern methods of Christian work. The old Calvinism cannot be said to have been deeply imbued with the missionary spirit. It was content that the Church should hold its own, and did not much concern itself about its increase. In its work it confined itself to the use of the ordinary means of grace, the stated preaching of the Word, the instruction of the young, the personal use of the Bible.

Modern Calvinism, born as it was in the great revivals of the last century, has had from the first a distinctively missionary character, and its methods of work have been evangelistic. It has come more and more to recognize the necessity of carrying the Gospel to men, of urging it upon their acceptance, of drawing its motives from the feelings as well as from the intellect and the will, of making use of the contagious power of a common interest in religious things. The ideal of the early Calvinism was that of a waiting Church, looking to God to do all the work in his own good time and way; and it waited until it became dead and powerless. The ideal of the latter Calvinism if that of a working Church, which knows itself to be the instrument of God in redeeming the world. Out of this spirit has come all our modern evangelism and mission work.

In the attainment of this better and more fruitful method, Calvinism has been constantly stirred up to zeal and good works by its Wesleyan rival, which from the first has been a missionary and evangelistic system. It has been impossible for the Calvinistic Churches, whether at home, or in the new regions of our country, or on the foreign mission field, to fall back into the old methods. Working alongside of their Methodist brethren, they have continually felt the power of their example and been stimulated by it to more zealous effort.

2. Hardly less strong has been the influence of Wesleyanism on the spiritual life of Calvinism. The latter, while containing all the elements which make for spirituality, has always had to contend against an inherent rationalistic tendency. It asserts all three of the Saviour's offices, but it has been too prone to exalt the prophetical and priestly at the expense of the kingly. It has turned men's thoughts too exclusively to what the Saviour accomplished for our redemption when he was on earth and has too much ignored what he is now, the exalted King, reigning from the throne of majesty on high, everywhere active through his Spirit, "subduing us to himself, ruling and defending us, and restraining and conquering all his and our enemies." It was this tendency in the old Calvinism which facilitated the deistic movement in Great Britain, and later the Unitarian defection in our own country.

But Wesleyanism has stood from the beginning for the immediate and constant presence of Christ through the Spirit. Herein it has differed heavenwide from the cold and lifeless Arminianism which prevailed at the time it first made its appearance, and with which it has sometimes, though most unjustly, been confounded. Its doctrines of regeneration, of Christian assurance, of sanctification, have all sprung from this root. The emphasis it has laid upon Christian experience is to be explained in the same way. It has indeed often given too large a place to the emotional element in Christianity. But it has done so, not so much for the sake of the feelings themselves as that it might realize the presence of Christ's Spirit, to whom the feelings are due. To it belongs the credit of having kept alive in a sense-bound age, as perhaps no other religious system has done, the consciousness of the reality of the things unseen and eternal—the Father, the Christ, the Spirit, the Kingdom of God, the forgiveness of sins, the present divine grace. Here has lain largely the secret of its power.

The modern Calvinism, beginning as it did in the great revivals of the last century, possessed a like spirituality. We see it at its best in books like that of Edwards on the Religious Affections. But many agencies have tended to obscure it and bring back the old rationalism. That modern Calvinism, in spite of these opposing agencies, has succeeded to so great an extent in maintaining and increasing its spirituality, is due in no inconsiderable degree to the power of Wesleyanism.

3. This brings us to consider the influence of Wesleyanism upon the doctrinal system of Calvinism. Few would deny that this system has undergone very important changes during the last hundred and fifty years. To realize their extent we must turn not to the text-books of systematic theology, but to the preaching of our ministers. Even the most conservative modern Calvinists preach very differently from their predecessors of the last century, or even of the earlier part of the present century.

The change consists not so much in the repudiation of the old doctrines as in the acceptance and due employment of a complementary and modifying series of doctrines. Calvinism in its central and distinctive principles has a right of existence of which it will never be deprived, however much it may be modified. The infinite and the finite meet in the religious and Christian experience. Both elements have their place, and they are together necessary to the full truth. But no finite mind can unite them in one satisfactory formula; for, as has been truly said, there is no common measure between the infinite and the finite. To be sure of the full truth we must hold on to both, even though we are hopeless of reconciling them.

The Calvinist starts from the Infinite. He begins with God. He believes that he is the Author and Ruler of all things. He insists upon the entire supremacy of God in Nature and in grace. His formula is that "God hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." Every man who can say that, with all that it implies, is in some true sense a Calvinist. No man who holds it can be rightfully called an Arminian. For there is a mighty deal involved in this formula. It implies that the free acts of men are included in the divine decrees as truly as the necessary effects of Nature, though in a different way, the sinful acts as well as the holy acts, though permissively and not efficiently. It implies that the destiny of all men is included, their salvation or their perdition. It implies, if consistently carried out, that God might have prevented the present amount of sin, or all sin. The Calvinist will not stumble at these consequences. He regards the Arminian, who would deny the universality of the divine plan, who would confine it in its relation to men to classes rather than extend it to individuals, who would base it upon the divine foreknowledge, and who would derive the theodicy rather from human freedom than from the wise counsels of God, as superficial and illogical.

But while this position has its right of existence and can never be deprived of it, it ought to be held in connection with the other side, that complementary range of truths which cannot indeed be wholly harmonized with it, from lack of the common measure, but which has an equal right of existence.

It was here that the old Calvinism failed. It emphasized too exclusively the divine factor! It made God all in all. It attempted logically to unite the Infinite and the finite, and wholly harmonize the divine supremacy with the human agency. But it did so at the expense of the finite factor. By reducing man to a mere instrument in the hands of God, it left no true place for human freedom and responsibility. It endeavored to magnify the divine sovereignty by narrowing the purpose of the Saviour's work to a portion of mankind and denying the universality of his grace. It interpreted the fifth chapter of Romans by the ninth, and not the ninth by the fifth. It did not preach the Gospel in the fulness and freeness of the New Testament.

The modern Calvinism, since the days of Jonathan Edwards, has had for its object to bring the two factors in the Christian system into their true relation; not to break with the old but to supplement it, and to modify it only so far as is needful because of this supplementing. The result has been a most important change, first in the preaching of Calvinistic ministers, and afterward, though more slowly, in the creeds and doctrinal systems of the theologians. The genetic principle of Calvinism, the supremacy of God in nature and grace, remains unimpaired; but the system has come to include the other side of the great truth, and thus has become a more scriptural and preachable system.

This result has been brought about by agencies working from within, and doubtless would have come had Wesleyanism never run its beneficent career. Yet unquestionably the followers of Wesley have all the time exerted a powerful and helpful influence upon their Calvinistic brethren. Through thick and thin they have maintained the side of truth that is complementary to the old Calvinism, the reality of the human element in Christianity. They, too, it is true, have often been exclusive and one-sided. They have not always done justice to the truth there is even in the oldest Calvinism. The *decretum horribile* has been too much a bugbear in their eyes. They have spent too much of their strength in fighting what have seemed to them the errors of their Calvinistic rivals; but they have emphasized with admirable constancy certain truths which can never be forgotten without detriment to theology and to the life of the Christian Church.

While, therefore, Wesleyanism has not deprived Calvinism of its great doctrine of the divine supremacy, it has helped to enlarge and correct it by keeping constantly in view the other side, which Calvinism has been so prone in the past to ignore. If it has not shaken the Calvinist in his belief in the divine election, it has made him ready to acknowledge that it is an election that implies and respects human freedom and responsibility. It has exerted an important influence in bringing about the larger and more scriptural view of the scope of Christ's redemptive work which prevails among Calvinists. If the latter are now generally ready to give their full meaning to the assertions of the New Testament that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son for its redemption, that Christ tasted death for every man, and that God would have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, we must not fail to give the credit that is due to the influence of the persevering and consistent testimony of Wesleyans to the truth of these great Gospel doctrines.

BANGOR, ME.

GERMAN THEOLOGY.

The Rising and Ruling School.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

From *The Independent* (London), February 20, 1891.

Marburg University.

The most important feature of the change in German religious life at the present time is a change which is coming over theological teaching. Of late years theologians in Germany have been engaged either in trying to explain Christianity on rationalistic principles, or in defending doctrines long accepted as revealed truth. The former, like all attempts to explain a higher nature by a lower, necessarily results in explaining Christianity away. The latter is equally unsuccessful, for it only uses the same weapons wherewith it was attacked—namely, those of the "natural man."

It was reserved for Dr. Albrecht Ritschl, late Professor in Göttingen (1889) to find a new basis of defence. Ritschl emphasised the fact that in Christian theology we have to deal with the thoughts of a new creature, the Christian, whose faith is just as inexplicable by the lower standard of the natural man, as the nature of the latter is inexplicable by natural law alone. Some new fact has entered with Christianity into human nature, which must be taken into account. This fact is expressed in the word Revelation. The speculative German mind, tired of its wanderings, finds the old way the best, and shouts again the old battle-cry of Revelation.

DR. HERRMANN, OF MARBURG.

At the present time the school of Ritschl finds one of its most distinguished representatives in Dr. Wilhelm Herrmann, Professor of Systematic Theology at Marburg, whose lectures during the present session are being attended by upwards of ninety students. Dr. Herrmann is a man whose face and very voice inspires his students with confidence and trust. Without veiling his meaning by any obscurity of language, Dr. Herrmann patiently tries to place the grand truths of Christianity before his hearers in such a way that they may appeal to reason and to heart alike. Old forms of thought are shown to contain the same spirit which animates every Christian heart, and the words of the early reformers lose their apparent harshness when the Professor explains their real meaning. To all Dr. Herrmann's theological teaching, however, there is one great presupposition, which he sums up in the word "Revelation"—than which no word occurs with more persistent frequency in Dr. Herrmann's lectures.

WHAT IS REVELATION?

In order, therefore, to understand his system it is necessary to get a clear idea of what he means by Revelation; and this Dr. Herrmann takes especial pains to explain. The Revelation which makes us new creatures is neither mere knowledge obtained by reading the Scriptures, nor a blind acceptance of doctrine declared authoritative by an external and visible power, but it comes as an irresistible command to submission in the revelation by God Himself of His Almighty Presence. And how does this occur? Professor Herrmann answers that it is in particular, historical facts of life that we become conscious of God, and not through any system of philosophy, or any general view we take of the world. Here we touch the important point where Dr. Herrmann differs from many theologians. As hinted by Dr. Stuckenberg in his letter to *The Independent* some weeks ago, the Ritschl school rejects all metaphysical speculation, and this is Dr. Herrmann's own attitude. The knowledge of Himself which God gives us in Revelation is not an anticipation of the results of science or philosophy, but something utterly different in Nature. It follows from this that a philosophy of religion, as generally understood, must be regarded by Dr. Herrmann as unfruitful, if not impossible. "Philosophy," said Dr. Herrmann, in the course of a conversation some weeks ago, "can never lead us out of the world which is its sphere, for the world is infinite. We may as soon expect to reach a knowledge of God by way of philosophy or science as to reach the sky by following the road along which we are walking." Without Revelation we can do nothing. That this Revelation is no merely subjective imagination on the part of the Christian, he is himself able to

VERIFY BY THE HISTORY

of Christianity, where he finds ever recurring in various forms the same beliefs he himself experiences and the same motives by which he is influenced. From this standpoint Dr. Herrmann starts, and his Systematic Theology strives to answer two main questions concerning the man who is thus created anew by the self-revelation of God. These are: (1) What are the thoughts and beliefs which arise in this new life of the Christian, and the connection between these?

(2) What is the nature of the conduct of the Christian who has thus been born again? To answer the first of these questions is the task of Dr. Herrmann's Dogmatics; to answer the latter is the task of his Theological Ethics. The former is a psychological study of the Christian mind, while the latter is the study of Christian morality.

The only object of faith is God Himself, manifested and incarnate in Jesus Christ. Certain attributes we must ascribe to Him, certain new thoughts about His creatures must rise in our minds, and our new activity must take certain forms, but our faith is rooted and grounded in the Living God.

Such is the general attitude of the rising theological school in Germany. It remains to be seen whether it is powerful enough to counteract the forces which work against it. Independent of much of the historical criticism of late years, it presents at least a practical and positive teaching; and though we may not be disposed to agree at first sight with a total rejection of metaphysical speculation, we cannot but welcome a system which places us in certain possession of communion with our Father.

GENERAL BOOTH'S SCHEME.

PUBLIC INAUGURATION.

From *The Independent* (London), February 6, 1891.

A LITTLE more than three months ago General Booth issued his appeal, as contained in "In Darkest England," to the Christianity of the nation on behalf of the miserable and the outcast. He set forth a scheme and he accompanied it by a request for £100,000 with which to meet the necessary expenses. His book acted on the country as the spark on the touchwood, and England was soon ablaze with enthusiasm for the accomplishment of the great work which she was asked to undertake. So much so that the £100,000 is now more than subscribed, and the scheme is already fairly launched. On [Jan. 30th] the public inauguration took place. In the afternoon the Prison Brigade Home, in Argyle-square, King's Cross, which will be devoted to the reclaiming of gaol-birds, was opened. The prisoners received here will be taught one of about half-a-dozen trades, and it is hoped will be converted into industrious and honest citizens. General Booth, Mr. Illingworth (of Bradford), and others spoke, and with one exception, of a melancholy kind, the opening ceremony was of a satisfactory character. This exception was the sudden death of Mr. Fleming, one of the largest subscribers to the scheme, who, while speaking, suddenly fell forward, apparently from excitement, and died a few minutes later from failure of the heart's action. The great event was the

PUBLIC THANKSGIVING

meeting at St. James's Hall, in the evening. Long before the time fixed for commencing the Hall was filled "from floor to ceiling" by a vast crowd of people, while from the beginning to the end, of the proceedings numbers, who could see nothing and hear little more, blocked the entrance and approaches. There was all the demonstration which is the characteristic feature of the Salvation Army, and which so largely assists in its success. To the playing of inspiriting music by the vigorous Army band the various sections were marshalled on the platform in the public gaze. There were the bakers with those white caps which are the insignia of their office; the servants with their brooms; the nurses in costume; the slum brigade, with their salmon-pink scarves bearing the words "slums," and the rest, while the large poke bonnets of the "lasses" and the red jerseys of the "lads" all helped to add to the "effect," in which also materially assisted one or two of the Army natives of India dressed in the very observable costume of their race, and conspicuously placed. In the centre and at the front sat the General, whom a contemporary describes as "more grizzled than ever," and on his right hand and his left were many representatives of the public as well as the leading officers of the Army. After singing and prayer were concluded a number of the rescued, including an old convict in his ignominious dress freely marked with the broad arrow, and intimating that he came from Swan River, gave their experiences, ascribing their changed condition to the goodness of God and the noble work of the Army. A little fellow with a tin whistle, accompanied by a small orchestra of violins, played a couple of selections, and then General Booth spoke. His speech was, of course, full of congratulations and expression of gratitude. He announced that cash had been received to the amount of £64,562 15*s.* 6*d.*; and promises, £37,996 5*s.* 8*d.*; total, £102.559 1*s.* 2*d.* He defended his scheme and answered his critics, taking care to announce that his work was religious, and charging the religious organisations who were the chief objectors to its assumption of that character with the dog-in-the-manger policy of neglecting the poor and the wretched themselves, and yet snarling at others who considered them. He appealed to the public for generosity in their interpretation of his work, and to a certain section of the Press for fairer treatment; and, finally, he set himself to solve one of the problems of the ages—"How to get rid of pauperism." Then was produced the famous trust deed, which is to make everything safe and legal. It sets forth explicitly the purposes of the scheme; makes the General of the Army for the time being the trustee, liable to legal proceedings for breach of the provisions of the deed, which it is stipulated can only be varied by consent of a committee consisting of six nominees of the General, and two by each of the following:—The Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Wesleyan Conference, the Chairman of the Congregational Union, the Chairman of the Baptist Union, the Attorney-General, and the Chairman of the London County Council, each of these six last named officials being allowed, if he chooses, to nominate himself. The deed, and the opinions of counsel upon it, were read by legal gentlemen representing the Army, and they gave the greatest satisfaction to the audience. In the presence of the meeting General Booth signed the deed, facetiously offering to sell the pen he had used. There was much cheering, and after a little more very vigorous singing, a meeting which will be a landmark in the religious and social progress of the century terminated. The trust deed and opinions of counsel have been issued in pamphlet form.

THE DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGE.

CHRISTIANITY NOT SECTARIANISM.

From *The Standard* (Baptist), Chicago, March 5, 1891.

FROM the able paper by Dr. H. D. Ganse in the *Inter Ocean* of February 23, alluded to by us last week, we take the following:

The visit lately made to our city by the respected president of Harvard University was so conducted before the public as to bring to notice some of the chief issues connected with the broad question of American education. That any such visitor, whether from Harvard, Princeton, Cornell or any other university distant or near, is at liberty to raise those issues before a community as large as this, is too clear to be debated.

If President Eliot was convinced, in particular, that a class of denominational colleges, of which very many are much nearer than his own, both to this city and to the hearts of the bulk of its citizens, are, for grave intrinsic reasons, not so worthy as Harvard to be entrusted with students and endowments, why should he not frankly make out his case? It was his unquestionable right; and one may be sure that so intelligent a visitor, in using that right almost within the echo of the walls of the Northwestern University (Methodist Episcopal), Lake Forest University (Presbyterian), and in the midst of the largest single interest of higher education that ever moved this city (the nascent Baptist University), had no thought that the courtesy due to a guest should forbid correction of any possible mistakes in his statement or argument.

WITH EQUAL FRANKNESS,

then, and with earnest purpose not to fall below the courtesy shown to the class of institutions thus discussed, I offer, first of all, some correction of Dr. Eliot's announced idea of a denominational college or university. In the interest of that broadening of religious views which the Harvard student is claimed to gain, he spoke by contrast of the "segregation of the youth of the country in distinct denominational institutions," and put forward as though it was a concession to the policy which he advocated and a proportionate departure from that which he opposed, the fact that "even in those nations of Europe which maintain established churches, the universities have abandoned the policy of confining their privileges to the members of that church." So far as that statement had pertinency in an account of American denominational colleges, it would imply that these were accustomed, if not of purpose, at least in effect, to exclude from "their privileges" such students of various religious faiths as "even" Oxford and Cambridge and the University of France had now come to admit. In fact, since every one knows (what Dr. Eliot declared) that Harvard for 200 years had remained "exclusively under the control" of the denomination to which it owed its birth, the broad implication of this part of his address was that the undesirable segregation had been steadily going on in Harvard until it tardily escaped such narrowness when passing to a new management, a generation ago.

* * * * *

Any grave correction of the implication so injuriously made or allowed will not be asked for. Could a more grotesque picture be conceived than that of Dr. Harper, when he shall have successfully corralled in the new University of Chicago his thousand students, attempting to get upon each a neat denominational earmark? Every American college, by whomsoever founded and endowed, takes every respectable student that it can get; and the moment its wealth and fame are sufficiently increased, its attendance becomes cosmopolitan. . . . The smallest denominational college of the West is well-nigh sure to have students of several disconnected communions, and any change of fortunes that should make such a beginner as rich as Harvard, or Harvard as poor as the other, would not long leave a feather's weight of practical advantage on Harvard's side in the matter of "segregation."

Another material misconception of fact requires correction. What Dr. Eliot said about the denominational college or university as "a strict denominational organization;" about "the university of a sect;" about the importance of relieving education from a "denominational bias," could not but suggest to an uninformed hearer or reader the idea that the denominational colleges of the country are teachers of the distinctive theological tenets of their founders. Concerning all the notable colleges of the Protestant denominations that suggestion is entirely misleading. This writer, from his childhood identified with Presbyterian faith and polity, is an alumnus of Columbia college, whose relations to the Episcopal Church and to a predominant Episcopal management are not likely ever to come into question; and whose wealth and position afford illustration of what has just been said concerning cosmopolitan Christian colleges. Though his student days were far back of any liberalizing effect from the newest Harvard, they included no trace of the influence of "a strictly denominational organization" in favor of a "denominational bias."

IF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE

in trustees and faculty could be sufficient to forbid such manipulation of a pupil's faith, there are two other safeguards against such an abuse that can easily be understood and from which most denominational schools of whatever grade cannot get away. Very few of such schools are or have been the outcome of strictly denominational giving. Motive, that will soon be made plain, commonly combines all the Christians of the neighborhood, in organizing and housing, and gradually in endowing the Christian academy, college, or university for that region. That a Methodist, for example, should give liberally for the founding of a Presbyterian college, and thereafter, upon giving his children into its care, should find that attempt was made to proselyte them away from their home faith, to another "denominational" bias, would be a development that would disgrace ordinary commerce. And if Christian teachers would be willing to brave that disgrace, a last principle, which most Americans have shrewdness enough to consult—namely, policy, would keep the most blundering management from earning the damaging reputation of proselyters. To men versed in college affairs and whose knowledge suffers no eclipse by their undue advocacy of a side, these things are the alphabet of good management in denominational colleges. The old Harvard herself, near a century and a half before her final deliverance from so-called "sectarianism," accepted two endowed professorships from Thomas Hollis, a Baptist. Are we to believe that she thereupon employed that money in emphasizing the sectarian differences between the giver and the receiver? It is notorious that she did not. The Harvard of 1891 ought not to seem unaware of lessons taught so effectually on her own soil.

Having thus shown some important particulars, in which a denominational college is not what the President of Harvard suffered it to appear to be, we come to a more important discussion of that difference between such colleges and his own, which is not misconceived on either side.

THAT ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE

concerns the importance—not at all of teaching in college any denominational shibboleths, but of teaching in college and university the fundamentals of Christian faith. Such a discrimination between fundamentals that must be taught and details that are matters of rightful personal variation, Harvard, like Princeton, Brown, and every other American college, is compelled to make in the matter of politics. To know from Dr. Eliot that Harvard "counts among its students Democrats and Republicans, free-traders, protectionists, spoilsmen, reformers, prohibitionists and high-license advocates," does not at all suggest that Harvard has no settled doctrine in the debate between despotism, or even monarchy, and republic; between nihilism and government; between property and agrarianism. On all these matters the university has a substratum of political certainty that is recognized in every class-room. A professor holding and teaching the theories of Herr Most would find "affiliation" of that sort an insuperable bar to his entrance into that faculty. Are there any fundamentals of Christian truth that have as much right of recognition before an American student as the fundamentals of political truth? A very large proportion of thoughtful Americans answer, Yes.

The reasons for that answer will not be expected to be given here. But brief reason is here offered why as many as so reply are intent upon having the fundamentals which they accept included in every form of higher education which they employ or abet. Very many of them hold that that sort of recognition is the just due of truth which has been made certain by revelation of God, and which has relation to all human things. These same believe that the fundamentals of Christian teaching are of indispensable importance to the religious character of students as of other youth, and are also of special importance to students because of the signal uses which Christianity makes of educated men and women in the diffusion of its

RELIGIOUS AND ETERNAL BENEFITS.

But there is a further class of Americans who, without concerning themselves with the considerations thus named, hold fast to the teaching of the fundamentals of Christianity because of the demonstrated value of Christian belief and Christian ethics in the production of wholesome conduct. Without making any theological statement of the matter, Americans of this class to the number of many millions, believe in substance, and as firmly as they believe in the constitution or in any other unalterable ground of action, that as much of the Christian system as concerns God, responsibility and sin, Christ, grace, duty and eternal destiny, is at the root of the safest and noblest personal living; of the best home life, friendship and citizenship; of pure politics and the widest and wisest philanthropy.

It is when men of these views come together in a fit neighborhood, whether or not they be of one denomination, that they are prepared for neighborly co-operation for the founding of a Christian college. Since all experience has shown that the orderly and prosperous conduct of any such college is best secured by making some one denomination responsible for its management; and since the name of each controlling denomination has some considerable effect in attracting to it the students of that denomination, these two things happen: the neighboring Christians of all denominations co-operate in behalf of their local college; the several denominations tacitly arrive at a fair distribution of localities and colleges among themselves. Then, as the time goes on, each denomination proves to be the chief provider of the college which it manages, yet with such notable and frequent overlapping of giving from one to the other as ought to put to the blush any effort to refer the support of denominational colleges to the spirit commonly known under the word "sectarian." That such spirit is wholly absent from the work of planting and sustaining denominational schools could not be said nor expected of a people as eager as this. But the proportion of rivalry on denominational account to Christian co-operation on Christianity's account does not rate so high among the American colleges of any note and influence as one to a hundred. Their great concern is to make a phalanx for the Christian fundamentals.

MOST NOTABLE ILLUSTRATION

of all that is here said is at this moment attracting the attention of Chicago and of the entire nation. This writer may speak of it without embarrassment, since he has no closer relation to it than has every other Christian. A university is just now incorporated here under the stimulus begun by one man's gift of $600,000. That gift of Mr. Rockefeller has since been increased by him to $1,600,000. Other men's gifts have been added until the aggregate of $2,200,000 is reached. Concerning the trustees who are to have the management of this magnificent sum and of its further increase, the charter stipulates that "two-thirds, and also the president of the university, shall be members of regular Baptist churches," and it further stipulates that "this charter shall not be amended or changed at any time hereafter so as to abrogate or modify the qualifications of two-thirds of the trustees and the president above mentioned, but in this particular this charter shall be forever unalterable."

Three things lie in the face of this statement: That this new university is meant to be kept under the control of one of the leading Christian denominations of our country, that of the initial contribution to its means there has been enough supplied from that denomination to make all contributors of smaller amounts acquiesce very cordially in its position of control; that in so far as additional contributions are known to have been made, like that of Mr. Marshall Field, from beyond that same denomination, understanding is had (perfectly satisfactory, however tacit) that except in the divinity department of the university, which must be denominational, the course of instruction is to be untrammelled by any denominational bias.

Now this whole phenomenon, so recent and so notable in the educational sky, not only of our latitude but of our country, could not have failed to attract the attention of the visiting president of Harvard. Especially could he not be expected to take up and discuss in its presence and before a Chicago audience the theme of denominational colleges and universities without the utterance of some word, as graceful as candor would allow, in recognition of the breadth of this co-operative movement of Christians of different denominations in behalf of a Chicago university.

* * * * *

What stamps this whole assumption (President Eliot's general assumption on these questions) with its true character is its attempt to confuse the issue which it makes with the claims of Christianity by making ostensible assault upon "sectarianism." Any style of generalization that cannot detect these claims of universal Christianity in any category but that of "sect," should know that it condemns itself for lack, if not of fairness, then of discrimination. Writers who, making claim to accuracy, think they find need to speak of "sects" where there is no established church, understand that creeds and policies are in no sense "sectarian" except in so far as they differ from each other; that agreement in Christian matters defines the great body of the Christian church, and that no measure of disagreement or demur which unbelief, however learned, may manifest toward the bulk of Christian consent is entitled to make the whole Church "sectarian." But Dr. Eliot has a different vocabulary. The taint of "sect" takes hold of Christianity itself when it essays to go into a university,

LET IT BE NOTICED

that any denominational control of Harvard definitely ended in 1842; but a Christian control, in which the so-called "sects" were equal, lasted on until 1865. Then the last legalized trace of Christian predominance in the management of Harvard University disappeared. For the condition of liberty thus secured Dr. Eliot has no other name than "unsectarian." The lack of that sort of liberty it is that makes the "university of a sect" an impossible thing. Of course such a theory forbids Oxford and Cambridge to rate as real universities; for if they could transfer themselves and their teachings into the American neighborhood of Harvard, the whole would at once become "sectarian" in the highest degree. Their present salvation is provided, to be sure, under the happy protection of a "National church." But if disestablishment shall ever come about in England, that hour, it would seem, would compel those ancient schools either to abandon Christian teaching, or to take up the hopeless endeavor of being "universities of a sect." Most American scholars believe that truth and knowledge do not hinge on latitudes and hierarchies, that Christ has long ago ceased to stand before the world's best learning as either an uncertain quantity or a species within a genus; and they will accordingly hail the younger Christian universities on Lake Michigan as they do the older on

THE CAM AND THE ISIS.

Still, it is well understood that to not a few persons, in Chicago as elsewhere, the Harvard definition of the relation of university study to the entire Christian question is thought to be in every way wise and right. With the holders of that opinion this article raises no issue. As many persons as thoughtfully wish the Christian fundamentals kept out of college and university work are acting intelligently and to good effect in throwing their sons and their means in Harvard's way. Those who do not share that feeling are to understand just what that issue is which Dr. Eliot has brought among them. It lies definitely between any teaching by a university of "Revealed Religion" and an attempted leadership in supplanting such teaching in all the Christian colleges and universities of our country. If the doctrine of Dr. Eliot's address and of his university's practice be true, the revealed religion of Jesus Christ has so little right to be taught in a university, even when it itself pays for the teaching, that it would be a thing to be commended in Yale, Princeton, Brown, Northwestern, Lake Forest, in the new Baptist University of Chicago, and in all their fellows, if, with needed legislative help, they should one by one put their presidents in position to recite how all the investments which those institutions had received in the distinctive name of Christ had come to be devoted to a kind of "pure education" in which Christ and his religion have no authoritative place. It is matter of general knowledge that sympathy with such an aim has been shown by some of the Yale alumni; but the intimation of Dr. Eliot's address that the effort had succeeded, and that Yale had become "unsectarian" in any other sense than that of the catholic and Christian purpose applauded in this paper, has brought forth positive denial from those who know. Of the inheritors of Christian endowments Harvard holds her selected eminence alone.

God will unite the greater part of intelligent American Christians in making such an outcome of American Christian education possible only by exception.

THE WEAK BROTHER AS A BULLY.

BY REV. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D.

From *The Illustrated Christian Weekly*, New York, March 7, 1891.

No finer blending of wisdom and love can be found than that which appears in the eighth chapter of Paul's first Corinthian letter. The Church of Corinth was composite, consisting of converts from Judaism and from heathenism. Paul preached a gospel of freedom, which relieved the Jews of the exactions of the ceremonial law, and emphasized the authority of the individual conscience. To Gentiles, accustomed to the loose ethical regimen of paganism, this teaching was peculiarly congenial ; but they showed a disposition to carry its applications to extremes. This was notably apparent in the matter of idol sacrifices. The sacrifice was not only an act of worship, but a social reunion. Friends met round the temple-table, and besides, to some of the poorer citizens, the feast which succeeded the sacrifice was a substantial boon.

To withdraw from the feasts was, therefore, in considerable measure, to withdraw from society. "Why," said the Gentile converts, "should we do this? We no longer eat as an act of worship. We eat the sacrificial meat as we would eat any meat, and so we commit no sin."

Paul replies : "Yes, you are right, so far as your individual liberty is concerned. To you, eating meat offered to idols is a morally indifferent matter. If you eat you are not the worse, and if you abstain you are not the better. But the real Christian test is not your keeping within the line of your individual rights, but your fulfilment of the great sovereign law of love. That law includes your brother with you. The question is how much do you love your neighbor ; and consequently, how does the exercise of your individual right affect him? Grant that you do not sin in eating of the idol-meat. Grant that you eat without a thought of worship. Nevertheless, long habit has made it impossible for some of your Gentile brethren to partake without a consciousness of worshipping the idol. To them, therefore, such eating is wrong. Now, if a man with such a consciousness sees you eating in the idol-temple—a man less intelligent and morally strong than you are—and is induced by his faith in you and by his respect for your superior knowledge to do what his conscience condemns, are you not the cause of his weak conscience being defiled, and his moral character thereby undermined? Is it not your duty to regard that weakness of his, to avoid fostering it, to concede your unquestioned right, and to abstain from that which may go to destroy him for whom Christ died?"

Such is Paul's reasoning, culminating in that magnificent utterance : "If meat make my brother to stumble, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to stumble."

But there is another aspect of this matter. Let us be sure that we clearly understand the Apostle's lesson. It is that surrender of individual liberty, in things morally indifferent, is demanded by the divine law of love, when refusal to surrender it is known to produce *a real moral injury* to a *weak* or *ignorant* brother. It is not that Christian liberty is to be at the dictation of a brother's wishes or whims, or even of his positive convictions of right or wrong. Paul's admonition assumes two things : first, ignorance ; second, such respect for another's example, and such weakness as to lead one to follow the example to the wounding of his own conscience. To "cause to offend" is not *to give offence,* but *to cause to stumble,* as if, by putting a stone in another's path. Meat, or whatever it be, makes my brother stumble when it induces him to sin against his own conscience simply because of my example.

Through a failure to perceive this, a good many people have been included in the list of weak brethren, who have no business there. They are people who, so far from being weak, have sharp conceptions and very positive convictions of duty ; who insist on forcing their convictions upon the practical acceptance of others, and who claim the right of the weak brother to extort from them concessions of individual liberty, so as to make their conduct square with their own ideas. Under these circumstances the "weak brother" writes himself down as a crank, a fraud, and a bully. He changes Paul's generous concession into imperious demand. He says to his brother : "Your meat does not please me, therefore you must not eat."

Now the man who has a conviction so positive and strong as to be proof against any example, is not a weak brother. The man who makes a *demand* on his brother for the surrender of his liberty, is not a weak brother. He gives the best possible evidence that his conscience is well braced. The truly weak makes no demand for surrender. He does not challenge example, he follows it. A bully is a nuisance anywhere, and nowhere more so than in the Church; and this kind of a bully is also a fraud, because he plays the *rôle* of weak brother under the shelter of Paul's words, when all the while this weakling has his brother by the throat, and is bellowing "surrender!"

Every true Christian heart perceives the force and the beauty, and feels the stress of the Apostle's real injunction. It is our Lord's injunction over again: "Beware of causing one of the little ones to stumble." A true Christian will be on the watch for the little ones, just as a strong man, as he strides along, will keep an eye out for the little children at their play, and take care not to upset one of them, nor to tread on a little foot. A helpless child is an absolute monarch. Without knowing it, he commands the strongest man's patience and protection. But, sometimes, the little rascal, with impish precocity, detects the strength of his weakness, and avails himself of his littleness to tread upon the big man's toes or to stick pins into him, and then the big man, recognizing in the youngster something else than weakness, applies that which is not joyous but grievous, and serves him right.

Similarly there are times when the weak brother requires spanking (metaphorically) rather than coddling. There is no danger of destroying the brother by this process. In the region of conscience one is not destroyed by that which he fights; he is not made to stumble by the example which he challenges. His weakness is not a subject for special consideration when it takes up arms to dispute the passage of the stronger. Every one knows how tenderly our Lord dealt with the weak, even with the sinfully weak; but every one knows, too, how our Lord dealt with the insolent spiritual tyrants who tithed mint and anise and cummin, and laid upon other men's shoulders grievous burdens. The weakness of the weak brother sometimes runs into the exacting peevishness of invalidism. Patience and toleration in such cases should be mingled with tonic appliances: at any rate these are not the cases contemplated in this teaching of Paul. The attitude of the weak brother sometimes reminds me of a noisy, half-drunken fellow whom I once saw on board a Channel steamer, making himself generally offensive. At last he reeled up to the Captain, and with an indescribable maudlin pathos, exclaimed: "Don't touch me, *I'm tender!*"

Some unfeeling critic has remarked upon the astonishing physical vigor displayed on the stage by dying heroes. An expiring bandit will perform phenomenal gymnastic feats; a statesman *in articulo mortis* will deliver an elaborate oration; and a feeble maiden, within five minutes of her exit from the world, will execute a brilliant cavatina abounding in vocal *tours de force.* It must be confessed that the antics of the weak brother occasionally develop a similar suspicious vigor. They furnish a new and striking interpretation of Paul's words, "When I am weak, then I am strong." There are times when the weak brother can exhibit as much "cheek," as much cool arrogance, as much impudence, as much venom, as much obstinacy, as commonly fall to the lot of stronger mortals.

In almost every religious community there is a tendency to impose certain prescriptions, often entirely irrational, but none the less insisted upon by a class of persons, larger or smaller, in the interest of religious propriety. No one can tell just where these things touch religious faith or character. Nevertheless, the laws of the Medes were not more inexorable, and to transgress is to wound some brother or sister who stands for the proprieties. Many will recall the days when a clergyman with a full beard was an object of unpleasant comment in certain religious circles, and when a minister with a mustache would barely have escaped ostracism. I have read within a year, in the columns of a well-known religious journal, a genuine old-fashioned diatribe against clerical Esaus.

I remember how, many years ago, a sweet, saintly woman whom I knew, was solemnly rebuked by one of the "pillaresses" for wearing too many kid gloves. Whether the "pillaress's" weak conscience was wounded, or whether she feared that other weak consciences would stumble over the dainty little gloves, I cannot say. She professed high attainments in Christian holiness, but she had not learned the rudimental Christian duty of minding her own business.

For thirty-five years I have worn on the third finger of my left hand a plain gold ring which my wife placed there. I could not get it off now if I wanted to, and it will never leave my finger till the finger shall have crumbled to dust. I once went to preach in a country church somewhere in this State. A good many were present, and among them several ministers. Having preached the Word as well as I could, I went home with one of the farmers to dinner, and then first discovered that I had been bringing the ministerial character into disrepute and "grieving" certain of the elect, and impairing the effect of my sermon. How? Why, by my ring! If I only would "take off that gold!" Incredible as it may seem, that admonition was actually given me, given solemnly, and I will add, kindly.

These are trifles, it may be said. So they are. So a mosquito is a trifle, but he is a very troublesome trifle. Somebody has remarked that he has "known a young hornet that was feeling well, to break up a camp-meeting." Now it does not take long for a few trifles of this kind to aggregate themselves into a social and religious tyranny which is as irrational as it is despotic. These things are not matters of wounding weak consciences. They have little or nothing to do with conscience. They are individual religious crotchets, used by certain conceited and self-assertive men, and by certain meddlesome women, as vantage points from which to thrust a hand into their neighbor's business, and to indulge their desire to manage and rule. They have no claims to tender dealing. They constitute a religious bullyism which may easily become intolerable. Christian people do the Church no service by submitting to this kind of thing. It becomes a duty toward the *really* weak for resolute Christians to check its first advances. There are not a few good people of both sexes in the Church, who would be the better for a vigorous object-lesson on the text, "Mind your own business."

Clergymen are sometimes wretchedly victimized by this kind of bullyism. There is not uncommonly in the congregation some man or woman who are sure that they know just what the minister ought to do and what he ought to avoid, and who take his life into their keeping and keep him under a constant fire of admonition or remonstrance. Brother Justus drops in on a Monday morning with a somewhat depressed and severe air. He would have his pastor understand that he speaks in all kindness, and solely with a view to his best interest and that of their beloved Zion (glancing out of the window at the meeting house, where three broken panes of glass are visible, besides a general lack of paint); but he feels it his duty to say that his playing at tennis does not seem to Sister Jones and Brother Squod to be becoming a minister of the Gospel. For himself, he is not sure that there is any harm in it. Personally, he would not object, but then, for the sake of peace and concord, remembering the weak conscience, perhaps it would be better to refrain, etc., etc. And so it goes on. Another does not approve of the minister's skating, another thinks he ought to be in better business than playing the violin. Mrs. Saint Bullion shakes her head, and thinks the minister is going to extravagance in furnishing his house. It has a bad effect on plain people. The minister's life is made a burden. He is the slave of half a dozen parish bullies who are bulldozing him in the name of the Lord and of the weak brethren.

We cannot follow Paul's admonition too closely as regards tender consideration for moral weakness. The care of the weak conscience is a solemn and awful responsibility. But let us be sure that we are dealing with the *genuine* weak brother, and not with a strong, determined bully, *insisting* on surrender to the *rights* of his conscience. A little better understanding of this latter class, a clear exposure of their fraud, and a vigorous handling of their meddlesome tyranny will do much to clear the Church atmosphere.

ORIGIN OF TEETOTALISM.

MATURE VIEWS OF FATHER JEWELL, TROY, PA., FEB. 11, 1891, ON THE 88TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH.

From *The New York Evangelist* (Presbyterian), New York, February 26, 1891.

THE temperance organizations at the commencement of this century, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and at Saratoga, N. Y., were simply moderation efforts (except on public occasions), and under a penalty of only about twenty-five cents. The movement in central New York was more far-reaching and abiding. Joseph Talcott, a minister of the Society of Friends, sent an earnest address to the Synod of Geneva, February 19, 1817, which was referred to a Committee, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Merrill, Wisner, and Lord. Their report was adopted as follows:

> The members of Synod, having taken into consideration the communication of Joseph Talcott, are deeply impressed as they long have been, with the justice and weight of the sentiments it contains, and are happy to co-operate with the benevolent author in his labor of love.
>
> That the members of this Synod will use all the influence they have to discourage the manufacture and the necessary use of ardent spirits.
>
> That at every stated meeting of Synod, it will inquire what has been, and what can be done to abolish the damning and more than brutal sin of drunkenness.

At the meeting of Synod, February, 1818, Rev. William Wisner introduced the following, which, after much opposition, was adopted:

Resolved. That, the more effectually to check the alarming sin of intemperance, the Synod earnestly recommends to all its members, *wholly to abstain from the use of ardent spirits*, except for medicinal purposes.

Dr. Wisner returned to Ithaca, and delivered a thrilling discourse in the First Presbyterian Church, from Hab. 11 : 15, "Woe to him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle to him, and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness." The next morning he found a tavern sign nailed up before his door! Nothing daunted, Dr. Wisner and his session on the fifth of March, adopted the following:

Resolved, That it is our unanimous and deliberate opinion, that the best interests of mankind for time and eternity, require that a speedy check should be put to the alarming and worse than brutal sin of intemperance.

That no very salutary reform is to be expected, so long as the great body of the professing friends of Jesus continue in any way to give encouragement or countenance to the manufacturing, vending, buying or using ardent spirits, except for medicinal purposes.

That we will neither use it ourselves, suffer it to be used in our families, nor furnish it to those in our employ, except for the purpose last above mentioned.

That we do earnestly recommend our brethren, the members of this church, to follow our example, as we do herein follow Christ.

These principles of the session were adopted by the church, and any violation thereof was made a disciplinary offence.

The next month, April 9, 1818, the Society of Hector (twenty miles west of Ithaca), was instituted on these principles:

We, the undersigned, being duly sensible of the pernicious consequences resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors, by annihilating the peace, happiness, health and prosperity of those who indulge in the practice of drinking immoderately and rendering them unfit to perform the duties of life, and thereby subjecting all connected with them in domestic relations to the most abject wretchedness, detracting from their usefulness in society, corrupting the morals of the rising generation, and finally destroying their existence in this world, and preparing them to spend a long eternity of misery and woe in the world to come; being also sensible that as citizens of a community where such an evil prevails to an alarming extent, as followers of Him who went about doing good, it is our duty to do all in our power to counteract its baleful influence, and put a stop to its further prevalence. And likewise believing that much may be done toward effecting this desirable object, with the blessing of God, by our united exertions, do hereby form ourselves into an organization; and in order the more effectually to promote this object, we adopt the following rules and regulations as the Constitution thereof:

This organization shall be known as the Hector Temperance Society, and its object shall be, as far as practicable, to prevent the improper use of distilled spirits.

And for this purpose, we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not drink any kind of distilled spirits ourselves, nor countenance their being drank in our houses by our families or others (except when they are necessary to restore health), nor give them to those employed by us to labor on any other occasion.

We also pledge ourselves, that when called to assist our neighbors in raising buildings, or in any other kind of business, we will not expect to be provided with such liquors to drink, nor will we furnish them ourselves when we invite our neighbors to assist us; and we will use our influence to prevent their being provided by others on similar occasions.

This Society has maintained an active, uninterrupted organization ever since. Of the twelve original members, six were communicants at first, and the other six soon became church-members.

An effort was soon made to reform two notorious inebriates. They joined the Society, and also the church. One fell by beer, and again by cider; the other fell several times by the use of cider, beer and wine. Then it was found hopeless to look for permanent reformation while fermented liquors were used. By the introduction of Teetotalism these ruined sots were, by the blessing of God, rescued and saved. September 26, 1826, Rev. Joel Jewell, then a young carpenter who had adopted the principle of total abstinence from all intoxicants, moved that our pledge prohibit wine as well as ardent spirits; which was adopted. In January, 1827, as Secretary of the Society, he introduced a double pledge, prefixing the letters O P to the name of those who signed the Old Pledge, and a T to the name of Total Abstainers. By explaining that T signified Total, they were at once called Teetotalers. Thus it was that Robert Armstrong and Harmon Kingsley became Teetotalers and steady Christian citizens five years before the word Teetotal was known in England.

Up to this time there were neither minors nor females in Temperance societies. August 22, 1829, the Secretary, scorning all opprobrious names heaped upon him, gathered 252 young people, of both sexes, from 15 years and over, into a branch organization on the entire abstinence principle. This is now the oldest Teetotal society; for in 1834, the one Secretary, in accordance with the unanimous vote of the two societies made the twain one. He that is called the "Father of Teetotalism," has always rejoiced in the enlargement of that only sure foundation. Hon. Ben. Joy adopted it in 1827, Hermon Camp in 1828, E. C. Delavan in 1829, Dr. Jewett in 1830, Father Hunt in 1831, and since 1834 a mighty host, good and true. May God soon give the victory.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Modern Criticism Considered in its Relation to the Fourth Gospel; being the Bampton Lectures for 1890. By Henry William Watkins, M A., D.D., Archdeacon and Canon of Durham, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Durham. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1890. 8vo, pp. xl., 502, $5.

Apologetic literature is greatly enriched by the publication of the Bampton Lectures for 1890. The defence of the Fourth Gospel has become in large measure the defence of historic Christianity. Archdeacon Watkins has seized upon the strategical point of modern controversy. And he has been happy, not only in the choice of topic, but also in mode of treatment. In his prefatory note, telling of the genesis of his book, he recalls a conversation with the late lamented Bishop Lightfoot, which seems to have led to the preparation of these lectures. But he also indicates that the death of his beloved bishop well-nigh prevented the carrying out of his plan, since it threw upon him so much additional duty. Yet the volume needs no apology. The work is well done. While it covers many things, all of them are marshalled together for one purpose, which is effectively carried out. That purpose is, not to discuss the Fourth Gospel, nor yet the evidence in favor of its genuineness, but "to estimate the criticism which this century has produced." The author adds: "I believed before commencing these investigations, and believe now, with a confidence which does not fall short of certainty, that there is no foundation for the assertions which are so often made and accepted, to the effect that modern criticism is fatal to the claims of the Fourth Gospel; and I have tried to show this" (pp. x., xi.). This he has shown, and plainly indicated that every scrap of newly-discovered evidence goes to support the usual view of the authorship. The timeliness of such a book is evident. The genuineness of the Gospel has been attacked, not only in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but in fiction, and in such quasi-critical or quasi-theological works as Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion.*

The plan of the book, though necessarily restricted by the conditions of the Bampton Lectureship, is an admirable one, easily grasped and historically valid. A remark of Keim's furnishes the text (or, at least, the textual divisions of the subject), "Our age has cancelled the judgment of centuries." Archdeacon Watkins applies this dictum to the Fourth Gospel and denies its truth in this application. Accordingly, he first of all seeks to ascertain what "the judgment of centuries" on the Fourth Gospel really is, and then what "our age" has done in cancelling it. Over against the negative criticism of "our age," there is set forth the positive criticism, and then "the additions which have been made to our actual knowledge by the discovery and investigation of mss. and other fresh materials." The concluding lecture aims to "consider the influence which modern thought should have on our conceptions of the Fourth Gospel."

It appears, then, that the treatment is, in the main, chronological as well as historical. What has been the opinion in past centuries? Has our age reversed this judgment? But the author found it necessary to deviate from the chronological order in opening the discussion. Inasmuch as the earlier part of the second century is the period respecting which we are virtually called to decide, he properly hesitates to plunge at once into the disputed territory. "The judgment of centuries" is practically unanimous from the close of the second to the close of the eighteenth century. The real questions are: Do we in the nineteenth century know more correctly the facts respecting the authorship of the Fourth Gospel than did those who lived at the close of the second century? And if we do know better, does our knowledge lead us to reverse the judgment of the intervening centuries?

The first lecture, in addition to its clear statement of the issue and its suggestion of the treatment, contains an exordium on the tone of discussion. The lecturer rightly reprobates the animus of much that has been written on the subject, and with even better reason objects to the anti-theological prejudice of this generation, which assumes that in theology the experts are least qualified to judge, especially if they are earnest believers. The sublime folly of this age thinks Professor Huxley more competent as a biblical critic than Bishop Lightfoot, for example. Archdeacon Watkins does not say this, but it is a concrete statement of what he does say. He does, however, animadvert most plainly on the foolish assumption that in such a discussion as this we must seek to attain a "purely achromatic mental eye." A desire to know the truth, a willingness and fitness to act as judge, rather than as advocate, respecting it, these are the requisites. Only an angel or an idiot can have an "achromatic mental eye."

After this introduction the discussion begins at the point of time already indicated, the close of the second century. For convenience, that century is divided into three generations, and the inquiry starts with the third of these. This century is the only field of investigation, and the amount of labor bestowed upon it in recent times is immense. That the Gospel was universally recognized as the work of the Apostle John in the third generation is easily proved, and with the catalogue of witnesses in that age the first lecture closes.

The second lecture is devoted to the second and first generations of the second century. Justin Martyr, the Clementines, Valentinus, Marcion, Polycarp, Papias, and Basilides are cited as witnesses, the evidence sifted and the results stated. The author introduces here the newly recovered evidence (Tatian's *Diatessaron*, in particular), and speaks very kindly of the American scholar, Dr. Ezra Abbot, who first used this evidence to support the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. In a later lecture these discoveries are more fully and specifically dealt with. As, however, the author intimates that German scholars ignore the labors of Englishmen, it may be added that, when the little volume of Ezra Abbot appeared, the *Athenæum* dismissed it with a notice at once brief and contemptuous. Fortunately some other Englishman discovered its value.

The third lecture briefly sums up the judgment of the sixteen centuries. There was little to be said, and the author has not wasted time in discussing what required no discussion. But the latter half of the lecture deals with a vexed question—namely, the principles on which the Gospel is received. The author seeks to define the relation of the Church to the Canon, without arguing in a circle. He opposes the doctrine of verbal inspiration, but fails to discriminate between the mechanical theory and that now held by the advocates of so-called verbal inspiration. In objecting to the former, he seems to be in danger of surrendering too much. If this Fourth Gospel is "inspired in the essence of its inner realities, but not in the accident of its external form," who shall discriminate between the two. Textual criticism is valid, historical criticism is necessary; but when we have the accurate text and have established the genuineness, what next? Is the book authoritative as it reads, or is it only authoritative when some one has distinguished between "its inner realities" and "its external form"? The antithesis between "spirit" and "letter" is indeed suggested again and again in the Scripture, but this can scarcely mean that we can learn the spiritual reality by ignoring the external form. It is not necessary in this matter to divide in order to distinguish; it rarely is in things vitally connected. But the lecture closes with what may be deemed, from a rhetorical point of view, the finest passage in the volume. In feeling language the author pictures the testimony of two men, the Venerable Bede in the eighth century and Bishop Lightfoot in the nineteenth: "Such, in all the width of a *comprehension*, in all the depth of an *intention*, which I am able simply to indicate, is the 'judgment of centuries' upon the Fourth Gospel."

With the fourth lecture begins the review of what "our age" has to say on this great question. Two lectures are allotted to a sketch of negative criticism. The author, at the outset, demands that our age shall present something constructive, shall not only prove that the judgment of centuries is wrong, but present some substitute which adequately accounts for the facts. Beginning with Evanson, passing to Bretschneider, the author devotes about thirty pages to Strauss. The review of this remarkable man's career and opinions is singularly candid and even sympathetic. Rarely does an English Churchman enter so fully into the real life of a German critic. For that very reason Archdeacon Watkins's opinion is so valuable. He shows how the mythical theory was virtually killed by Baur, and that Strauss added little to the strength of destructive criticism against the Fourth Gospel.

Baur had been the teacher of Strauss, but the mythical theory was given to the world before the tendency theory was fully stated by its author. The sketch of Baur, with which the fifth lecture opens, is very interesting, though not so full as that of Strauss. The leading disciples of the Tübingen school are then named, and a just tribute paid to the "magnificent ruin," as this defunct theory is properly called.

The partition theory respecting the Fourth Gospel is represented in this lecture by fourteen names —witnesses enough to the variety of opinion allowed by this theory. "The Negative School" is the name applied by Archdeacon Watkins to the incongruous collection of other negative critics, German, Dutch, and English. To Davidson, as an English author, he gives most space, especially because of his change of views. Martineau is also assigned more attention than his work in itself deserves, since that author is not an expert in criticism, and his book is likely to influence only those not familiar with the more important contributions to the discussion. Against such a judgment as that of Martineau we can rightly place that of Ezra Abbot. The last negative critic named is Delft, who attributes the Gospel to John the Presbyter, an unknown, possibly apocryphal, personage.

The positive criticism is sketched in lecture six, seventeen German scholars being presented, from Schleiermacher to Franke. A long list of names is inserted, which every scholar will recognize as "not merely a list of names." Happily the author has found a place for four Americans in this list. He, however, reserves for special notice four Englishmen—Bishop Lightfoot, his successor, Bishop Westcott, Dr. Salmon, and Dr. Sanday. That these four are qualified to express an opinion may well be conceded, though the last named is far too ready to allow weight to the opposing argument.

At this point the author has a word to say about the continental ignorance (or ignoring) of English scholars.

The seventh lecture, entitled "Recent Additions to Our Knowledge," is for the student more valuable than any other in the volume. What has been discovered, what has been reinvestigated during our age, virtually doubles the historic evidence in support of the Fourth Gospel. The *Philosophumena*, the Clementine Homilies, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the new light shed on the Ignatian Epistles —all these evidences are for, not one against, the judgment of centuries. The author, of course, adds nothing to the mass of testimony, but he skilfully arranges it, and closes the whole discussion by an anti-climax or *reductio ad absurdum*—namely, the suggestion of a German, who has published four volumes on the life of Christ, and intimates that Judas Iscariot was the disciple whom Jesus loved and the real author of the Fourth Gospel. No consistent body of negative criticism has arisen in our age to cancel the judgment of centuries; this is the conclusion to which the author comes and which cannot be disproven until new evidence appears to the contrary.

Up to this point the volume is a demonstration. The appointed task is done; the goal is reached. Artistic unity would have been secured by leaving the matter unadorned with a hortatory and quasi-polemic conclusion. Not only so, but the last lecture does not seem to be as clear as other parts of the volume. Reasserting that the outward form is not inspired, the author admits more than a possibility of the admixture of human error, and asserts that the Word of God is "not identical with the written or spoken word of even inspired men."

The author accepts the Fourth Gospel as a tendency writing, and very skilfully arranges some of the paradoxical opinions respecting it. He insists that it is a "translation," in the widest sense, a Gospel for the place, Ephesus, and for the time, the close of the first century. But this position he uses only to show that it is a Gospel for all times —needing, however, to be "translated." His demand for leaders and leadership in this work is almost pathetic, though just what he desires does not seem clear at this distance. The practical conclusion is quasi-polemic. It sets forth how little scientific leaders have to say on what is so plainly said in the Fourth Gospel, how insufficient is modern ethical science, and finds in modern agnosticism a proof of the necessity of faith, to which faculty the Fourth Gospel appeals. It is the Gospel for all time; it sets forth its own purpose, "that believing ye may have life in His name." Because it is all the author proves it to be, it seems unnecessary to concede as much as he does of possible imperfection. "The judgment of centuries" past will probably remain the judgment of centuries to come, and the concessions of "our age" may disappear in the higher synthesis of a better doctrine of Holy Scripture.

No space remains to speak of the charming style of the lecturer, nor of the beautiful dress of the volume. The student will be thankful for the full analysis contained in the table of contents and the exhaustive index at the close.

M. B. RIDDLE.

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GOD INCARNATE. By the Right Rev. HOLLINGSWORTH TULLY KINGDON, D.D. Being the Paddock Lectures for 1890. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890. 8vo, pp. 252, cloth, $1.75.

This volume contains a series of seven lectures, delivered during the past year by the author, who is the assistant bishop of New Brunswick, on the foundation of the *Bishop Paddock Lectureship.* The lectures were addressed to the students of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and are printed in accordance with the conditions of the Trust. They were designed to concentrate the attention of those candidates for Holy Orders on the fundamental truth of the Incarnation, together with certain related truths in the Christian scheme; and the aim of the author, as he states it, was not to present any original views, but to set forth these familiar doctrines in forms calculated to awaken interest and to deepen conviction.

Two of these lectures are occupied with a preliminary discussion of the Creator and the Creation; two others treat of the Incarnation as a process, and of the characteristics of the incarnate Saviour; one presents a view of the Atonement as the central act of Christ, and the two concluding lectures discuss the Sacraments in their relations to Christian experience, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost as the consummating feature in the development of redemption. This list of topics will make it apparent that the volume is, in fact, a condensed summary of the fundamental doctrines of grace from the standpoint of Christology.

After discoursing upon the existence, personality, and unity of God, and the doctrine of the Trinity, the author presents his view of creation in general, and specifically of the creation of angels and men, giving in his adherence under the last head to the theory of evolution, as affording, in his judgment, "the best solvent of all the phenomena that present themselves." His doctrine of the fall of man, and of the origin and nature of sin, is substantially that of the Thirty-nine Articles. The author inclines, on what we regard as insufficient grounds, to view the Incarnation not as an event rendered necessary by the fall and sin of man, but as a process essential to the personal and complete union of God with man as a moral creature, and, therefore, as provided for from the beginning in the constitution of man and in the nature of things. His subsequent presentation of the composite nature and the peculiar qualities of the Incarnate Deity, is largely, perhaps injuriously, affected by this opinion. Still, the exposition of what is termed the Perfection of Sympathy in Christ in the fourth lecture, is one of the most interesting and suggestive discussions in the volume. The view of the Atonement, which follows, is also interesting, as a terse statement of the orthodox doctrine of a true and satisfying sacrifice, having its source not in the wrath, but in the love of God, yet providing a real propitiation and ransom and reconciliation available for all the spiritual needs of all sinners.

In the lecture on the Sacraments there is much which only those can receive who view the Christian scheme from the sacramentarian standpoint only. While the author adheres mainly to the clear and strong statement of the Articles respecting baptism and the Eucharist, he is inclined to make far more of the supper as a sacrifice, and of confirmation and absolution, the holy orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, than is consistent with the best teaching of his own Church. We view with extreme distrust every tendency in this direction. The discussion of the person and relations of the Holy Spirit is admirable, until we reach the matter of his residence and work within the Church as a spirit of wisdom and of growth. Here the author rules out all sects except his own as being "bodies that have separated themselves from the Communion of the Church," to whom there is, therefore, no promised indwelling of the Spirit, and only a general hope of salvation. This is an amazing position to take in such an age and such a country as ours, where only one in twenty-seven professing Christians is a communicant in the Episcopal fold.

We need not dwell on certain incidental points that have challenged criticism, such as the alleged preaching of Christ to the dead during his *descensus*, with its corollary of a probable probation after death. These are blemishes in a book which is, in the main, sound and healthful, stimulating in thought, vigorous in expression, and every way worthy of its place in the series of volumes produced through the Paddock Lectureship. The appendices at the close of the book, about forty in number, are very helpful to the reader; and one of them (M M, on the matter of confirmation), is quite valuable as a *résumé* of ancient opinion.

E. D. MORRIS.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

HAND-COMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT. Vierter Band. Erste Abtheilung: Johanneisches Evangelium. Bearbeitet von Holtzmann. Pp. viii., 206. 3.00 mk.

HAND-COMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT. Zweiter Band. Erste Abtheilung. 1–2 Thessalonicherbrief, 1–2 Korintherbrief. Bearbeitet von Schmiedel. 1 Hälfte. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. (New York: Stechert, 1890.) Pp. 1–112. 1.20 mk.

Holtzmann's views of the origin and character of the Fourth Gospel are known through his introduction to the New Testament published in 1886. These views, firmly held for more than twenty years, appear now, unaltered, in his volume on the Gospel of John. The beloved disciple was not the author of the Fourth Gospel; the apostolic age, or even the first century, was not the period of its composition, and its character, save only in a slight degree, is not historical. John was a preacher of the circumcision; this Gospel is universal in its scope. The theology of the Fourth Gospel is not the primitive and Apostolic, but betrays the influence of Gnosticism. It was apparently produced in Ephesus. The tone of the writing supports tradition in this particular. Its Alexandrian and theological character, its references to Gnosticism, and the fact that it was first recognized in the Asiatic Church, are best accounted for by this hypothesis. Its traces of personal acquaintance with Palestine are consistent with the view that it was composed by a Jew of the Diaspora who had visited the holy places. Its catholic character and its close relation to Greek philosophy make it altogether probable that its author was a Hellenistic Jew. His education was both Jewish and Greek. His dependence upon the Stoic and Platonic philosophy shows that he belonged to those "denationalized, secularized, and spiritualized" Jews who represented the union of Jewish religiousness and world-culture.

Regarding those passages of the Gospel which speak of the disciple whom Jesus loved, and which identify him with the author, Holtzmann's view is not clear. The disciple whom Jesus loved is perhaps typical of the normal discipleship. If so, Nathanael may have been the original.

Holtzmann admits that in the circle where the Gospel originated, there seems to have been a claim to the name of John the Apostle as author of the Gospel, but this is due to local patriotism, which regarded John as the head of the Church of that region.

The Gospel bears the stamp of dependency as regards the events which it communicates. Its value as history lies in this, that it gives us a glimpse into the development of Christianity in the second century, rather than in any addition it makes to our knowledge of Jesus. The essential features of the development which the Church had passed through in the first century of its history may be drawn from this Gospel. The element of personal reminiscence which is found in the Gospel may be derived either from the Ephesian John or from witnesses in Palestine.

The scope and character of Holtzmann's interpretation may be illustrated by his treatment of the marriage-feast in Cana. This story is regarded as an artistic doctrinal allegory. Water is the element of the Baptist. Jesus makes the symbol reality. The wine is symbolic of the spiritual life. A wedding is chosen by the author of the Gospel as the occasion when Jesus should turn the water to wine, because such a scene is in keeping with the joyous character of the Gospel which Jesus had to announce. The wedding company stand for legal Judaism. The mother of Jesus is the Old Testament congregation. The perfectly free manner in which the narrator here uses the traditional matter of the evangelical history is said to be characteristic of his method. In an independent, unembarrassed way he transforms many a letter of the historical narrative into stones for the temple of an ideal representation.

And it may be said, in all fairness, that what Holtzmann here affirms of the supposed author of the Fourth Gospel may with yet greater pertinency be said of Holtzmann's own method. It is characterized by a perfectly free handling of the materials of the Gospel history. In an unembarrassed and independent fashion he transforms many a letter of the historical narrative into building-stones for an ideal temple. If the author of the Fourth Gospel used history in such a manner that the actual realities, as recorded by the Synoptists, are scarcely recognizable, it must also be said that the old Gospel of John is scarcely recognizable in the theologico-philosophical Alexandrian doctrinal writing of the second century, which Holtzmann with great learning and infinite ingenuity seeks to interpret in the volume now offered to the public.

Schmiedel accepts First Thessalonians as genuine, but rejects Second Thessalonians. The first letter, while it does not give so much doctrinal matter as other Pauline Epistles, is second to none as a witness of the cordial relations which the apostle sustained to the churches. Our estimation of the value of the epistle should not be diminished by the fact that Paul was mistaken in expecting to witness the Parousia, or by the questionableness of the statements concerning the course of things at the end of the days. The chief argument against the genuineness of Second Thessalonians is found in its eschatology. First, Paul's statement (2 Thess. ii. 5) that he had told his Thessalonian converts what should happen before the Parousia, is suspicious. There must have been a reference to these great events in 1 Thess. v. 2 f. Then the eschatological teaching of the Second Epistle is wholly inconsistent with that of the First. The figure of the thief and the travail-pain is destroyed by the Second Epistle, which assumes a long and gradual development of evil. Finally, it is decisive against the genuineness of the letter, that it presupposes the death of Nero. Its teaching concerning the man of sin rests upon the superstition that Nero would return. Schmiedel abandons his former theory that Second Thessalonians has a genuine letter of Paul as its basis, which was interpolated before the year 70 A.D. He now holds that the entire letter was composed by an unknown person between the death of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem. He thinks its doctrine of retribution is not wholly Christian, but that it shows advance, as compared with the First Epistle, in the matter of the time of the Parousia.

Schmiedel discusses at great length the origin of Second Corinthians. He holds that there was an important letter between our two letters, to which the passage 2 Cor. x. 1–xiii. 10 belonged. This was incorporated in our Second Corinthians through some collector of the Pauline writings. He regards both epistles as genuine, and of the utmost historical and doctrinal value.

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THE WRITERS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. THEIR STYLE AND CHARACTERISTICS. By the late Rev. WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX, M.A., Rector of Harlaxton. The second part of "The Language of the New Testament." (*The Theological Educator*, edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D.). New York: Whittaker, 1890. Pp. viii., 190, 75c.

This little book, issued posthumously under the care of the Rev. G. A. Simcox, brother of the author, concludes Mr. Simcox's work, "The Language of the New Testament." The first volume dealt with matters purely grammatical, and with the New Testament as a whole. The present volume is concerned with the grammatical characteristics of individual books or groups of writings, and treats also of lexical differences. The text of the book occupies only 89 pages. The rest (101 pages) is given up to two appendices. The first of these deals with lexical differences and agreements between individual writers and groups of writers of the New Testament, and the second gives specimens of Hellenic and Hellenistic Greek, with notes illustrating the characteristic peculiarities of each.

The body of the work, under the caption "Individual Characteristics of the New Testament Writers," deals with seven groups, viz., The Synoptic Gospels, Luke, Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews (with its relations to Paul and Luke), the Catholic Epistles, the Fourth Gospel, and Joannine Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

Luke's Gospel comes under consideration twice; once as one of the synoptic Gospels, and again in its relation to the Acts. Mr. Simcox agrees with the conclusion reached by all scholars, attributing both the Gospel and the Acts to the same writer—Luke. In fact, in none of the discussions germane to his subject does the author bring out much, if anything, that is new. He considers the Acts "of all the books included in the New Testament the nearest to contemporary, if not to classical, literary usage." Paul is the typical Hellenist—that is, the writer of "Greek that is composed in Greek, and not a version of something written, spoken, or at least thought out in Hebrew or Aramaic; but which . . . is the composition of a Jew to whom Ἕλλην means 'Gentile.'" Mr. Simcox quotes with approval Dr. Salmon's dictum: "The letter of St. James is perhaps the best Greek in the New Testament"—that is, taking its vocabulary into account. He thinks it less studied and artificial in its construction than either the Acts or the Epistle to the Hebrews. He concludes that James was used in the First Epistle of Peter and Jude in the second.

Our author has, in his discussion of the Epistle to the Hebrews, been led further afield than elsewhere. A remark upon the (supposed) affiliations of that epistle with the Wisdom of Solomon, and with Philo's writings, leads to a disscusion of the Philonic authorship of Wisdom, which he rejects. He decides against the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, as he does against Origen's suggestion that Luke wrote it. His conclusion is that it was produced by one of a group of writers in very close connection with each other, and who produced Luke's Gospel and the Acts, the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles, and the Appendix to Mark's Gospel. In other words, Hebrews has decided Lucan, Pauline, and Petrine characteristics, and must have been written by some one in close connection with them all.

In his grammatical discussions Mr. Simcox has not the lucidity of style which makes the results he reaches stand out and impress themselves on the reader. One must follow the author with pen and pencil and state for himself the conclusions reached, or he will find himself rather befogged than enlightened as to the grammatical and stylistic peculiarities of the New Testament writers. Minutiæ follow minutiæ so closely that it is hard to keep one's bearings. Clear statement of principles is a desideratum sadly lacking. Of the scholarship of the author no doubt can be entertained, though he slips occasionally, as when he intimates that ἐν τῷ, with the Infinitive, is a purely Hellenistic construction, notwithstanding its use by Sophocles (*e.g.*, Ajax, 554–55).

Why is it that books like this are permitted to go forth without indexes? In the former volume there was an index of Scripture passages. In this one there is not even that. The time used in preparing indexes is so disproportionate to the added value of a book that there is no excuse for not making them. Were proper indexes prepared for the two volumes Mr. Simcox has contributed to the "Theological Educator" series, they would be much more valuable to students of the New Testament. They might even claim a place on the pastor's study-table, and be sought by the divinity student as real helps in his attempt to understand this portion of Holy Writ. The student who annotates his Greek Testament will find in this volume much which he can with profit transfer to the margin of his Greek text.

The publishers have done their part of the work well. The print is clear and typographical errors exceedingly rare.

George W. Gilmore.

Brooklyn.

Persia: Eastern Mission. A Narrative of the Founding and Fortunes of the Eastern Persian Mission. With a Sketch of the Versions of the Bible and Christian Literature in the Persian and Persian-Turkish Languages. By Rev. James Bassett. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1890. 12mo, cloth, pp. 353. $1.25.

"Persia: Eastern Mission," is a full and clear presentation of the facts connected with this mission field. It is especially gratifying to have this subject treated by one who was a prime mover in the work which he narrates, and who is able to give an inside as well as a complete view. He gives us the sober facts without color or embellishment.

The first three chapters portray the character and present condition of the various nationalities dwelling in Eastern Persia, showing up their vices and their good qualities as well. The bulk of the book is taken up with the history of the formation and development of the mission work at Teheran and its out-stations, including the transformation of Hamadan into a full-fledged station, and the constitution of the Eastern Persia Mission. No doubt this part of the work could be greatly condensed without curtailing the information imparted, thereby giving a corresponding increase to its interest to the general reader.

Chapters XI., XII., XIII. treat of the methods employed, the difficulties encountered, and the encouragements experienced in mission work in the capital and its adjacent districts. Though some advance has been made and some changes have taken place since the author was on the field, yet the impression made by his book is a fair and true one. Chapter XIV. treats of certain problems, including the establishment of a Christian College at Teheran, which if carried to a successful issue would produce far-reaching and beneficial results.

The Author closes his book with many interesting facts in regard to the versions of the Persian Bible and portions thereof which have been made at different times, together with a reference to the beginnings which have been made toward a Christian literature in the Persian languages. Would that he could have presented a far better report of books already published, as they are so greatly needed!

But I am sure the author would have added to the interest in his book had he given the meaning of the many Persian words he has seen fit to employ. To the general reader many points will remain obscure for the lack of a clew to the purport of these words. The illustrations fairly represent the persons and places intended, but by some mistake the pictures of "Mechiel and his wife" and of "Carapet and his wife Victoria" have been interchanged.

This little book covers a field not hitherto occupied and is well worthy a perusal by those seeking information on this subject. It is a safe guide. Many additional points of interest will be found in the author's first book, "Persia: The Land of the Imams," to which several references will be found.

James W. Hawkes.
(Hamadan, Persia.)

Baltimore, Md.

Christian Missions in the Nineteenth Century. By Rev. Elbert S. Todd, D.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stone, 1890. 12mo, pp. 174, 75 cents.

It is the design of this interesting and instructive book, to "call attention to some phases of the many-sided theme of Christian missions, which seem to have been neglected;" to suggest some of the obvious lessons which the history of missions teaches, and "especially to call attention to valuable hints which they furnish concerning the question of methods." The book will well repay a careful reading. It goes over ground which is comparatively new. It is healthy and cheering in its tone and tendency. It will surely strengthen the faith of those who read it in the ultimate and complete success of the mission work. The author is broad in his sympathies and culture, and recognizes cordially all Christian workers in the great field, whatever name they bear.

The point, however, which he has specially in view is the "methods of mission work." The fact that the amount given by the churches, for the last decade, remains so nearly stationary, seems to him significant. It indicates that the limit has been nearly reached; that there is no reasonable ground to think that the Church will go largely beyond its present attainment in the method of work now adopted. There must be some new method, or rather, as the author thinks, the Church must fall back upon the old method under which it has won all its brilliant successes in the past. He puts in contrast the "Stipendiary Mission," in which the home churches, through an organized society, assume the support of the missionaries sent into the field, and the "Martyr Missions," in which the missionary goes into the field without any pledged support, relying upon his own exertion and the Providence of God for his livelihood. The latter method was, in the author's view, the apostolic method, and has been followed in all the great mission movements of the Church through the centuries. The most conspicuous advocate of this method in this country, as is well known, is Bishop Taylor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which our author is an honored minister.

Without discussing either the grounds upon which our author rests his view, or what is likely to prove true in the issue upon either method, it seems important to suggest:

1. That the word "Martyr" is not a happy term to designate any method of mission work. There is no reason why a man who goes out to the heathen under the auspices of a society or board, and lays down his life in his work, may not as justly be termed a martyr as one who goes unsupported, and dies in the effort to provide his own support, and possibly because he could not secure it. Why are not Bishop Hannington, Mr. Mackay, and scores of others, just as truly martyrs as one of Bishop Taylor's men, who falls bravely at his post working for his own livelihood in the intervals of his mission toil?

2. The method of mission work which implies that those who hear the call of Christ and go to the heathen, must do the work and be at their own charges, will be very likely to release the consciences of the great mass of church-members from their share in the work, and the sacrifice it involves. If the few who can go must not only take up and carry on the vast mission work, but at the same time earn their own livelihood, the many, who are at home, will not feel burdened with any imperative obligation. It needs all possible motives to bring even Christian men up to any great sacrifice or self-denial. It will be in the face of all experience if the burden is not left to rest upon the few. Whereas, upon the method now in use, the command of Christ binds every conscience; no Christian can be without his or her share in the work and its burdens without the sin of disobedience. It binds alike those who go and those who stay.

3. The work of the Church is one. We cannot separate the mission work and take it apart, as if it was distinct in nature or was enforced by peculiar obligations.

Having said this, not so much in any opposition to the method proposed, but as a caution in adopting it, we commend the book heartily to our readers, with the assured conviction that its wide circulation will be fruitful of good.

ABRAHAM GOSMAN.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

THE PASTOR AMIDST HIS FLOCK. By Rev. G. B. WILLCOX, D.D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: American Tract Society. 12mo, pp. 186, cloth, $1.

If good advice could make good ministers there would be few poor ones. The books which have been published within the last few years on preaching and pastoral work are so numerous and so excellent that one cannot help wondering what the professors of homiletics and pastoral theology find left to say to their classes. In fact, the question suggests itself to some minds whether this is not overdone. Would it not be better to treat the student of theology more as the student of medicine or law or military science is treated; that is to say, to teach him his subject, and then leave him to apply it for himself? The experience of others is valuable; but it is possible to think and speak too much of methods. If a man has anything in him it will come out of him, and his own experience will soon teach him more than he can learn from all the lecturers and all the treatises in the world. Something must in the end be left to his own common sense, and there seems to be some danger that our theological seminaries may commit the error of over-anxious mothers, who give their boys such minute instructions as to what they shall do and shall not do, that they are made not manly and self-reliant, but self-conscious and artificial.

This is the only possible objection to Professor Willcox's little book. It is chock-full of good advice—excellent advice—such advice as one would expect from a man so well balanced and of such large experience, who has himself been twenty-six years a pastor and eleven years a professor in this department. It does not consist of formal lectures, but is put in the form of a conversation between the professor, A, and his pupils, B, C, and D, though, of course, the professor asks as well as answers the questions. This gives, perhaps, a certain ease and familiarity to the discussion, and does not detract from its sobriety and earnestness. The talk ranges over every important topic relating to the life of a pastor among his people, such as The Outset in the Work, The Pastor personally, The Pulpit, Organizing and Administering, Social Life of the Church, Among the Children, Church Financial Affairs, In the Homes of the People, Special Services, and Miscellaneous. It is interspersed with anecdotes, illustrations, and bits of personal experience, and is thoroughly sensible from first to last. There are especially admirable chapters on Candidating and on Resigning, and many excellent suggestions may be found under the heads of Office Bearers and Leading Members, Setting the Church at Work, Social Gatherings, etc. In the chapter on The Care of Health the anxious mother appears. Such exhortations as these: "Avoid all messes that float in grease;" "take little pastry;" "eat slowly;" "be careful of the air in your sleeping-room;" and the information that "the teeth are injured, as is the stomach, by contact with very hot or very cold drinks" seem to belong to an earlier stage in a young man's education, though some ministers who are no longer young might be profited by equally plain language on the subject of personal cleanliness. So too the advice to "live on what happens to be cheapest at the season;" "get winter clothing in the spring—fuel in June or July," and more of the same sort, is really too fatherly. But the book deals mainly with more important topics, and treats them in a broader way.

EDWARD B. COE.

NEW YORK.

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NOTES OF MAGAZINES.

Harper's Magazine for April, 1891, has these contents: "Cuirassiers" (illustrated; frontispiece); "The French Army" (illustrated), by General Lewal; "The State of Wisconsin" (illustrated), by Hon. W. F. Vilas; "The Mother" (a poem), by William Wilfred Campbell; "Wessex Folk," Part II. (illustrated), by Thomas Hardy; "Glimpses of the Bacteria" (illustrated), by T. Mitchell Prudden, M.D.; "Thomas Hood, Punster, Poet, Preacher" by Rt. Rev. T. U. Dudley, D D.; "In the 'Stranger People's' Country" (a story), Part IV. (illustrated), by Charles Egbert Craddock; "The Court Theatre of Meiningen" (illustrated), by Dr. Charles Waldstein; "Don Carlos" (a story), by Margaret Crosby; "The Behring Sea Controversy," by Hon. E. J. Phelps; "Mark Fenton" (a story), by Angeline Teal; "Argentine Provincial Sketches" (illustrated), by Theodore Child; "Silence and Solitude" (a poem), by Annie Fields; "Precedence in VanityFair," drawn by George Du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis; "Editor's Study," by William Dean Howells; "Monthly Record of Current Events;" "Editor's Drawer," conducted by Charles Dudley Warner; "Literary Notes," by Laurence Hutton.

The Atlantic Monthly for April has these contents: "The Brazen Android" (in two parts), Part I., "A Story of Old London," by William Douglas O'Connor; "Easter Eve at Kerak-Moab" (a poem), by Clinton Scollard; "From my Window," by Olive Thorne Miller; "The House of Martha," XXVI.-XXVIII., by Frank R. Stockton; "Arnold Winkelreid at Sempach" (a summing up of the evidence on the subject, with an inclination to believe his existence and daring deed; with also a fling at William Tell), by W. D. McCrackan; "Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan," XVII.-XXI., by Percival Lowell; "A Thought" (a poem), by Thomas S. Collier; "Prehistoric Man on the Pacific Coast" (a study of the Nampa Image), by George Frederick Wright; "Nænia Amoris" (a poem), by Thomas William Parsons; "Capture of Louisbourg by the New England Militia," II., by Francis Parkman; "The Armenians and the Porte," by S. G. W. Benjamin; "The Muses in the Common School," by Mary E. Burt; "Cain" (a poem), by William H. Hayne; "Goethe's Key to Faust," first paper: The Prologues. By William P. Andrews; "Judaism and Christianity;" James's "Psychology;" Perry's "History of Greek Literature;" General Cullum's "West Point Register;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

Scribner's Magazine for April contains: "The End of the Voyage" (frontispiece, drawn by Charles Broughton; engraved by Peckwell); "Ocean Passenger Travel," by John H. Gould. Being the first article of the series upon Ocean Steamships. (Illustrations from drawings by O H. Bacher, R. F. Zogbaum, F. C. Schell, J. D. Woodward, Harry Fenn, Victor Pérard, and W. B. Styles; engraving by Frank French, E. H. Del'Orme, C. I. Butler, E. Clément, W. B. Witte, and G. Del'Orme); "A Kangaroo Hunt," by Birge Harrison (illustrations from paintings by the author; engraving by T. H. Heard, H. W. Peckwell, K. C. Atwood, G. Del'Orme, and M. J. Whaley); "Horace, Book I., Ode XXI.," in honor of Diana and Apollo, Dr. Philip Francis's translation, 1831 (the illustration by J. R. Weguelin; engraving by Henry Wolf); "Gaspar Nuñez de Arce," by Rollo Ogden (with portrait engraved by G. Kruell); "The Meaning of the Dakota Outbreak," by Herbert Welsh, with a map of the Sioux Indian Reservation; "Spring Song," by Graham R. Tomson; "The Phenix," by Bliss Perry; "What is Right-Handedness?" by Thomas Dwight, M.D., Professor of Anatomy in the Harvard Medical School (with numerous illustrations prepared under the direction of the author); "Where the Ice Never Melts"—The Cruise of the U. S. Steamer Thetis in 1889, by Robert Gordon Butler (Illustrations from drawings by W. L. Metcalf and W. L. Taylor; engraving by E. H. Del'Orme and C. I. Butler); "Jerry," Part III., Chapters XIII.-XIV. (Begun in June, 1890, to be concluded in May); "The Relief of Captain Nelson," by A. J. Mounteney Jephson, of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition (illustrated by Frederic Villiers); "Night," by Archibald Lampman; "The Story of the Fresh-Air Fund," by Willard Parsons; "The Point of View." Cloistral Criticism—As to the Long-Engaged—the Investigation of Crime.

The Century for April contains: "Mona Lisa," by Leonardo da Vinci, engraved from the original by T. Cole (frontispiece); "Salons of the Revolution and the Empire" (portraits), by Amelia Gere Mason; "Light," by R. K. Munkittrick; Poems by Charles Henry Lüders: "The Four Winds," "Under the Breaker," "Rain on the Peaks," "A Day in June" (Charles Henry Lüders died January 21st, 1891), by Frank Dempster Sherman; "There were Ninety and Nine," by Richard Harding Davis; "Fetishism in Congo Land," by one of Stanley's pioneer officers, by E. J. Glave (pictures by W. Taber after sketches from life by the author); "An Inflated Currency Act," by David Dodge; "Leonardo da Vinci" (Italian Old Masters, by W. J. Stillman, with notes and engravings by T. Cole); "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton," by John A. Wyeth (pictures by W. H. Shelton); "Early Intercourse of the Wordsworths and De Quincey," with hitherto unpublished letters, by H. A. Page; "Two Expeditions to Mount St. Elias: I. The Expedition of 'The New York Times' (1886), by Frederick Schwatka; II. The Expedition of the National Geographic Society and the U. S. Geological Survey, 1890," by Israel C. Russell (pictures by J. A. Fraser, after photographs); "The Twenty-third of April," by R. W. Gilder; "Colonel Carter of Cartersville" (conclusion), by F. Hopkinson Smith (pictures by E. W. Kemble); "Herr von Striempfell's Experiment," by Allan McLane Hamilton; "A Race Romance," by Maurice Thompson (pictures by E. W. Kemble); "To California by Panama in '49," by Juliu H. Pratt (pictures by Gilbert Gaul, after drawings by Charles Nahl, made in 1850); "The Conquest of California," by John Charles Frémont; "The Official Policy for the Acquisition of California;" "Hardships of the Isthmus in '49," by A. C. Ferris; "Spanish Jealousy of Vancouver," by John T. Doyle; "The Faith Doctor" (begun in February), by Edward Eggleston; "And After," by Arlo Bates; "Washington and Frederick the Great," by Moncure D. Conway; "Topics of the Time;" "Open Letters;" "Bric-à-brac."

Lippincott's for April has these contents: "Maidens Choosing" by Mrs. Ellen Olney Kirk. (This is the complete story of the number. The authoress has used the pen name of Henry Hayes. Are women obliged these days to adopt masculine names in order to obtain a hearing? Why do literary women commonly write their names so that strangers do not know whether they are married or not? Do they wish to be considered misses? Why do they commonly use initials only, so that their sex is disguised? These are questions which admit of, but probably will not receive answer.) "Some Familiar Letters by Horace Greeley," Part II., edited by Joel Benton (particularly interesting); "The Poet," "The Musician," "The Painter," by Miss Vernon Paull (poems); "The Elizabethan Drama and the Victoria Novel," by T. D. Robb; "Yarns about Diamonds," by David Graham Adee; "A Song of Changes," by E. C. White; "Brevity in Fiction," by Frederic M. Bird; "New Africa," by Charles Morris; "A Plea for the Ugly Girls," by Miss (?) E. F. Andrews (an amusing skit); "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

Littell's Living Age is a welcome weekly visitor. The numbers for March 14th and 21st contain: "The Paintings of Pompeii," *Edinburgh*; "Wit and Pathos in Suetonius," *National*; "Three Finnish Scholars," *Scottish*; "Turnerian Landscape—An Arrested Art," *Nineteenth Century*; "A Ride in Kaffirland, and Alexander William Kinglake," *Blackwood*; "Illustrations of Animal Life in Tennyson, and Ischia and its Earthquake," *Cornhill*; "Life in the London Slums," *Temple Bar*; "Statesmen of Europe," *Leisure Hour*; "Social Bath in the Last Century," *Murray's*; "Our Wittiest Judge," *Belgravia*; "Wild Beasts and Their Ways," *Longman's*; "Our First-Cousins, and Some Savage Contributions to Civilization," *Chambers's*; "At the Regent Street Tussand's," *Punch*; "The South African Doctrine of Souls," *Nature*; "Robert Louis Stevenson on Realism and Idealism," *Melbourne Argus*.

The readers of this magazine can secure copies of Dr. Mombert's *History of Charles the Great*, a book of permanent value, the only decent biography of Charlemagne in the language, by sending him direct $3.50 for each copy wanted. Mention this magazine and address Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D., Paterson, N. J.

The Cosmopolitan for April has these contents: "General Sherman" (frontispiece and article), by Murat Halstead; "The Eldest of the Arts—Darning" (illustrated), by Miss Elizabeth Bisland; "Resurgam" (poem), by Frederic Peterson; "The President's Office and Home" (illustrated), by George Grantham Bain; "The Master of Genre—Meissonier" (illustrated), by George Edgar Montgomery; "The Nicaragua Canal" (illustrated), by Charles T. Harvey; "A Handkerchief" (poem), by John Patterson; "The Japanese Theatre" (illustrated), by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore; "The Farmers' Alliance," by Senator W. A. Pfeffer (this article should be compared with Mr. Pfeffer's later speeches); "The Story of a War Correspondent's Life" (illustrated), by Frederic Villiers; "Farm Life," by a farmer's daughter—Miss Jennie E. Hooker (the winner of the first prize for such articles); "The Mystery of a Studio" (illustrated), by Robert Howe Fletcher; "The Future Conditions of Inventions" (comic illustrations), by Sylvester Baxter; "Current Events," by Murat Halstead; "Social Problems," by Edward Everett Hale; "On Certain Recent Novels by American Women," by Brander Matthews; "Compensation" (poem), by Miss Julia C. R. Dorr.

The Missionary Review for April has these contents: "A Jesuit Mission in India," by Rev. Ed. Storrow; "Missionary Methods," by Rev. Dr. J. T. Gracey; "Ling Ching Ting," by Rev. Dr. S. L. Baldwin; "Why Missions are Modern," by Rev. Dr. D. L. Leonard; "London Papers and India's Women," by Mrs. J. T. Gracey; "Light in Darkest England," by Rev. Francis E. Smiley; "Creation according to Khasi Traditions," by Rev. Wm. Williams; "Mission Work in the Scotch Athens," by D. L. Pierson; "The Telugu Mission," by Rev. C. B. Ward; "The Missionary's Shoes," by Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon.

THE
MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. MAY, 1891. No. 2.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

MORAL EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY THE HON. JOHN JAY.

A NOTABLE controversy is now being waged between two parties of Roman Catholics in the Republic, one composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, who recognize allegiance to the Court of Rome, and the other in great part of loyal American laity, who stand by their rights as Americans, and who hold to the public schools and American institutions. This conflict has much of interest and instruction for the American people, who are being asked by the Court of Rome to substitute for their common school the Roman parochial school, which the hierarchy finds itself unable to force upon the more intelligent members of its own communion, even by the thunders of the Vatican and spiritual penalties.

While the American press has been reserved on this subject, the Roman Catholic sheets have, at times, spoken frankly. The *Catholic Review* (December 23d, 1888), speaking of the two parties in their Church, asked, in regard to their opponents: "Is it too harsh to say that such men are traitors to the Catholic camp?" Another Roman journal, the *Lake Shore Visitor*, remarked that "no traitors are to be allowed in camp;" and emphasis is given to these sharp questions by the recent remark in the New York *Herald*, in a notice of Bishop McQuaid's assault on public schools in the *Forum*, December, 1889, that "the worthy bishop had arrayed himself against the vast majority of the co-religionists." They recall also the remark, attributed to the late E. C. Corrigan, of Boston, that "if a vote of the Irish Americans of Massachusetts were taken, nine tenths would give the public schools the first place."

Archbishop Purcell warned the Ultramontanes in his letter to Bishop Dupanloup, and said: "Our citizens of Irish nationality will have much difficulty in admitting that Pope Adrian IV., who was an Englishman, was infallible when he gave Ireland to Henry II., of England. Until now," added the archbishop, "we have been permitted to say that the Roman Church had nothing to do with the transaction, and that it was not responsible for all that the Popes have done or might do."

The clear voice of O'Connell is still remembered by his countrymen in America: "I am sincerely a Catholic, but I am not a Papist. I deny the doctrine that the Pope has any authority, directly or indirectly, in Ireland. We have all denied that authority on oath, and we would die to resist it."*

The late Mr. McMasters, of the *Freeman's Journal* (March 12th, 1887), exposed the character of the Roman parochial schools in America, where "a smattering of the Catechism is supposed to fit them for the duties of life," and demanded schools that were not "apologies, compromises, systemless pretences," and proclaimed in words that should be heard over the entire continent and in Rome itself, "Methods that worked in the Old World will not work here."

Father Hecker, in the last book of his life, "The Church and the Age," pointing to France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Bavaria, Baden, South America, and Brazil, where the Roman Catholics, outnumbering all other Christians, are controlled and governed by hostile minorities, attributed the fact to the system of education adopted by the Jesuits of "increased personal dependence," "at the expense necessarily of those virtues which go to make up the strength of Christian manhood." In this fact Father Hecker "found the explanation why fifty millions of Protestants have had generally a controlling influence for a long period over two hundred millions of (Roman) Catholics in directing the movements and destinies of nations." The historic fact, thus plainly stated and explained, shows the necessity to every citizen and to the nation at large of moral education in the public schools—a moral education entirely different from that the lamentable effects of which were shown by Father Hecker; and the occasion for this better education is greater in a republic where the character of the nation depends absolutely upon " the virtues which go to make up the strength of Christian manhood."

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* "The Select Speeches of O'Connell," edited by his son, 1882, p. 447.

The policy and example of Papal Europe do not afford fitting precedents for America, and this seems to be admitted by intelligent Roman Catholics the most devoted to their Church. Mr. Hugh P. McElrone, an able writer in the *Independent* (June 6th, 1889), gives a striking picture of the divisions in the Roman Catholic missions to America, illustrating the same thought by the confusion, if not disintegration, that results from the importation of methods from the Old World that will not work here. He says: " American (Roman) Catholic bishops, priests, and laymen have been busier fighting one another than fighting the common enemy;" and he adds: " The bulk of the laity and clergy and the majority of bishops nevertheless are beginning to demand a radical change in the government of the Church—a change which shall put it more in accordance with American ideas." At present the chief arguments used by the hierarchy, both in the conflict with its own members and in its contest with the American people, are that ours is a godless, heathenish country; that our public schools are godless, sectarian, and schools of vice, and that they are forbidden by the form of our Constitution to teach morality, and it is sometimes urged that the State has no right to teach at all. On these pretences they demand that the American people, in order to secure a higher civilization and a purer morality, should at once substitute for the public schools, established by the State, the Papal parochial schools, in the charge, frequently, if not usually, of priests and nuns, and under the supreme direction of the Court of Rome; or else that, in violation of State constitutions, they should share with the parochial schools the moneys sacredly devoted to the public schools. But their ablest representatives in America, from Bishop Carroll, of Carrolton, down to Dr. Brownson and that learned and accomplished jurist, Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, might have prevented their falling into such an error as that of denouncing the Republic as godless, and its education as heathenish, when the Republic and its schools have produced a civilization which Dr. Brownson declared " comes nearer to the realization of the Catholic ideal than any which had heretofore developed and actualized;" that it is, in fact, " the farthest point in advance as yet reached by any age or nation."*

It may, perhaps, seem to some Americans that it is an insult to the intelligence of the nation to regard as worthy of answer the insinuation that ours is " a godless nation" with a " heathenish school;" but if an intelligent devotion to our common-school system is a chief characteristic of the American people, another is their readiness to accord a fair and courteous hearing to all charges against the management of their institutions, involving the slightest violation of their original intent and the public interest.

In the present case the charge comes from the Roman hierarchy, with whose widely organized and relentless hostility to American schools and American principles our people, whatever their past credulity or indifference, are fast becoming familiar, and whose attempt to force the intelligent and patriotic laity of their communion by threats of spiritual penalties, to deprive their children of the exceptional advantages of the public school, calls for whatever legislative or judicial action may be required to maintain the supremacy of the State and the rights of its citizens.

Their assault emphasizes the importance of letting the Roman Catholic laity know that they are furnished by their own authorities, with a logical and conclusive answer to every objection against public schools that has been invented; that the American people are ready to combine in the common school every practical excellence, to free it from every denominational feature, to mark it by the highest and purest morality, and so to commend it to the adoption of all intelligent Roman Catholics as one to which, by the showing of their own highest authorities, they can consistently and most advantageously continue to send their children, with benefit to their intellectual, moral, and social advancement.

That some of them should be for the moment puzzled by the ecclesiastical charges against the public schools is quite possible. Some idea may be formed of the extent and system of this organized assault on American education from a book entitled " Judges of Faith and Godless Schools," addressed to (Roman) Catholic parents by the Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins.* Mr. Jenkins, in his preface, says that the book contains the rulings against the schools of two hundred and fifty judges of the faith. Among them are seventeen plenary and provincial councils, two Popes, two sacred congregations, of some twenty cardinals, who, with thirty-three archbishops, make forty primates and metropolitans, about seventy single bishops and archbishops, deceased or living in the United States. The compiler adds, with apparent unconsciousness of the significance of the fact, that "all are from the past half century." And he might have added that the past half century has developed the resolve of those who inspire the policy of the Roman Curia, that the common school, with its pure and noble ethics, free from denominational dogma, developing intellectual power and independent thought, and inspiring generous sentiment and manly strength, must be destroyed as the guardian of the American ideal and the outlying fortress of the American Republic.

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* " Catholic Schools and Education"—a paper of great ability in Brownson's *Quarterly Review*, January, 1862, p. 77.

In 1837 Professor S. F. B. Morse gave an extract from a Roman priest, who, writing from Rome, said: "You will never understand the great importance which the Pope set upon the conquest of America. He knows that Europe escaped from his power, and he wishes to indemnify himself with the New World." †

The increased urgency of the present assault is explained by Monsignor Bouland, an ex-prelate of the Roman Church, who has recently left its communion, when he says: "The order has gone forth from the Vatican, and a war upon the public school system has begun. Rome knows that so long as the youth of America are educated in our public schools, she cannot hope to wrest authority from the hands of the State." ‡

It might, perhaps, seem sufficient to say, in answer to Mr. Jenkins's two hundred and fifty judges of faith, declaring our Republic to be godless and our schools heathenish, that every intelligent American who is familiar with the history of his country, finds in its cherished memories the historic and practical refutation of such charges.

But unfortunately too many of our foreign-born voters, especially in our great cities, have none of those memories to enable them to appreciate American institutions or to guard them from misrepresentation and overthrow.

Loyal American Roman Catholics are frank in their admissions and regrets that the foreignism which many Roman Catholics bring with them, and perpetuate in their foreign colony, is un-Catholic and antagonistic to the American idea. Dr. Brownson said: * "The Church has here a foreign aspect and has no root in the life of the nation. The Church brings here foreign manners, tastes, habits, a foreign civilization, and a foreign faith and worshippers. . . . When the priest refers his people to their ancestry, he refers not to our American ancestry, but to an ancestry of some foreign nationality."

While this fact explains the ignorance and the delusions of the children of foreigners, who have not enjoyed the advantages of our common schools, and of newly arrived emigrants who commence their life in America as the blind tools of those who would overthrow the common school, which is not only the source of the national greatness, but of the greatest blessings to the working classes, no such apology can be found for the native-born politicians of either party who knowingly sacrifice the sacred principles and rights they have sworn to maintain to gain the support of the pronounced enemies of American institutions. These are the men whose conduct and votes in the pending conflict are to be carefully noted and remembered, whenever they solicit the votes of Americans, as worthy of confidence and support.

The late learned Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge, in the last article which he wrote, alluded to one fact, that looks squarely in the direction of an atheistic nation, and which shows the extent to which school boards superintending the text-books, the teachers, the moral and intellectual tone of the schools may be tampered with and undermined, and the possibility of men being placed, by political intrigue, in that most responsible position, who ignore American history and American ideas, and barter for votes the most sacred and cherished principles of the American people. To-day, as Professor Fisher has reminded us, "our legislative bodies, and to some extent our courts of law, open their sessions with prayer," † and with that constant and national recognition in forty States of an Almighty Ruler of nations confirming the testimony of history to our Christian civilization, a school board of Chicago, after a year's trial, rejected Dr. Guyot's series of geographies, the best in the market, because they recognized the existence of a God.*

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* Thomas D. Egan, New York, Roman Catholic Agency, 1882

† Document XX. of the Evangelical Alliance, New York, 1886, p. 30.

‡ *The British American Citizen*, Boston, July 7, 1888.

* April, 1868.

† "Professor Fisher, in his reply to Cardinal Manning. *The Forum*, April, 1889.

Such action by a school board may well startle every intelligent and conscientious American familiar with the history of his country, who finds in its historic memories legislative, judicial, and practical refutation of the charge that we are a godless nation, and who now finds to his dismay the local success in so prominent a city as Chicago, of the foreign conspiracy to expose us to the contempt of Christendom as a godless nation.

It should not be difficult, even for our facile politicians, to appreciate the significance of such an act as giving local color to the charge that the Republic is godless and our schools heathenish, when they know that on that pretended and, as our judicial decisions show, irrational and malicious charge, is based the Papal assault upon our public schools, as the first essential step toward the overthrow of the sovereignty of the American people and the subjection of American institutions to the control of the Roman curia. Our clear-sighted financiers, including one so prominent as the late Mr. Vanderbilt, are not unconscious of an increasing sensitiveness on the part of capital to the un-American aims and methods of a secret foreign faction which places side by side with the Stars and Stripes over the New York City Hall a foreign flag, emphasizing the evils and shame and intense mortification of the misgovernment of our national metropolis which taxes and plunders without remorse, and which threatens our peaceful relations with Great Britain, by the fact, stated by Mr. Gladstone, that a large portion of the Irish population have carried with them to America a fierce resentment and inextinguishable aversion to British authority.

Our astute statesmen view with increasing concern an alien party, under the guidance of the Ultramontanes, whom Dr. John Henry Newman, despite his singularly gentle spirit, denounced as "an aggressive and insolent faction," disclaiming allegiance to any political party, and boasting their ability to control even the Presidential elections.† They seek to control the acts of each party, to alarm by threats and allure by promises, exhibiting contempt for American institutions, principles, and ideas, which seemed to reach a climax when, at a public banquet, the representatives of the Court of Rome assigned to the President of the United States, as their guest, a second place, as the subordinate of the Roman Court, and inferior in dignity to a Canadian cardinal. The policy thus boldly indicated at the national capital has already produced an effect on public opinion, and our assailants, who keenly watch the signs of the times, do not hesitate to admit that the "heresy of nationalism"—devotion to American ideas and institutions is with them a heresy and a crime, "is slowly but surely invading the nation."

Such an act as that of the school board of Chicago, in rejecting an approved geography because it recognized the existence of a God, would be startling had it occurred in any other part of the country. Startling, as suggesting that an American school board of our Christian land was prepared, under foreign guidance, to ignore the God whom our Constitution and laws so reverently acknowledge, and to rival the atheism of Paris, where it was declared that death was an eternal sleep, and where the Bible was trailed at the tail of an ass or burned in the street, to show their contempt and fear and hatred of the Word of God. If the defeat of the Jesuit policy by the Bible could at all excuse their treatment of the Book, they might suggest the thought that the Bible has barred the Jesuit effort at dominion in America. As an observant writer says, "Rome sought to make America Spanish. The English Bible and the public schools have made it American." But the act of the Chicago school board seems still more startling from its occurrence in a part of the northwestern territory whose never-to-be-forgotten ordinance of 1787 might alone rebuke these foreign critics, and forbid so gross an insult to that immortal ordinance.

The third article declared: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being needful to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." But that act does not stand alone in American history.

Not simply the constitutions and laws of the Colonial period, but the papers of the Continental Congresses and the utterances of the statesmen of the Revolution reflected the spirit and truths of Christianity, which was recognized as the religion of the people. Washington said: "I am sure there never was a people who had more reason to acknowledge a divine interposition in their affairs than those of the United States."

Here is a recognition of the truth as stated by Bunsen, that "the philosopher who will understand and interpret history must believe that God, not accident, governs the world."

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* "Religion in the Public Schools," *The New Princeton Review*, January, 1887, p. 25.

† Letter of Archbishop Lynch of Toronto to Lord Randolph Churchill, New York *Churchman*, April 2d, 1887.

"Our fathers," said Daniel Webster, "had that religious sentiment that trusts in Providence."

In June, 1792, Gouverneur Morris wrote to a nobleman of France: "I believe that religion is the only solid basis of morals, and that morals are the only possible support of governments."[*]

Similar sentiments abound in the writings of the great men of the day, such as Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Benjamin Rush, Fisher Ames, Robert Morris, Elias Boudinot, Richard Henry Lee, James Madison, Oliver Ellsworth, William Livingston, Jonathan Trumbull, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson.

Daniel Webster, speaking for a later generation, said before the New York Historic Society: "If we and our posterity shall be true to the Christian religion . . . we may have the highest hopes of the future fortunes of our country. . . . It will have no decline and fall. It will go on prospering and to prosper. But if we and our posterity reject religious instruction and morality, no man can tell how suddenly a catastrophe may overwhelm us that shall bury all our glory in profound obscurity."

Those interested in learning the extent to which the stamp of Christianity marked the writings of our great statesmen and the State papers of our country during the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Constitutional periods, may consult with advantage Mr. Morris's "Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States Developed in the Official and Historic Annals of the Republic."[†]

But the Jesuit charge that our nation is godless and our laws heathenish is also refuted and disposed of by the long course of decisions from our highest courts of law, embodied in the words of learned judges of world-wide reputation.

Of our common law Judge Story said: "There never has been a period in which the common law did not recognize Christianity as lying at its foundation. It repudiates every act done in violation of its duties of perfect obligation. It pronounces illegal every contract offensive to its morals."[‡]

The Supreme Court of New York, by the voice of Chief Justice Kent, declared that the people of the State, in common with the people of the country, profess the general doctrine of Christianity as the rule of their faith and practice.

That eminent legal authority, the Hon. William Allen Butler, in his recent learned paper on "Religion in the Schools,"[*] after referring to the State decisions and the debate in the New York Constitutional Convention, holds that "in the light of these authorities and these judicial constructions of the Constitution, it must be assumed that Christianity is, and until abolished by a constitutional amendment will continue in this State to be a part of the law of the land."

Judge Story again said, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, in speaking of the qualified sense in which Christianity was a part of the common law, that "its divine origin and birth are admitted."[†] And Webster, in a tribute to the historic truth that deserves to be incorporated in every American school book, said:

"There is nothing that we look for with more certainty than the general principle that Christianity is the law of the land."

Such being the character of our people and of their institutions, it was naturally reflected in our common school.

Bancroft says: "Every child that was born into the world was lifted from the earth by the genius of his country, and in the schools of the land received as its birthright a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

The charge that the common-school education is sectarian, excepting so far as denominational teaching may have been surreptitiously and unconstitutionally introduced in particular localities, through the corruption or indifference of party management, is answered by the clear language of the State Constitution. That of New York, for instance, provides that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without distinction or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind."

Under that guarantee, while the State can teach the morals of Christianity, it cannot blend with them denominational teachings. The constitutional rule excludes alike the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the Westminster Catechism, the Roman Syllabus, the Canon Law, the Baptist doctrines of immersion and close communion, the Hebrew ceremonial law, the varying dogmas of so-called religions or agnostic schools, and the teachings of the Mormon Bible. Citizens belonging to these denominations who accept for their children the common schools do not thereby surrender their religious tenets nor admit that their children should not be taught them out of school. They admit simply that denominational dogma cannot and ought not to be taught by the State, at the expense of the State, or in the public schools, and they hold that they may be taught by the parents, the Church, and the Sunday-school. They know, to quote the language of Dr. Brownson's *Review*, that "the fundamental constitution of the American State leaves religion to the voluntary principle, and with us the State can lawfully impose no tax for the direct or indirect support of any religion, whether Catholic or Protestant." The rule is broad and equal ; it excludes alike all teaching of denominational belief, religious or irreligious, which can interfere with liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

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[*] B. A. Morris' "Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States," p. 139.

[†] By B. A. Morris, Philadelphia, George W. Childs, 1864.

[‡] Story's "Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 517, 544, 535. Quoted by Chief Justice Shea in "The Nature and Form of the American Government founded in the Christian Religion." Boston, 1883, pp. 60, 61. The People *vs.* Ruggles, 8 Johnson, R. 225.

[*] The New York *Observer*, December 4, 1890.

[†] Vidal *vs.* Girard's Executors.

Having seen what cannot be taught in the American common schools, on the ground of the denominalism and interference with liberty of conscience, let us see what can be taught in the way of morals, and why it can be taught, and the grounds on which men of different faiths—Christians, Roman Catholics, Jewish, and others—agree in approving such moral teaching, and mark how completely historic facts and the concurrent approval of these denominations, in regard to the right and duty of the State as regards education, refute the charge that the American system "is a system of schools thoroughly godless in name and in law." *

The American public school system, so early founded and carefully cherished by our fathers, was based upon a clear conviction that in a land of popular institutions and civil and religious freedom universal education is an absolute necessity, an essential condition of private happiness and of public safety. The public school is not a matter of charity, as some foreigners with ideas borrowed from alien and differing civilizations have supposed, and as Bishop B. J. McQuaid erroneously assumed, but it is, as Daniel Webster said, "a wise and liberal system of police by which the property and life and peace of society are secured ;" and from this system, based upon an entire separation of Church and State, and upon liberty of conscience to all—a system demanding and inspiring harmony and good-will, the teaching of religious dogma was banished, on the ground that it would be an usurpation by the State of power forbidden, an infringement by the State of rights guaranteed, and a violation of the Constitution that would disturb the harmony and embitter the politics of the people.

At one time it was rather fiercely contended by some Ultramontanes, and the *Catholic Review* declared, in 1871, in a paper on "Unification and Education," "We deny, of course, as Roman Catholics, the right of the civil government to educate, for education is a function of the spiritual society as much as preaching."

Possibly some members of that persuasion still hold that the State has no right to teach, but the Roman Catholic laity who hold to the public schools know that the highest dignitaries of the Church have openly, and with the highest authority, defined and vindicated the sovereign right and duty of the State to establish public schools, and to give in these schools the moral training demanded by the relation of the citizen toward the State and toward society.

Take, for instance, the dictionary by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, both Fellows of the Royal University of Ireland, a work whose supreme authority is shown by the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning and the approbation of Cardinal Newman. After stating that the main object of society "is to secure the permanence and temporal welfare . . . of the society itself, and of each member of the society," it says :

"The organized power in society—in other words, the State—may reasonably require that all its citizens should early receive that mental and moral training which may dispose them to restrain anti-social passions, to obey the laws, and by industry to promote the public and their own welfare. Whatever control over the machinery of education may be necessary to secure the attainment of this end, that control the State may reasonably pretend to."

Cardinal Manning at a later date, in December, 1882, in a passage quoted in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1883, after remarking that "putting away all ecclesiastical questions, it cannot be denied that the State is justified in providing for the education of its people," added : "It has a right to protect itself from the dangers arising from ignorance and vice, which breed crime and turpitude. It has also a right to protect children from the neglect and sins of parents, and so guard their right to receive an education which shall fit them for human society and for civil life. If the civil power has these rights and duties toward the people, it has the corresponding right and power to levy upon the people such taxes or rates as are necessary for the due and full discharge of such duties."

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* *The Forum*, December 1889, "Religious Teaching in School," 379, by Bishop McQuaid.

Archbishop Ireland, in his notable speech on the public school, spoke with similar distinctness of the right of the State and the reason for its exercise. He said:

"The right of the State school to exist I consider is a matter beyond the stage of discussion. I most fully concede it. To the child must be imparted instruction in no mean degree, that the man may earn for himself an honest competence and acquit himself of *the duties which society exacts* from himself, for the duties which society exacts from time to time for his own prosperity and life. . . . The State's place in the function of instruction is *loco parentis*."

But in one point the power of the State to educate has a narrower limit than that of the parent; for the parent can teach denominational doctrines, while the State can teach only "fundamental and universal morals"—"those facts and principles in which all Christians are substantially agreed." It may not be improper to note the character of the morality taught in our schools, conformably to constitutional principles and its fitness to train the pupils for human society and civil life. Take, for instance, the ancient statute of Massachusetts, which seems to contain nothing from which Baptists, Methodists, Hebrews, Episcopalians, Romanists, or Presbyterians need recoil—nothing for which a reasonable taxpayer should object to pay:

"It should be the duty," so it ordered, "of the president, professors, and tutors at the university at Cambridge, and of the several colleges, of all the preceptors and teachers of academies, and of all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavors to impress upon the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety and justice, and a sacred regard to truth; love of their country, humanity, and universal benevolence; sobriety, industry, and frugality; chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacity shall admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues, to preserve and perfect a republican constitution and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices."

To these may be added, as suggested by Mr. Washington Gladden,* as among the duties to be diligently impressed upon the conscience of children in schools, "the great duties of self-control, the duty of temperance in the indulgence of all appetites, of restraining the passions, of ruling the spirits; the social duties of honesty, and justice, and fidelity to trusts, and courage, and honor, and magnanimity, and neighborly kindness, and toleration, and sympathy, and charity; the sacred obligations of citizenship," with truths recognized alike by Christians, Hebrews, and the higher class of agnostics, and tending to help and not to hinder whatever proper religious instruction may be given by the family or the Church apart from that given by the State.

Thus the right of the State to give the mental and moral training to fit children for the duties of society and of civil life, authoritatively announced as that of the Roman Catholic Church, accords with the American constitutional principle, as declared by *Webster when he* said: "The power over education is one of the powers belonging essentially to the government; it is one of the powers the exercise of which is indispensable to the preservation of society with integrity and healthy action; it is the duty of self-protection." On this point Cardinal Manning, his eminent associate, Cardinal Newman, and the learned editors of the Roman Catholic Dictionary, speaking by authority for the Roman curia, are in perfect accord with the great and good men of the world, however widely they may differ on other points, for they hold that the State is bound to see that its children are instructed in those pure principles of morality which are universally recognized. "It is agreed on all sides," says the philosophic Laveleye, "that the power of the nations depends on their morality. Everywhere is found the maxim, which is almost become an axiom of political science, that where morals are corrupted the State is lost." New interest was given to this question by the introduction, in 1891, into the New York Senate, by Senator Emerson, of a bill said to have been furnished to the senator by Colonel George Bliss, to have been approved by his grace Archbishop Corrigan, and to be intended to introduce the Roman Catholic worship in all State institutions—a measure that would require for its proper adoption a radical change in the Constitution.

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* "Applied Christianity, Moral Aspect of Social Questions," p. 314.

A former bill with a Jesuitical title, "To Secure Freedom of Worship," was promoted by the Roman *Catholic Union,* which announced that it had "two spiritual advisers —one A JESUIT." The feeling in regard to it on the part of some Roman Catholic laymen was shown by two articles in the New York *Herald* (August 22d), protesting against the Freedom of Worship bill being "dragged into the national political contest." The Corrigan bill, whether adopted or defeated, as indicating plainly the political policy of the Court of Rome is calculated to arouse the American spirit and give a new impulse to the "nationalism" which the Ultramontanes denounce as a heresy which is slowly but surely invading the nation.

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THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

From *The Fortnightly Review* (London), April, 1891.

FAITH, Religion, is the hidden meaning of the life with which we are endowed, the inner significance that lies beneath the surface, that which supplies life with force and energy, and imparts to it its direction. Every living man discovers for himself that significance, which is the basis upon which his life ultimately rests, or, failing to discover it, dies. He is materially aided in this all-important search by the aggregate efforts and labour of all humanity, and by the accumulated results thereof; to this continuous toil, and these growing results, men are agreed to give the name of revelation. Revelation, therefore, is that which is helpful to man in his attempts to discover the inner meaning of life; a definition, or rather a description, which implicitly determines man's relation to faith.

This being so, can anything be more utterly, more manifestly absurd than for a numerous body of well-meaning people to move heaven and earth in order to compel their fellow-men to have recourse to this rather than to that form of revelation for help; to allow this fixed idea to possess and master them to such an extent as to bereave them of all peace of mind until it is realised, until the unwilling objects of their loving solicitude consent to accept the precise forms recommended, without change or modification; in fine, to curse, mutilate, and slaughter every one of the dissidents whom they can thus dispose of with impunity? Can anything be more incomprehensible than the fact that the class thus proscribed and persecuted and hounded to death should, as soon as an opportunity offers, go and do likewise, anathematizing, torturing, slaying every refractory man and woman upon whom it can lay hands without reasonable fear of speedy reprisals, and that a third category of persons should imitate the second, a fourth should vie with the third, and so on without end? And all of them solemnly curse, cruelly maim and mutilate, ruthlessly slaughter each other in the name of the principle that all men should believe as they believe, and not otherwise. And yet the number of different creeds is legion; and those who profess them all raise violent hands against those who reject them.

At first I was astounded to observe that this manifest absurdity, this evident contradiction, did not lead to the destruction of all faith. "Is it not strange, not to use a much stronger word," I asked myself again and again, "that people should manage to continue believers in spite of these extraordinary conditions, and believers in these extraordinary frauds?" From the general point of view the thing is positively incomprehensible, and constitutes an irrefragable proof of the truth of the theorem of the philosophers now prevalent in the world, that all faith is deception and all that grows out of it superstition. Viewing the matter from this angle of vision, which is the general one, I, too, irresistibly came to the conclusion that all creeds are human frauds; but at the same time I could not refrain from going one step further and arguing that the very absurdity of the deception, its painfully glaring obviousness, and the circumstance that in spite of both these characteristics mankind still universally falls a victim to it, go to show in a very conclusive manner that, at the roots of all these frauds, deep beneath the surface, lies something which is eternally true, real, veracious. This proposition is not only the consequence of certain premises, but can be regarded as a necessary and evident postulate; otherwise the fraud is so utterly silly, so completely destitute of elementary cohesion, that it would be absolutely inconceivable that it should mislead any reasonable being. The mere circumstance that all men who lead a true veracious life invariably fall victims to this deception, compelled me to acknowledge the enormous importance of the phenomena which lies at the root thereof; and impressed by this importance I set myself to analyse the doctrine or doctrines of Christianity, which may be considered the tap-root of the deception—at least, in so far as all Christian men and women are affected by it. As a result of this study I found that, absurd as violence in matters of belief appears from a general standpoint, it is beyond comparison more absurd from that purely personal point of view which is yours, mine, and that of every individual who, desiring to live in reality and in truth, is compelled to possess faith —and actually does cherish faith—in the inner meaning of life.

In effect, how, why, and to whom can it be necessary that a third person should not only believe, but likewise proclaim his or her belief in the doctrine that you or I would hold to be true? Does the man live? Then he knows the significance of life; he has determined his relations to God; he has discovered the truth of truths. The expression of these relations may vary with different people, times, and countries, but the essence is one and the same, for we are all of us men and brothers.

What motives, desires, necessity can there be to impel me to insist that any person whatever should express his truth, his relations to the Deity, in precisely the same terms as I do? I cannot force him to change his belief by means of violence, cunning, or fraud (pseudo-miracles). If his faith be his very life, and the proposition is one from which it is impossible to withhold our assent, how should I seriously think of depriving him of it, and proposing to give him another in its stead? As well might I take out his heart, and amicably offer to put another and a better one in its place. Action of that kind would be feasible if the man's faith and mine were mere words and not the solid basis of our lives, an excrescence on the body, and not the living, palpitating heart within. But such interference is also impossible for another reason: it is not feasible to deceive a man or compel him to believe in that in which he does not believe; because he who believes (*i.e.* he who has already determined and regulated his relations to God, and consequently perceives that faith is the relation of each man to God) cannot wish to determine the relations of another man to God by means of violence and fraud. This, I maintain, is impossible; and yet to all seeming it is precisely what is being done now, and was always and everywhere practised in bygone times. Let me explain: it is impossible, and therefore cannot be done; but something extremely similar has been and still is being perpetrated. What really takes place and has for long ages past been continually taking place is this: people force upon their fellow-men a semblance of faith which the latter, much against their will, accept; this likeness, however, is but a counterfeit. Real faith cannot be forced upon any one, nor can its acceptance by others be the result of extrinsic considerations, such as violence, fraud, or lucre. What people propagate by means of violence and accept from fear or cupidity is not faith, but faith's counterfeit. And this counterfeit was the old condition of the life of humanity.

In what does this counterfeit consist, and on what is it based? What are the deceiver's relations to it, and what are those of his dupes? In replying to these questions, I shall not take into account Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, not because there is any difficulty in pointing out lamentable occurrences in those systems in all respects identical with those of which we shall speak as having taken place in our own—this will be obvious enough to all who have read anything about those religions—but I shall confine myself to Christianity, as the faith best known, most necessary and dearest to us. In Christianity the entire fabric of fraud is built upon the fanatical interpretation of the significance, scope, and mission of the institution called the Church, an interpretation founded upon nothing, and the utter absurdity of which is the first thing to strike one who sets himself to study the origins of Christianity. Of all impious notions and words ever recorded, there is none more impious than the notion and name of the Church. No other idea has ever engendered such unspeakable evil, no other idea has ever proved so bitterly hostile to the teachings of Christ as that of the Church. At bottom the word *ecclesia* signifies merely a gathering, and is used in this sense in the Gospels; in the languages of all modern peoples the term *ecclesia* means a house of prayer; and although the ecclesiastical fraud persisted for one thousand five hundred years, in no language has any third meaning come to be attached to the word *ecclesia*. To judge by the definitions of it given by those priests to whom the ecclesiastical fraud was necessary, it appears that it is an algebraic formula for a sort of preface, the gist of which is as follows:—"Whatever I shall now proclaim is truth, pure, simple, absolute truth; and if you presume to reject it as unworthy of credence, I will burn you, curse you, work you all manner of injury."

Now this view is a sophism necessary for the attainment of certain dialectical ends, and it prevails only in those circles which strive to attain those ends. Not only among the people, but even in so-called "society," among persons of education and culture, in spite of their having been saturated with the doctrines of the catechism, we seek for this notion in vain. It seems pure waste of time and trouble to examine seriously the pretension involved therein; and if I do so, it is only because of the numerous and influential class of persons who deliberately advance it as something highly momentous, refusing to see that it is thoroughly false, misleading, and pernicious.

When the Church is defined to be an assembly of true believers, no real addition is made to our stock of ideas thereby; in like manner, if I assert that a church choir is a body composed of all genuine musicians, I have said nothing unless I explain what I mean by the words "genuine musicians." We find on inquiry that theology defines true believers to be all those who accept the teaching of the Church, *i.e.*, who are within the pale of the Church.

Leaving out of consideration the fact that there are a hundred such true creeds, the definition really defines nothing and leaves things pretty much as they were before, exactly like the definition of a church choir given above. But by a little close scrutiny we are enabled to discern the coils of the serpent beneath all this rank luxuriance of words. The Church, forsooth, is the true Church; she is one and indivisible, composed of shepherds and a flock, and each of the shepherds, all of whom are appointed by God Himself, teaches this one doctrine: "So help me, God, everything taught by my colleagues and myself is pure unalloyed truth."

This is the whole procedure, above and beyond which there is nothing. The entire fraud is contained in the word "church" and in the meaning attached to it, and the main significance of the deception lies in the fact it brings to light that there is a numerous category of persons morbidly eager to instil their belief into the minds of others. Whence this mad desire to indoctrinate one's fellows? If they were, indeed, in possession of the truth, they would know that this faith is neither more nor less than the inner meaning of life itself, the relations established by each individual between himself and God, and that it is therefore unteachable; and that what they can and do instil into the minds of others is not faith, but only the simulacrum thereof. But in spite of this, they persist in teaching it.

Why is this? The most obvious answer would be that it is because the priests want bread and eggs and the bishop a palace, toothsome dishes, and a silken robe. But this reply is inadequate. It describes rightly enough, no doubt, the inner psychological stimulus to continue the fraud, but if we endeavour, taking the same low ground, to explain how it came about that one man (the public executioner) took upon himself to slay another man, against whom he had no grievance and not even a tinge of malice, we shall immediately realise how very incomplete it is. We should have in effect to admit that he puts people to death because he receives (in Russia at least) *vodka*, crumpets, and a red blouse—a very insufficient explanation, and yet not a whit more unsatisfactory than to assert that when the Metropolitan Archbishop of Kieff fills sacks with hay and calls them the relics of saints he is moved thereto solely by a desire to receive his thirty thousand roubles yearly. In this case as in that, the acts under discussion are too horrible, too unnatural, to be satisfactorily explained by such a simple, obvious, base motive. Both the executioner and the Metropolitan will themselves explain their conduct by bringing forward a formidable array of arguments drawn mainly from historical tradition. "It is absolutely necessary," the former will say, "that certain categories of men be put to death; they have been executed at all times in the world's history; indeed, one may say ever since man appeared upon the earth. If I refuse the 'job,' another will undertake it. With God's help I will perform it better than any other man!" The Metropolitan Archbishop will hold similar language. "The outward worship of God," he will assert, "is a necessity. Ever since the world was created, the relics of holy, godly men have been venerated. The relics in the vaults of the holy monasteries here in Kieff are thus venerated now; people piously pilgrimage hither. If I were not the guardian of these things, the spiritual head of the diocese, some one else would be. I hope, then, with God's help, to dispose in a more religious way than any one else could of the funds realised by means of this blasphemous fraud."

In order to understand to what extent the belief thus preached and propagated is a misrepresentation of faith, we must penetrate to the fountain-head of Christianity itself, and carefully note what we find there. I am now speaking not of any new discoveries, historical or critical, but simply of what we all know of Christianity. Turning to the source of all Christian doctrine—the Gospels—we find there a principle which completely excludes outward worship, condemns it, and in the clearest and most positive manner repudiates proselytism of every kind. The further we recede from the early ages of Christianity and the nearer we approach our own times, the more marked becomes the deviation of the accepted teachings from these simple principles laid down by Christ Himself.

This deviation began already during the lifetime of the Apostles themselves, and was especially favoured by Paul, who was extremely given to proselytizing and preaching, and the more widely Christianity spread throughout the world, the more accentuated became these divergences, until at last it formally adopted as one of its stock methods that outward worship and regular teaching and preaching which Christ Himself had so unequivocally, so emphatically repudiated.

During those early ages, however, the word "church" was taken to mean all those who shared that faith which I still regard as essentially true—a notion correct enough, under the circumstances, and as long as no attempt was made to define that faith in words. For faith cannot be expressed in words. The notion of the true Church was also occasionally made use of as an argument against those who dissented; but down to the reign of Constantine and the meeting of the Nicene Council it was still a mere notion and had not got beyond this embryonic stage of its evolution. From the time of Constantine and the Nicene Council, however, it became hardened and crystallized into a thing—a thing of fraud. This was the true beginning of the long series of impostures devised by metropolitan archbishops with relics, and by simple priests with the Eucharist, miraculous *icons* of the Virgin, &c., &c., which so astound and horrify us now and cannot be satisfactorily explained—so incredibly abominable are they—merely by the filthy lucre coveted and reaped by their authors. The fraud is very ancient, and it was not devised by private persons whose only vice was inordinate love of gain and indifference to the means of acquiring it. The monster does not exist among men who is capable of planning and carrying out such an abominable fraud, were he indeed the first, and were there no other motives than those that lie on the surface.

The causes that led to this deception were of an evil nature. "By their fruits ye shall know them." They consisted of hatred, human pride, hostility to Arius and others, and an evil incomparably greater than any of these: the unholy alliance of Christians with temporal power. Constantine the Emperor, who personified that power, and had attained at that time—according to Pagan notions—the summit of human greatness (he was enrolled among the gods), embraced Christianity, gave an example to all his subjects, converted the people, lent a helping hand against heretics, and by means of an œcumenical council built up a "united, true Christian faith." In this wise the Christian Catholic faith was fixed for all times and countries.

It was so natural to allow oneself to be thus imposed upon that even at the present day people continue to believe in the salutary effects of that momentous event. And yet, interpreted by the light of simple reason unclouded by theological prejudices, the effect of it all was that the majority of Christians there and then abjured their faith. It was the epoch of the parting of the waters; when the rank and file of Christianity turned round from right to left, and moved off in the direction of Paganism. Charlemagne and Vladimir rallied the stragglers later on; and people have continued to march steadily in the same direction ever since. The ecclesiastical fraud consisted in the adoption of Christianity by the temporal power, an act which was desirable and useful only to those who, understanding the letter of Christianity, failed to comprehend its spirit. For to embrace Christianity without first renouncing the temporal power is either to deride the doctrines of Christ or to falsify them. The consecration of the power of the State by Christianity is blasphemy; nay, it is more than blasphemy—it is the ruin of Christianity itself.

Having lived fifteen hundred years under this sacrilegious union between pseudo-Christianity and the State, it needs no slight effort on the part of mankind to forget all the specious sophisms by means of which, during that protracted period, the teachings of Christ have been garbled and twisted and contorted for the purpose of fabricating arguments to prove the legality and sanctity of the State and the possibility of its becoming truly Christian. But underneath these heaps of sophisms lies the hard fact that the words "Christian State" have about as much meaning as the words "warm" or "hot ice." Only one of two alternatives is possible: either there is no

State or else there is no Christianity. In order fully to realise the truth of this statement, we must first divest ourselves of all those fantastic notions which have been so carefully instilled into our minds from our childhood upwards, and put the plain blunt question, What are the scope and aim of the so-called sciences of history and jurisprudence which are taught us with as much solicitude as if they contained the secrets of longevity and happiness? As a matter of fact these "sciences" have no scientific basis whatever; they are neither more nor less than a disguised but elaborate apology for violence and brute force.

Putting on one side the history of all other nations, let us cast a glance at the story of that state which was the first to make an alliance with Christianity. In Rome a nest of highwaymen had come to be established in the course of time, of men who throve on the proceeds of robbery, murder, violence of all kinds, and had become so powerful that they subdued whole nations. These robbers and their progeny, led by ringleaders commonly called Cæsars, plundered and tortured the population in order to glut their lusts and passions. One of the heirs of these robber-chieftains, Constantine by name, having read a large number of books and cloyed his passions with life's pleasures, came to the conclusion that he preferred certain Christian dogmas to his former beliefs, the Mass to human sacrifice, and one God and His Son Christ to the worship of Jupiter, Venus, and Apollo; and he accordingly issued orders that this faith be introduced and spread among the people under his sway.

"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them . . . but it shall not be so among you. . . . Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth; judge not; resist not evil." There was no one to call his attention to these teachings; but what was said to him by those whose duty it was to accentuate the main doctrines of Christ practically amounted to this:—"You wish to call yourself a Christian, and to continue at the same time to be a robber chief, to strike, burn, go to war, live lewdly, slay, and repose elegantly in the lap of luxury? All this is feasible enough."

And they adjusted Christianity to his wants and wishes, arranging it far more pleasantly than could have been expected. They were sagacious enough, however, to foresee that when reading the Gospel he would, some time or other, become painfully aware of what the new faith does really demand of all men who embrace is viz., a Christian life, and not merely the construction of churches and frequent visits to them. This they anticipated and duly provided for by adding to and abstracting from Christianity in such an ingenious way that he might continue to call himself a Christian, to live as a pagan, and not perceive that there was any contradiction between his professions and his acts. On the one hand, Christ, it was clear, had come solely for the purpose of redeeming him and all men; and, on the other hand, the fact that Christ had died gave Constantine the right to live in harmony with his tastes; nay, more, he had only to repent and swallow a morsel of bread and wine, and behold he had salvation in his clutches, and everything was forgiven him.

Nor was this all. They actually blessed and consecrated his power and influence as robber chief, declared that it was from God, and anointed him with oil. In acknowledgment of this he, on his part, arranged to their liking the gathering of the clergy, he decreed the nature of each individual's relations to God, and ordered the decree to be read over and repeated to each man for his guidance. And every one was satisfied, and the faith thus trimmed and arranged has prevailed on earth for more than a thousand years, for other brigand captains imitated Constantine, and introduced it among their subjects, and were all anointed in consequence, all this being done in obedience to the will of God. Whenever a scoundrel succeeded in pillaging and plundering every one else, and killing thousands upon thousands of men who had done him no wrong, they took him and solemnly anointed him, for he was evidently a man of God.

In Russia it was husband-murder and harlotry personified that were of God, godly;* in France it was Napoleon. As for the clergy—not only were they also of God, godly, but they were almost gods themselves, seeing that the Holy Ghost had taken up his abode within them. The Holy Ghost is also present in the Pope, and in our most holy Synod with its *tschinovnik* commanders. And whenever the anointed of the Lord for the time being—that is to say, the ringleader of these robbers—conceives the desire of striking a blow against his own or a foreign people, they straightway prepare holy water for him, sprinkle therewith the cross (the cross which Christ carried and on which He died, because He persisted in repudiating these same robbers), take it in their hands and bless him, and send him forth to slay, hang, and decapitate in the name of Christ crucified.

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* The Empress Catherine.

And all this throve and prospered as long as they lived together in concord; but they soon disagreed and fell to reviling each other, calling each other brigands and robbers—which they indeed are; the people, meanwhile, began to listen attentively to these terms of abuse, and gradually ceased to believe in the anointed ones of the Lord and in the living receptacles of the Holy Ghost, and learned to call all these persons by the right names which they so freely deal out to each others, viz., robbers and deceivers.

But this digression about robbers is only by the way; I have touched upon them because it was they who first demoralised those who later on became professional deceivers.

The main question at issue is the evolution of the deceivers, the pseudo-Christians. We find, then, that they degenerated from what they were or might have been, in consequence of their unnatural union with the brigands. It could not be otherwise, for they left the right road from the moment that they consecrated the first king and assured him that by using violence he could assist the faith whose essence lies in meekness, self-denial, and endurance of evil.

All this is not the story of a fantastic Church, but of the real Church such as it has been ever since its hierarchy fell under the power of kings and Tsars; and its history is made up of a long series of vain efforts on the part of this unfortunate hierarchy to preserve the truth of Christ's doctrine intact, while preaching it by means of lies and deviating from it by their acts. The significance, the *raison d'être* of the hierarchy is founded upon that of the doctrine which they undertake to teach. This doctrine speaks of meekness, of self-denial, of love, of poverty; and is preached and propagated by means of violence and lies.

In order that something should be left for the members of the hierarchy to teach, it was absolutely necessary for them to hold fast to (*i.e.*, not formally to repudiate) the doctrine of Christ; but in order, on the other hand, to be in a position to whitewash themselves and their illegal union with the temporal power, they were forced to resort to the most ingenious devices to hide the essence of that doctrine, and for this purpose deliberately shifted its centre of gravity from the essence to the outward form and expression. And this was done by the hierarchy, *i.e.*, one of the sources of that counterfeit faith which is preached by the Church. The source itself is the union of the hierarchy, under the name of Church, with that form of violence known as temporal power. And the reason why people are so eager to teach their faith to others is because the true faith would convict them of apostasy; hence they seek to set up a concocted creed of their own in its place, the sole advantage of which is that it acquits them of all crime.

Now true religion may be present anywhere, everywhere; except, of course, where manifestly false religion holds sway over men; that is to say, when the faith which is allied with violence—the State religion—prevails. Thus all so-called schisms and heresies may be in possession of the true faith, whereas of a certainty it will not be discovered in the creed that is united with the temporal power. It may appear paradoxical, but it is none the less true that the appellations, "Orthodox," "Catholic," "Protestant" faith, as these words are used in every-day language, mean neither more nor less than religion allied with the temporal power, mean State creeds, and therefore false religions.

The conception of a Church, that is to say, of unanimity on the part of a numerous body—of the majority—of believers, coupled with proximity to the fountain-head of the Christian doctrine, was made use of during the first two ages of Christianity as one of the secondary and less conclusive arguments put forward by apologists in the heat of controversy. Paul alleged the direct authority of God for his teachings: "how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery." Another founded his statements upon the authority of Luke, and they all said: "Our conceptions of religion are correct, and the proof thereof consists in our numerous assembly, our *ecclesia*, or Church." But it was only from the time of the Nicene Council, called together by the Emperor, that the overwhelming majority of believers in the doctrine of Christ were called upon to accept a direct deliberate fraud.

The conception of a Church was no longer, as theretofore, a poor argument put forward to add to the force of other equally poor arguments; for some people it became identical with power. Being united with the temporal power, it began to act like that power, and it is a proven fact that every form of religion that ever allied itself with the secular power ceased by that same act of alliance to be a religion, and became a fraud.

Now what is the doctrine taught us by Christianity, whether we understand by this term the teaching of any one or of all Christian churches? No matter in what way we examine it, whatever standard we may employ to sift and classify it, this doctrine falls—in virtue of its own specific gravity, as it were—into two sections separated from each other by a sharp line of demarcation; in the first place, the body of dogmas, beginning with that of the divinity of the Son, of the Spirit, and their relations to each other, and ending with that of the Eucharist, with or without wine, under the form of leavened or of unleavened bread; and in the second place, the code of moral precepts commanding meekness, poverty, purity of body and of soul, forbidding us to judge others, urging us to free our fellows from slavery and from fetters, and to live in peace with all men.

These two bodies of doctrine, in spite of the indefatigable efforts of the teachers and doctors of Christianity to mix them up, never yet combined; they have always been as distinct from each other as a drop of oil and a drop of water. The difference between these two aspects of Christ's teaching is too marked and striking to be overlooked by any one, and every one has it in his power to glance at and examine the fruits of the one aspect, and of the other as seen in the life of nations, and according to the nature of these fruits to draw his own conclusions as to which of them is the more important or, if I may use such an expression, the truer of the two. If we look at the history of Christianity from this angle of vision we are horrified by what we see. From the very beginning to the end, down to our own day—ay, down to this very hour—whithersoever we turn our eyes, whatever dogma we take up, from the very first one of the divinity of Christ to the last, whether it be that relating to the way in which the fingers must be joined in making the sign of the cross or the dogma of the Eucharist with or without wine—the fruits of all the mental labour spent in the attempt to explain the dogmas have been without exception, malice, hatred, executions, banishment, burnings at the stake, torture. If we now turn our attention to the moral aspect of the Christian doctrine, from Christ's retirement to the desert in search of communion with God down to the custom of giving loaves of bread to the prisoners in Siberia, we shall find that the fruits thereof have been all our modern conceptions of good, together with all the joy-giving, consolatory occurrences and types that relieve the otherwise barren pages of history.

It was quite natural for those persons to err who had not clearly before their eyes the fruits of each of these two aspects of Christian doctrine; indeed it was well-nigh impossible for them to do otherwise than err; it was equally excusable for all those who, living and working honestly according to their lights, were drawn into these barren controversies, without perceiving that with these dogmas of theirs they were serving not God but the devil, unmindful of what Christ Himself had said, that He was come to destroy and dissipate all dogmas; another class whose error may well be excused comprises those who, having inherited the tradition of the importance of these dogmas, had their minds so completely warped by the irrational intellectual training they received, that they were unable to discern their error; and, lastly, those ignorant people may well be exculpated who attach no meaning to dogmas, and regard them as mere empty words or fantastic notions. But for us who know the prime significance of the Gospel, which repudiates all dogmas, for us who see the fruits borne by these dogmas during the past ages of history in all nations of the earth, there is no excuse if we go astray.

Is the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God indispensable or not? What results did its promulgation produce? Hatred, abuse, derision. And what were the compensating advantages? Absolutely none. And has the teaching embodied in Christ's refusal to condemn the adulteress produced good or evil? What have been the results? Thousands upon thousands of men and women have been softened and humanised by the remembrance of it.

Another consideration that should not be overlooked is this: Has unanimity ever been attained in the matter of dogmas? It is needless to reply that it has not. Is there any difference of opinion respecting the obligation of giving alms to the necessitous person who pleads for alms? Absolutely none. And yet it is the former of these teachings, the dogmas, which are called in doubt by some, wholly rejected by others, and coldly accepted by a third class of persons, which are of no earthly use or assistance to any one, and which work the ruin of many—it is these dogmas, I say, which the hierarchy put forward and continued to put forward as the essence of the faith; while as for the moral precepts concerning which all men are agreed, which are absolutely necessary and eminently helpful to every one, which materially contribute to the salvation of men, the hierarchy, though it has not presumed wholly to set them aside, has not had the courage to declare that they constitute the essence of Christ's doctrine, for that doctrine would rise up in judgment against them.

SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

BY PROFESSOR SAYCE, LL.D., AUTHOR OF "FRESH LIGHTS FROM THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS."

From *The Sunday at Home* (London), April, 1891.

VII.*—TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

SOCIETY in Assyria and Babylonia in the later period to which most of our documentary evidence belongs was highly complex. Trades and professions of all kinds were recognised by it. Agriculturists, shepherds and drovers, masons, carpenters, brickmakers, blacksmiths, silversmiths, weavers, dyers, tailors, bakers and cooks, musicians, barbers, wine-merchants, sailors and soldiers, architects and doctors, bankers and poets, lawyers and priests, scribes and librarians, all alike existed and exercised their trade or profession like their representatives in modern days. Caste, such as we find in India, was unknown. The son was free to follow any trade or profession he liked, irrespective of that of his father. Naturally there was a tendency for the father to bring up his son to his own calling ; the son of a priest, for instance, was often a priest, the son of a blacksmith a blacksmith, but it was a tendency only, and the exception to it was the rule. Even the king himself might be a usurper, the "son of a nobody," as he was termed, who had begun life in some humble trade.

In Babylonia, and still more in Assyria, an aristocracy existed by the side of the king, which derived its descent from the ancient families of the land. They were the "princes" referred to in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, among whom was Nergal-sharezer, who afterwards seized the crown. But even the "princes" included those who owed their position to the personal favour of the king. The Rab-shakeh (*Rab-saki*), or Prime Minister, the Tartan (*Turtannu*), or Commander-in-chief, and other high functionaries, were appointed by the monarch, and might be selected by him from among the dregs of the people as well as from among the members of the nobility.

The king, in fact, was an autocrat, and consequently the source of all honour. But, as in Russia, his autocracy was tempered and controlled by a powerful bureaucracy. The civil service was on a vast scale, descending from the governors of provinces and cities, from the statesmen who surrounded the king and managed affairs at home and abroad, and from the heads of departments, down to an army of clerks and subordinate officials. A considerable part of the revenue raised by taxation was devoted to the payment of the bureaucracy.

Ability to read and write and to speak foreign languages was a passport to its ranks. In Assyria its influence was counterbalanced by that of the army, which seems to have been mainly recruited at home. It was by means of its well-disciplined and well-armed forces that Assyria was enabled to establish its empire, and it was the exhaustion of that army which brought about the fall, not only of the empire, but of Assyria itself.

It took several centuries to bring the Assyrian army to that point of perfection which it attained in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon. It consisted of infantry and cavalry as well as of a corps of chariot-drivers. The chariots had two wheels and a single pole, and were drawn by a couple of horses, to which a spare horse was often attached in case of accidents. The chariot held a driver and a warrior ; if the latter was the king he was accompanied by an armed attendant, sometimes even by two. They all rode standing, and were armed with bows and spears.

In the earlier days of the Assyrian monarchy chariots were employed in preference to cavalry. As time went on, however, the horse-soldiers were increased, while the number of chariots was lessened. At first the cavalry rode without saddles, with bare legs and armed with the bow. Subsequently saddles came into use, the unarmed groom who had previously looked after the horse ceased to run by its side, and along with the mounted archers mounted spearmen made their appearance. The rider's legs were completely protected by leathern drawers over which high boots were drawn, laced in front. This costume was introduced towards the end of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. In the time of Sennacherib the dress was improved by a closely-fitting coat of mail.

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* The previous parts are in the December (1890) and April (1891) numbers.

The infantry were about ten times as numerous as the cavalry, and were divided into heavy-armed and light-armed. The regular dress consisted of a peaked helmet and a tunic which was fastened round the waist by a girdle, and descended half-way down the thighs. From the time of Sargon onwards, however, the infantry were separated into the two classes of bowmen and spearmen. The bowmen were either light-armed or heavy-armed, the latter being again sub-divided into two classes. One of these classes wore sandals, and a coat of mail over the tunic. The other class was clad in a long fringed robe which came down to the feet, over which a cuirass was worn; they carried a short sword at the side and used sandals. They were accompanied by attendants, one of whom held a long rectangular shield of wicker-work. The dress of the light-armed bowmen consisted simply of a kilt and of a fillet bound round the head. The spearmen were distinguished by a crested helmet and a circular shield: their feet were usually bare.

Sennacherib introduced a corps of slingers, possibly, as Canon Rawlinson suggests, in imitation of Egyptian modes of warfare. They were clothed in helmet and cuirass, leather drawers and short boots. Sennacherib made changes in the equipment of the bowmen, providing the second class of heavy-armed among them with leather greaves and boots, and depriving them of the long robe. The first class now usually appear without sandals, and their head-dress consists of an embroidered turban with lappets, not unlike the *kuffiyeh* of the modern Beduin. In addition to the other forces of the army a corps of pioneers was also established, armed with double-headed axes, and clothed with conical helmets, greaves and boots. The helmets, it may be observed, were made of iron or bronze, underneath which was a leather cap, while the coats of mail consisted of metal scales sewn to a leather shirt. The shields were partly of wicker-work, partly of metal, and were of various shapes. The heads of the spears and arrows were of bronze, more rarely of iron; in ancient Chaldea stone weapons had also been used. The metal heads were sometimes socketed, sometimes tanged.

The army carried with it, on the march, standards, tents, baggage carts, battering-rams and other engines for attacking a town. The tents were occasionally very elaborate, that of the king, for instance, being accompanied by a cooking and dining tent. They were furnished with chairs, tables, couches and various utensils.

The commissariat department has left us some records of the amount of the provisions required for the troops at home. Thus in the first year of Nabonidos 75 *qas* of flour and 63 *qas* (or nearly 100 quarts) of beer were furnished to the troops in the neighbourhood of Sippara on the 11th of the month Iyyar, presumably, therefore, for their maintenance during a given period: and in the 2nd year of the same king, 54 *qas* of beer were provided on the 29th of Nisan "for the troops which had marched from Babylon." At the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign we find a contractor guaranteeing, "the goodness of the beer" that had been furnished to "the army which had entered Babylon." In the first year of Nabonidos, 3 *gur* of sesame were ordered for the use of "the bowmen" during the first two months of the year, and in the 13th year of the same king, 15 soldiers were provided with 5 *gur* of wheat. Accordingly rather more than 2 bushels and a half were allotted to each man.

The Assyrians were essentially a military nation and never turned their attention to naval matters. When Sennacherib wished to pursue the relics of Merodach-baladan's troops across the Persian Gulf he had to fetch Phœnician sailors to build and man his ships. On the Tigris, rafts on which heavy monuments were transported, or small round boats like the *kufas* still in use on the river, were almost the only means employed for crossing the water. When the Assyrian army had to pass a river pontoons were thrown across it, or else the soldiers swam across the stream on inflated skins. The ferry-boat was rarely used.

In this respect the Babylonians were markedly different from their northern neighbours. "The cry" of the Chaldeans, whose original home was among the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, was in their ships. One of the earliest seats of culture in Babylonia was the sea-port of Eridu, which carried on an extensive trade by sea with distant lands.

Certain forms of ships were named after the districts or cities of Babylonia where they had been invented or were chiefly used. A fleet, in fact, was kept by the later kings of Babylon, as well as an army, and a receipt, dated in the month Tammuz, or June, of the 16th year of Nabonidos, runs as follows: "210 *qas* (about 300 quarts) of dates have been given to Samas-sumebus, the son of Sula, from the royal granary for the support of the sailors during the 16th year" of the king's reign. As the Phœnician ships of war employed by the Assyrians were biremes, with two tiers of oars, it is probable that the Babylonian war-ships were at least of the same size.

Ships were often hired for the conveyance of goods; in the 10th year of Nabonidos, for example, a shekel and a quarter were given by Belshazzar "the son of the king," through the agency of Bel-sar-bullidh, for the hire of a boat, in order to convey 3 oxen and 24 sheep for sacrifice at the beginning of the year in the great temple of the Sun-god at Sippara. The boatmen were at the same time furnished with 60 *qas* of dates. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar, 3 shekels, or 9*s*., were paid for the hire of a grain-boat, 32 shekels, or nearly £5, being given at the same time for an ass.

The king, it may be observed, kept a state-barge on the Euphrates. A contract has been preserved which informs us that in the 24th year of Darius a new state-barge was made for the king, the two contractors agreeing to work upon it from the beginning of Iyyar, or April, to the end of Tisri, or September, and employ one particular growth of wood for the purpose.

Among the various trades that were represented in Babylonia the only one that need be specially noticed is that of the blacksmith. Originally only the coppersmith was known; when iron, however, came into use the ironsmith took his place by the side of the coppersmith whose trade ceased to have the importance it once possessed. A document has been preserved which acknowledges the payment of 6 *qas* (about 8½ quarts) of flour to "Libludh, the coppersmith," for overlaying a chariot with a lining of copper in the 2nd year of Nabonidos.

The cost of building may be gathered from a contract which was made in the 6th year of the same king's reign. Here we read: "It is agreed that 12 manehs of silver (£108) be paid for bricks, reeds, beams, doors and chopped straw for building the house of Rimut" who was a grandson of the priest of the goddess Beltis. The contract was undertaken by the grandson of another priest, "the priest of Sippara." At another time we hear of 4 shekels of silver, or 12*s*., being paid for certain loads of brick. The material cost a good deal more than the wages of the men who made or delivered it. Remembering the price of corn we have only to compare the cost of building a house with the following receipt, which is dated in the first year of Cyrus: "One *gur* (180 *qas*) of corn from the granary of the storehouse on the river (Euphrates) for the wages of the men who have carried to the storehouse the corn that has arrived from Borsippa."

The doctor had long been an institution in Assyria and Babylonia. It is true that the great bulk of the people had recourse to religious charms and ceremonies when they were ill, and ascribed their sickness to possession by demons instead of to natural causes. But there was a continually increasing number of the educated who looked for aid in their maladies rather to the physician with his medicines than to the sorcerer or priest with his charms. The British Museum contains fragments of an edition made for the library of Nineveh of an old and renowned Babylonian treatise on medicine, which seems to have emanated from the school of Borsippa. In this work an attempt is made to classify and describe diseases, and to enumerate the various remedies that had been proposed for them. Some of the prescriptions are of inordinate length, containing a mixture of the most heterogeneous drugs. At other times the patient was given his choice of the remedies he might adopt. Thus, for an attack of spleen, he was told that he might "slice the seed of a reed and dates in palm wine," or "mix calves' milk and bitters in palm-wine," or "drink garlic and bitters in palm-wine," or finally try several other recipes which are severally named. "For an aching tooth," we are told, "the root of the plant of human destiny (perhaps the mandrake) is the medicine; it must be placed upon the tooth. The fruit of the yellow snakewort is the medicine for an aching tooth; it must be placed upon the tooth. . . . The roots of a thorn which does not see the face of the sun when growing is the medicine for an aching tooth; it must be placed upon the tooth." In the midst of all these prescriptions, however, room was still found for some of the old superstitious charms and incantations which might be tried when everything else had failed. The practice of medicine had advanced to a much higher point in Egypt, but it is probable that it was from Babylonia rather than from Egypt that the Jews acquired their knowledge of it. At all events the name of King Asa who "sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians" (2 Chr. xvi. 12), not only signifies "physician," but is of Aramaic origin, pointing to the fact that medical knowledge came to Judah from north-eastern Asia.

It will be remembered that when Hezekiah was "sick unto death" Isaiah ordered a poultice of figs to be laid upon the boil from which he suffered (2 Kings xx. 7).

In a country of merchants and traders, where law entered so largely into the daily life of the people, it was inevitable that lawyers should be numerous. At the head of the profession stood "the judges" who were appointed by the king. Over the judges presided a superior judge—the chancellor, as we may call him—who took his seat among them in important cases. Examples have already been given of the cases which were brought before them, and of the procedure of the court. Cases, however, might be settled by arbitration; in this event, the matter was brought before an official called the *gugallu*, and witnesses were produced on both sides. Here, for instance, is the report of a case which happened in the 28th year of Nebuchadnezzar:—"On the 2nd day of the month Ab (July), Imbiya summoned his witnesses to the gate of the house of Bel-nadin, the *gugallu;* against Arrabi, the grandson of the superintendent of the works, he alleged that a cloak and kilt belonging to himself had been carried off by him. If he convicts him, Arrabi shall return the cloak and kilt to Imbiya; if he does not convict him, Arrabi shall stand acquitted. If Arrabi does not appear on the 2nd day of the month Ab, without witnesses he shall restore the cloak and kilt." Then follow the names of the witnesses produced by Imbiya.

An interesting case which was tried before the judges in the 9th year of Nabonidos (B.C. 547) has recently been translated by Dr. Peiser. It concerned a Syrian family settled in Borsippa, whose names, Ben-Hadad-nathan, "the god Ben-Hadad has given," Ben-Hadad-amar, "Ben-Hadad has spoken," and Aqab-ili, "Jacob is god," are especially worth the attention of the Biblical student. "Bunanit," we read, "the daughter of the Kharitsian made the following statement before the judges of Nabonidos the king of Babylon. 'Ben-Hadad-nathan, the son of Nikbaduh, obtained me for a wife, and received 3½ manehs of silver as my dowry, and I bore him one daughter. I and Ben-Hadad-nathan, my husband, bought and sold with the money of my dowry, and we purchased 8 canes of land occupied by a house in the district called *Beyond the Galla* in Borsippa for 9 manehs, 40 shekels of silver, and 2½ manehs of silver which we had borrowed from Iddin-Merodach the son of Iqisa-abla of the family of Nur-Sin, and we purchased the house together. In the 4th year of Nabonidos, king of Babylon, I demanded my dowry from Ben-Hadad-nathan, my husband, and Ben-Hadad-nathan willingly registered the 8 canes on which the house stood in Borsippa, and handed them over to me for ever, and declared in the deed that Ben-Hadad-nathan and Bunanit have paid in common 2½ manehs of silver which they had borrowed from Iddin-Merodach, and had given towards the price of the aforesaid house. This deed he sealed, and wrote upon it the curse of the great gods (against its transgressor). In the 5th year of Nabonidos, king of Babylon, I and Ben-Hadad-nathan, my husband, adopted Ben-Hadad-amar as a son, and registered the adoption, and declared that 2 manehs, 10 shekels of silver, and the furniture of the house should be the dowry of my daughter Nubta. My husband died, and now Aqab-ili the son of my father-in-law lays claim to the house and all that was registered and made over to me, as well as to the slave Nebo-nur-ili, whom we bought for money from Nebo-akh-iddin. I have brought the defendant before you; give judgment upon us.' The judges heard their pleadings, read the deeds and bonds which Bunanit produced before them, and did not grant Aqab-ili possession of the house in Borsippa, which had been assigned to Bunanit in place of her dowry or of the slave Nebo-nur-ili whom she and her husband had bought with money, or of any of the property of Ben-Hadad-nathan. They confirmed Bunanit and Ben-Hadad-amar in the validity of their deeds. Iddin-Merodach was first to receive in full the 2½ manehs which had been given towards the purchase of the aforesaid house; then Bunanit should receive in full her dowry of 3½ manehs of silver, and part of the property of her husband. Nubta should receive the slave Nebo-nur-ili, according to the stipulation of her father. By the order of the judges of the country." Then follow the names of the six judges and their two clerks, and the date (the 26th of Elul or August B.C. 547), and the place of registration (Babylon).

The poet and musician each occupied a place in the social system of Babylonia. As far back as the age of the Judges in Israel, a poet at the Babylonian court was rewarded with the present of a piece of land for some verses which had pleased the sovereign. Figures of musicians often appear in the Assyrian sculptures. One of them wears a curious cap of great height, and shaped like a fish. The instruments on which they played were numerous; drums and tambourines, trumpets and horns, lyres and guitars, harps and cithers, pipes and cymbals, are all represented on the monuments. Besides single musicians, bands were employed, under the conduct of leaders who kept time with a double rod. Occasionally the music was accompanied by dancing, sometimes also by clapping the hands. In one instance three captives are depicted playing on the lyre, and proving that like the Babylonians the Assyrians also "required" from their prisoners "a song" (Ps. cxxxvii. 3). Canon Rawlinson notices that the speaking trumpet was known to the Assyrians as well as the musical trumpet. In the representation of the conveyance of a colossal bull from the quarries of the Baladians to the palace of Sennacherib, one of the overseers is standing on the body of the bull, and giving orders through a trumpet to the workmen.

The most striking fact brought out by a survey of the trades and professions carried on in the two great kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates, is the industrial character of their population. This indeed was more the case in Babylonia than in Assyria, where the military organisation became predominant and eventually fell crushed by its own weight. But even in Assyria the merchant was a leading figure, and the campaigns of the later kings were directed by the jealousies of trade. In neither kingdom was there anything that resembled a feudal aristocracy. Below the monarch and the civil service stood a large middle class, whose chief aim in life was the acquisition of riches. The foundation of the fabric of the state was essentially plutocratic. A man's worth was measured by his wealth, and in Babylonia, at least, the possession of money meant power and dignity. Hence the keen interest taken in commerce by all classes of the community from the king downward; hence, too, the independent position occupied by women, and the right they had to buy and sell on their own account. There was, however, a fatal flaw in the industrial system of Babylonia. This was the existence of slavery. It lowered the position of the free labourer, it depressed his wages, and enabled the capitalist to tyrannise over him. The overthrow of the commercial prosperity of Babylonia was due more to the slavery that existed in its midst than to the wars and invasions that came upon it from abroad.

SPIRITUALISM.

BY REV. G. H. PEMBER, M.A.

From *The British Weekly* (Non-Conformist, London), February 19, March 5, March 19, April 2, 1891.

I.—Beginnings of the Movement.

When we regard great revolutions from a distance, they often appear as if due to a sudden impulse, arising from an utterly inadequate cause, and affecting large masses of society with incredible rapidity. Yet, in every instance, we have but to examine facts, and this first impression will vanish. A little perseverance will enable us to trace the long and comparatively obscure preparation by which the minds of the people had been educated, so that they were ready, either to act as soon as the signal was given, or to acquiesce in the avowal of opinions which but a short time before would have provoked their hostility. Nevertheless, the process of transformation, especially in its earlier stages, is so gradual and imperceptible that even those who live within its sphere, and are being affected by its influence, have little idea of the magnitude of the change which is going on around them, if, indeed, they perceive any change at all. And of this we may find very recent illustrations; for it is only of late that attention has been directed to three great revolutionary movements which have developed among ourselves almost within the present generation, and may possibly be forced into far greater prominence before it has quite passed away. Of course I allude to Catholicism, Spiritualism, and Socialism. And diverse as these three propagandas may at first sight appear, they have, during the last few years, manifested some disposition to an alliance which, should it ever be effected, would enable them to carry the world before them.

But dismissing for the present the first and third of these systems, I propose to make a few remarks upon the second, understanding the term "Spiritualism" in a comprehensive sense, so as to make it include the movements which followed in its train, Theosophy and Esoteric Buddhism, as well as Spiritualism proper. For one striking characteristic is common to those who call themselves after these names; by each of them the human spirit, in some condition or another, embodied or disembodied, is set in prominence as the source of all knowledge and power; and, consequently, each of them at the same time obscures and withdraws the image of the One God. Not that all Spiritualists would be willing to admit this; indeed, they exhibit various shades of opinion, some of them even affecting the name of "Christian Spiritualists"—which is certainly an impeachment of the rest—and professing to derive their doctrines from the Bible. Yet any one who is but moderately acquainted with their literature must feel that the full bent of it, whether avowedly so or not, is aimed at an obliteration of God. That is, of course, of the God in whom true Christians believe, the Omniscient, Almighty, and absolutely Sovereign Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Creator of all things. For Atheism may be propagated in more effective ways than by ceaselessly crying, There is no God.

Since the doctrines of the new faith have been disseminated and systematised almost within the memory of the present generation, it may, perhaps, be as well to embody a part of my remarks in personal reminiscences. These will show how I gradually became aware that a change was passing over the minds of men, and that the belief in the supernatual, which characterised the early and middle ages of the world, but had ebbed away in an almost Sadducean Protestantism, was returning like the tide. They will also indicate the influences which induced me to think that, however much of imposture might be found upon the surface, the underlying strata of Spiritualism were of demoniacal and Satanic origin.

It is usual to date the beginning of the movement from the notorious spirit-rappings at Hydesville in the year 1848. And doubtless that remarkable occurrence did give its first impetus to the popular phase of Spiritualism, chiefly because by introducing the plan of spelling out words it facilitated communication with the spirit-world. But preparations for an influx of the supernatural would seem to have been going on for some time, and men were becoming more and more ready for a reaction from the cold materialism of the eighteenth century. The human race, of which curiosity is one of the most striking characteristics, can never rest long without something beyond its own ken to wonder at and reach after. And Christendom had been already initiated into the mysteries of mesmerism and clairvoyance by the discoveries, writings, and practices of a number of experimentalists, beginning with Anton Mesmer, who seems to have stolen his ideas from the Jesuit Father Hehl. My readers will remember Carlyle's grim picture of Parisian society gaping after the newly invented balloon, and flocking with awe-struck faces to the chambers of the mesmerist, in utter unconsciousness of approaching doom, and of the rising tide which was just about to sweep them away with its flood. Their magical pursuits did not, however, disappear in the French Revolution, but were kept ever before the educated public by well-known names such as Dupotet and Cahagnet. And thus—although the great masses of the people were still sceptical—when the proceedings at Hydesville had both concentrated attention on the spirit-sphere, and suggested an easy mode of communication with it, there was much already excited curiosity in the world eager to seize upon the proffered means of indulging itself.

Of course the United States were first affected; but the contagion quickly spread to England, and William Howitt describes its incipient progress there as being, in its physical phase, but "a reflection and a weaker reproduction of Spiritualism in America." The forms which it most commonly assumed were those of table-turning or table-rapping—phenomena which became a frequent topic of conversation, but were usually regarded as the merest trickery, and as due to mechanical agency. There were some persons, however, who attempted to explain them scientifically.

Meanwhile the caricaturists did not neglect their opportunity. And among their efforts, many will remember Mr. Leech's amusing sketch of the dismay of a cabinet-maker when the table, which he is in the act of commending to a customer, suddenly begins to dance, and exclaims, "Don't believe him, mum. I'm not mahogany. I'm only veneered, and second-hand."

At the outset of the movement there were two circumstances which impeded serious investigation. The first was the apparent triviality and folly of the manifestations, which, however, time has shown to have been more skilfully conceived than merely human wisdom could have supposed. For the movement was to make its way through society from below and upwards, and, as it progressed, its character was to be changed.

But the second barrier to inquiry was even stronger. The prevailing party of the day was that of the Protestant Evangelicals, whose influence extended far beyond their own pale. And, whether connected with the Established Church or with Nonconformist bodies, they had all recoiled from the superstitions of Rome to an opposite extreme. Wishing to rid themselves of Purgatory, they had absolutely eliminated the intermediate state from their theology; discarding the Scriptural doctrines of Paradise and Hades, they were teaching the immediate passage of the spirit to Heaven or to Hell. And yet they had no *intention* of denying the resurrection. Disgusted—and so far reasonably—with the legends of useless miracles and the too frequent apparitions of the Virgin and the saints, they had practically decided that all reports of ghostly appearings, or of any kind of supernatural phenomena, must be rejected by foregone conclusion, and deemed unworthy even of investigation. And this last opinion was held by scientists even more firmly than by theologians. Now until such a state of the public mind could be changed, it was clear that Spiritualism had little chance of making its way. And hence one may see the wisdom of its directors in beginning with an assault upon the more ignorant and vulgar classes of society. For among these there would be many persons whose ideas or prejudices could be easily modified by a slight exhibition of supernatural power and knowledge. The weird movements of the tables would excite their curiosity; the answers given by the raps or by the medium, and often unfolding the secrets of the inquirer's past life, would prove the presence of a supernatural intelligence; while glowing descriptions of the spirit-land would be well calculated to please those who could receive them, and to remove the fear of Death, at least until he drew near. But the intellectual and philosophical revelations were reserved for a while.

As regards myself, there were reasons which rendered me more disposed than many to admit the possibility, at least, of supernatural phenomena. First and chiefly, my mother had been in the habit of reading Bible-stories aloud from the earliest time that I could understand them, and had afterwards passed on to more difficult passages. And in her manner of dealing with what she read, there was one feature for the effect of which upon myself I cannot be sufficiently thankful. She never seemed to resort to the Bible for the purpose of proving some previous conception, but always with the view of receiving what could be drawn in the simplest and most straightforward way from the verses before her. Perhaps she had fallen into this method from the circumstances of her early days. For the decease of her mother, which was so premature that she had no remembrance of it, had deprived her of the care which she afterwards bestowed upon me. And, while herself of a naturally pious disposition, she was the daughter of a country squire of the old type, who lived in the vicinity of Berkeley Castle, and joined in the diversions of its inmates. The scenes which she witnessed in her home, and especially the revellings of drunken Nimrods, in accord with the rough customs of the time, must have driven her upon herself. And since she never spoke of any helpful clerical influence, one is fain to conclude that the clergyman of the parish sympathised with the prevailing tastes, and was probably a hunting parson, as useless in the pulpit as out of it. And so, having no one to impress particular dogmas upon her mind, she doubtless did the best she could with her Bible, and understood it in its most obvious meaning. Certainly her few remarks when reading to me all tended to set it forth as a revelation from the Most High God, which had no rival in authority, and must be simply understood, unhesitatingly believed, and heartily obeyed.

Now any one who peruses the volume with such a view of its nature will not deny that it has much to say respecting invisible and supernatural powers that are continually influencing men for good or for evil. On the side of the good there is One Spirit and only One, "that One and the Selfsame Spirit," acting upon and giving gifts to men. For with a single memorable exception, which proves the rule, and is of such a character that we can have no wish for its repetition, the spirits of the justified dead are always kept in the background as regards the present world, and are to continue so until the day of resurrection. But there are unfallen angels, who are embodied spirits, sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation.

On the other hand, the Bible describes the atmosphere of our earth as peopled with evil beings whom it designates "the Principalities, the Powers, the World-rulers of this Darkness, and the Spiritual Hosts of Wickedness in the Heavenly Places." And for the last-mentioned class it often uses the term "demons"—*not* "devils"—or "unclean spirits;" while the rest, or some of them, it names the angels of the Devil. These, as we may conjecture from the analogy of the good angels, must be embodied spirits; but the demons, as the use of the word in the Classics, the Scriptures, and the Ecclesiastical writers shows, are disembodied. They would seem, however, to be the remains of a Pre-adamite world, since the Scriptures apparently intimate in the history of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and also in other places, that the children of Adam, when they have once left the earth, may not revisit it until the hour of resurrection.

Very plainly, too, the Bible speaks of the action of these evil beings upon man; of the temptations and persecutions to which they subject him; of the frequent possession of his body and subjugation of his will by foul spirits. Moreover, it represents the demons as performing visible acts, as enduing the possessed with supernatural strength, so that he can break chains and fetters; as seizing upon a lad and casting him ofttimes into the fire and into the waters to destroy him; as rending the same lad in the presence of a great multitude, and then quitting his body with a loud cry. It describes also the speaking of demons with articulate voices, that could be heard and understood, not merely by initiates, by mediums and clairvoyants, but by crowds of ordinary people. Nor does it once hint that these aerial powers of evil will ever be silenced and banished by the progress, the education, and the civilisation of the human race. Indeed, so far is it from such a suggestion that it positively predicts the increase of their influence in the latter days, and sets no limit to their action, until the Son of Man returns from Heaven to close the age, and cast them into the abyss, into which, when He was formerly upon earth, they were ever fearing that He would hurl them before the time.

Now since I had been brought up to regard all these things as facts, on the ground that the Bible was the only absolute truth in the world, the logical consequence followed. And my necessary belief in the continual interference of the invisible world with the visible was not a little strengthened by the tone of certain other books that were read to me before I could read them myself, and by me afterwards with great avidity. The chief of these were some of the works of Bunyan—the "Grace Abounding" and the "Visions of Heaven and Hell," as well as the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Holy War." Hence when, in the course of years, marvellous stories of Spiritualism began to be circulated, there was to my mind no antecedent impossibility in the idea that the spirits of the air should manifest themselves to men, and devise a means of communicating with them.

About the same time two or three incidents occurred which certainly tended to make the invisible world appear more real to me. One of these may, perhaps, be worth relating. The eldest son of a family living in the neighbourhood was in India. and was not expected home for a considerable time. One winter's evening, when the father, mother, and sisters were seated around the fire, the handle of the door was heard to turn. All of them looked in its direction, and to their astonishment saw the son, who was supposed to be beyond the waves, just entering the room. They rose eagerly to greet him; but immediately he turned back and closed the door behind him. They heard retreating footsteps in the passage, and of course pursued them, but could find no one. The story was noised about in the town, and some while afterwards news came that the young man had died in India just at the time when his spectre appeared at home. This, of course, is a specimen of the most common and best proved class of apparitions. But frequently as such incidents seem to occur, the fact cannot be adduced as an argument for the possibility of intercourse between the living and the dead. For an apparition of this kind, vivid and lifelike as it may be, is seen only at the moment of death, as though the spirit in certain circumstances—and for aught we know, they may not be desirable circumstances—is able, when passing out of the body, and before it leaves the scenes of earth for its destination, to take one look at those upon whom either affection or some other cause has fixed its thoughts.

II.—Personal Reminiscences.

There can be little doubt that this estimate of Paganism is far more true than that which finds in it much good mingled with a little evil. The latter opinion, moreover, is mainly answerable for the corruption which began to overspread Christianity as soon as it was propagated. And that we have not yet passed the time when right views on this subject are of the greatest practical value, may appear in the sequel.

In my twenty-first year I had my only personal experience of table-turning. An acquaintance who felt a curiosity in regard to it, and believed its mystery capable of a scientific solution, determined upon a series of experiments in his own house, and invited myself and several others to join him on the first evening of the trial. We assembled in a room the centre of which was occupied by a large circular dining-table. This table was very massive, and was supported by one huge leg, which rested on a thick square of mahogany, having a foot at each of its corners. Of its size some conception may be formed from the fact that thirteen of us, including several of the other sex, were able to sit around it with ample accommodation. We disposed our hands in the usual fashion, and so commenced the sitting with a determination and patience of which the reader may judge when he knows that we persisted for an hour and a quarter, although nothing abnormal occurred. But just as we were growing weary, and the less enthusiastic were proposing an adjournment, the table gave an ominous and most peculiar creak, followed by another, and yet another. Then it commenced a slow and very smooth gliding movement, such as we ourselves could not have produced even if we had attempted it in concert. The change of expression on every face was wonderful; weariness, indifference, and mirth all dissolved in looks of intense interest. Slowly the table glided round, until we were obliged to rise from our seats in order to preserve the circle of hands; then its pace gradually quickened, and we at first walked with it, but were soon running wildly, or rather scuffling, while the chairs were pushed away in all directions, until the circle was broken, and the motion ceased.

On the following evening the circumstances were altogether different. The table was quick to respond, as though, like the tripod mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, it had been "initiated" by the proceedings of the previous day. Some one proposed to make trial of its power of replying to questions, by the usual alphabetical method. One or two correct answers were obtained; but they had reference to trivialities which might easily have been guessed. A sceptic who was present said as much, and expressed a conviction that some mechanical means were being used to make the table rap. When bidden to examine for himself, and also to propose a question, he immediately asked, "How many shillings have I upon me?" The table rapped out fifteen, and was still. "That is a mistake, then," exclaimed the interrogator; "for I procured change for a sovereign just before leaving home." However, when requested to prove his words, he could produce but fifteen shillings, and afterwards remembered that on the way to my friend's house he had paid five to a tradesman. This incident made me suspect that Spiritualism might possibly be something beyond the ken of Professor Faraday, and was, perhaps, akin to the dealing with familiar spirits so often alluded to in Scripture, and to the witchcraft of the middle ages.

During my life as an undergraduate at Cambridge, I heard but little of Spiritualism, and did not then understand the close connection between it and mesmerism. The latter was a frequent subject of conversation among the students, and I had at least one opportunity of obtaining some insight into its dangers. In the "set" to which I belonged there was a young man, whom for the nonce I will call Bryce, of excellent abilities, but in a most dilapidated condition of body. He seemed to have lost a large measure of his vital powers; even his eyes were so weak and dim that he could not read, and was obliged to get up his subjects by the help of his friends, one of whom was told off each evening to read to him. Of course the defect of sight obliged him to procure special permission for a *viva voce* examination, in which, spite of all his disadvantages, he passed creditably. But my reason for mentioning him here is that he attributed his deplorable condition solely to his exercise of mesmeric power. Of that he had discovered himself to be possessed to an unusual degree while a scholar of Richmond Grammar School, in the days of Dr. Tait. Over some of his schoolfellows his sway seemed almost absolute. By his mere volition he could act upon them from a distance, or when in another room and on a different floor, causing them to sit, stand, fall down, sing, or dance, as he pleased. Of course a rumour of what was going on soon came to the ears of Dr. Tait, and made him very desirous of investigating the matter. Accordingly, he one day summoned the young mesmerist to his desk, and calling for a stout Irish boy, bade Bryce put him under the influence. With a few passes this was done. "Now," said Dr. Tait, producing a glass of some abominably tasting medicine, "give him this, and make him believe it to be honey." The boy received the odious mixture, and began to swallow it with avidity. "Remove the influence instantly," cried the master. Bryce did so, and the boys face underwent a marvellous revulsion of expression as he hurled the glass to the other side of the room.

But after every exercise of this power Bryce suffered from severe exhaustion, which at last induced the chronic weakness and decadence already described. Nevertheless, when I knew him, he abhorred mesmerism, not so much for its pernicious consequences to himself, as from a settled belief that it was in itself unlawful and wicked. To the exhaustion which followed upon his efforts many parallels might be cited. Among others, I remember a statement of Professor Crookes in the narration of his experiments with Mr. Home, that the medium after some of his most successful manifestations would lie on the floor of the room in a state of utter prostration.

Some time after leaving Cambridge I resided in the neighbourhood of London, and was occupied in school-work. One Monday morning, in the course of the usual Greek Testament lesson with an upper form, we came to a verse which was suggestive to me, and, before dismissing it, I remarked: "You will see from this verse what should be your attitude in regard to the so-called Spiritualism of which you have probably heard. Either it is an imposture, or it is not. If it is, I need not advise you to keep clear of it. But if it is not, this verse warns you that whatever real power it may exhibit must be Satanic; so that in that case it is to be avoided with far more caution than if it were a mere imposture." The words were thrown out cursorily, and I thought no more of them. But the next morning a young gentleman was announced as wishing to speak with me. When admitted he proved to be one of my pupils, whose family was well known in the neighbourhood. "You made me rather uncomfortable yesterday, sir," he began, "by what you said of Spiritualism. Our family are all Spiritualists, and so if there is anything wrong with us, we do not call in a physician, but send to the medium, who gives us a diagnosis of the ailment and a prescription which we generally find efficacious. This morning my aunt, being unwell, asked me to write to the medium for her as usual; but your words of the previous day made me hesitate, and I thought I should like to talk the matter over with you."

This was the first hint I had that Spiritualism was being privately practised in houses of which one would have had no suspicion. It was soon followed by others. A month or two later disclosures were made of a series of *séances* which had been held under the roof of a clergyman, who lived only a few doors from my own house. He was himself ignorant of what had been going on; but his family, every member of which was well known to me, had advanced far beyond table-turning, and had even evoked a materialised form. The circumstances were very extraordinary, but I am already exceeding reasonable bounds.

About the same time a friend from the Continent visited us. He was a sensible, hard-headed, and decidedly sceptical man, who had lately shown that his nerves were of iron by an exploit, requiring sustained courage and coolness, which had resulted in a successful revolution. One evening he said to me, "I hear a great amount of nonsense talked about Spiritualism, and have a mind to look into it. There is said to be a famous medium somewhere near Lancaster-gate; to-morrow I will go in that direction, and see what I can make of her." On the following day he returned somewhat silent and thoughtful, and, as soon as we were alone, I asked after the result of his expedition. "Well," he replied, "I have been quite taken aback. The medium, who seemed to be a lady, received me with great composure, and after a few remarks inquired with what spirit I wished to communicate. 'With that of my father,' I answered. In a little more than a minute she told me that the spirit of my father was present and willing to reply to any queries. Immediately, and not without some degree of malice, I inquired respecting a difficulty in his will, which had given much trouble to my family, and the secret of which had probably been known only to himself. To satisfy me on this point would, I felt sure, be very far beyond the powers and resources of the medium. But to my blank astonishment an answer was returned without hesitation, and it was such that I perceived in a moment the whole solution of the difficulty."

III.—THE ANGELS' SIN. PAGANISM.

With these elucidations the meaning of the passage became clear. When the human race had begun to multiply and the daughters of men were fair, certain apostate angels, who were on the earth at the time, dared to break the law of their creation, and to mingle with a diverse stock. And from these unions, which took place both before the Deluge and after it, the heroes of ancient mythology were born. Thus we were enabled to discover in the Bible all the different orders of superhuman beings known to classical writers—the gods, the demons, and the heroes. And, possibly, the story of the Titans might be referred to the angelic irruption before the Flood, and that of other heroes to what happened after it. Moreover, from the prominence of these heroes among ordinary mortals, a misty idea seemed to have overspread the earth that all kings or great leaders must have sprung from one of the semi-divine families. Hence the almost universal worship rendered to ancient monarchs. Even as late as the time of the Roman Empire, when Julius Cæsar was feeling for a power which was rather Oriental than Occidental, he found it necessary, or at least thought it best, to give out that he was descended from the goddess Venus through Æneas. And because of this claim he was styled Divus, or God, and passed on the blasphemous title to succeeding emperors.

While the passage of Genesis was on my mind, I made the acquaintance of a clergyman who had taken much interest in the study of Occultism, and obtained access to his library. This was my first opportunity of gauging the copious literature of Spiritualism and Occultism. Previously I had supposed it to be almost confined to the few books which had fallen in my way; now my ideas were enlarged, as they were still more when I subsequently received from a London bookseller a catalogue of *fifteen hundred* works of this kind which he had on sale at the time. I also began to learn something more of the doctrines which Spiritualism was developing, such as those of the Seven Spheres, of affinities, of marriages with demons and of "the two-in-one," of the feminine element in the Deity, of re-incarnation, and so on. Yet it seemed strange that so many books could have been published and circulated when one had heard so little mention of them in society; but the fact was that those who were interested kept their thoughts to themselves. The great change in public opinion, which is now everywhere apparent, was at that time making its way beneath the surface. *Macmillan's Magazine* had not yet—so far at least as I can remember—contained a true ghost story with the editor's certificate to the creditability of the writer; nor had Mr. Oliphant published his "Scientific Religion." By the majority of educated people everything that savoured of apparitions or spirits was still regarded as mediæval, and as opposed to modern ideas and science.

But the greatest surprise which my friend's books brought me was the discovery that intercourse between angels and human beings was treated in some of them as a thing already known, and soon about to be "declared open to all who are ready to enter into the joy of their Lord!" The year 1881, though I did not find out the date until later, was to be the last of the old dispensation; and after it, what was called the "Fourth Generation" would commence, as a preparation for which all human generation must cease. But this is enough of the subject. Spiritualists were revealing their affinity to the apostasy that forbids to marry; and, if they were to be believed, many of them were contemplating a revival of the sin that caused the Flood.

Again, in reading the "inspirational" poems of T. L. Harris, I could not but be struck with the amount of Paganism that was introduced into them. Certainly in one place he spoke of the Hellenic gods as "glorious idealities," but they were treated by him as real beings, and regarded as *unfallen* angels of God!—By the way, Mr. Ruskin teaches something very like this in the last chapter of *Ethics of the Dust.*—Apollo was mentioned more frequently than the rest; and this seemed to me remarkable, because the Bible apparently recognised his existence, as well as his possession of certain oracular powers, when it described the Philippian slave-girl as having "a Pythonic spirit," or, more literally, "a spirit, a Python." For was not Python the well-known oracular name of Apollo? It appeared, then, that some at least of the Occultists believed in the present existence of this and of the other classical gods; were they attempting to bring back the spirit of what we must, for want of a better name, call Paganism? But whatever their idea may have been, it is not yet set aside. In one of the "Illuminations" of Anna Kingsford, published only last year, the following passage occurs:—

"I am entering a brighter region now. What glorious form of womanhood is that, so queenly, so serene, and endowed with all wisdom? It is Pallas Athena—a real personage in the spiritual world! And yonder is one of whom I have no need to ask. I am passing through the circle of the Olympians. It is Aphrodite, mother of love and beauty. O Aphrodite, spirit of the waters, firstborn of God, how could I adore thee! And men on earth now deem the gods and goddesses of Greece mere fables! And I behold them living and moving in strength and beauty before me!"

A little further on Mrs. Kingsford assumes the identity of Aphrodite and the Virgin Mary of the Roman Catholics. Her "Illuminations" also include hymns to the principal Hellenic gods, of which that to Bacchus, or "Iacchos," said to be the "Planet-God" of earth, is especially curious. A strange doctrine—and the explanation given of it is equally strange—is contained in the verse, "Let thy Master be the Christ of God, whose Father is the Lord Iacchos."

Certainly there is here a strong Hellenizing tendency, but that exists in many diverse quarters, and is by no means confined to the sphere of theology. From the time when the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. drove into the West that Greek learning which brought about the

Renaissance, the literature of Hellas has been steadily contributing to the formation of modern thought, and has also helped to induce a general taste for antiquity. The results are manifold, and they have lately been augmented by an influx of Orientalism ; their tendency is to adulterate Christianity by scepticism and æstheticism, and so to bring it into harmony with ancient faiths. Of course the ultimate consequence of this is the actual, if not the avowed, abolition of true Christian doctrine. Nor have we much difficulty in tracing such consequence in many parts of England ; but just now, perhaps, Italy affords the most prominent example of it. The poet Carducci, in his "Studii Letterari," points out that in that country the old Roman, Etruscan, and Hellenic elements, which have never been entirely suppressed, are again forcing their way to the surface. The Christian religion, he says, was superimposed, first in its mystic or ascetic, and afterwards in its Roman or Paganised form ; then followed the German Empire with its feudalism. But neither of these is indigenous to the Italian soil. The one has altogether passed away, the other almost so ; and with the recovery of Italian nationality and liberty the old spirit of the country seems to be returning. The poet then depicts the striving of this spirit in his own breast, and his doubts in regard to it, until he discovered that the noblest minds and geniuses of Europe were similarly influenced. "This Paganism," he exclaims, "this cult of form, was naught else but the love of that noble nature from which the solitary Semitic estrangements had alienated hitherto the spirit of man in such bitter hostility. My at first feebly defined sentiment of opposition thus became confirmed conceit, reason, affirmation ; the hymn to Phœbus Apollo became the hymn to Satan."

In the last clause Carducci refers to two of his most celebrated odes, in the first of which he laments the withdrawal of Apollo from the world, while in the second, written some years afterwards, he exults in the return of Satan as the god of matter, of earth and its delights. It is somewhat ominous to hear of the old Aryan nature-worship being brought back to us under such patronage, and strange indeed to read sentiments respecting the great enemy of mankind like the following—for the translation of which I am indebted to Mr. Sewall, in *Harper's Magazine*. After singing of Satan as the god of all that is pleasing to the flesh, of beauty, love, wine, dancing, and license, the poet affirms that the age is even now renewing itself, that matter may triumph, for Satan has won. For a while he was lost in unknown caverns and ways profound,

"Till lo ! unconquered,
From shore to shore,
Like to the whirlwind,
He sends forth his cry.

Like to the whirlwind
Spreading its wings,
He passes, O people,
Satan the great !

Hail to thee, Satan !
Hail, the Rebellion !
Hail, of the reason the
Great Vindicator !

Sacred to thee shall rise
Incense and vows !
Thou hast the god
Of the priests dethroned."

I will close with two remarks. If Hellenic forms of thought are returning to us, as they certainly appear to be, and that in other departments besides Theology, the fact is simply fulfilling a great prediction of the Book whose canon was closed some eighteen centuries ago. For when, in Rev. xiii., the Beast, which is the embodiment of the Roman Empire, appears in his last phase, he is said to be like unto a leopard, the creature which represents the Third or Grecian World-power. This can only mean that in its final stage the general features of Christendom will be Hellenic. Is the Book which is so despised and neglected about to prove its Divine origin in this as in so many other ways ?

Again, if there are some who would restore that worship of Satan which was probably well known to the ancient initiates, there are certainly many so-called Christian ministers who are making straight the path for such a consummation by omitting Christ from their teaching. I do not mean that they omit the name, but he is not the Son of God whom they present under it. He is one who harmonises with a religion that professes no more than morality and philanthropy, and worships humanity. If such changes be allowed, it will soon be possible to give the name of Christ to a Satanic Saviour, and the world may be adoring the Antichrist unawares. Let it be remembered that, while the service of God must ever of necessity involve the service of man, the converse of the proposition is by no means true. Those who speak of the Lord only as philosopher, or philanthropist, or exemplar, would do quite as much good if they preached of Confucius or Buddha. For it is Christ the Only Begotten Son of the Father, Who His Own Self bare our sins in His Own body on the tree—it is He alone Who is able to loose the prisoners of Satan, and to destroy the works of the Devil.

IV.—THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE.

When my investigation of Spiritualism had proceeded thus far, the movement seemed to assume a very serious aspect. For while it derived its strength from actual and constantly occurring phenomena, it was also exhibiting the unmistakable characteristics of an apostasy from God. Indeed, I soon began to suspect that it might be leading in the direction of the predicted "falling away" in the last times, out of which the Antichrist should arise. But of this more anon.

My first impulse was to inquire whether any attempt had been made to convey warning to the very numerous body of incautious and uninstructed Christians who might fall into the pit before they saw it. And in speaking of incautious Christians, I have in mind that word which is used of Simeon (Luke ii. 25), and is somewhat inadequately rendered "devout" in both of our versions. It is properly applied to one who handles carefully and cautiously that with which he has to deal; and so, in regard to Divine things, it expresses the wise and holy awe which makes us anxious lest we should offend in deed, in word, or even in thought. And how vital does this quality appear when we find it mentioned in the solemn passage in which we are told that Christ Himself, in the days of His flesh, "was heard in that He feared," or, in the more literal rendering of the Revised Version, "for His godly fear." But in our times, alas! such a feeling is rare; and, if the converse of our Lord's case be true, one is driven to apprehend that the majority of modern Christians cannot be heard in that they do not fear. Certainly it is only those who pass the time of their sojourning here in fear that can be reckoned among the spiritual, according to Paul's division of the Church (1 Corinthians iii. 1). All others must be classed as carnal Christians, and are ever liable to be led astray by the wiles of the Adversary.

So far, then, as I could ascertain, no books had, up to that time, been written against Spiritualism, for Mr. B. W. Newton's excellent treatise was not yet published. Nothing more than a few pamphlets, and some notices in volumes devoted to other subjects, rewarded my search; and even these were not sufficiently comprehensive or interesting to move any save readers who were already prejudiced in their favour. In such circumstances I resolved upon a personal effort, and the result was the first edition of "Earth's Earliest Ages." This book was based upon the drawing-room lectures which have been already mentioned, and was not merely an account of Spiritualism in its modern form, but also an attempt to show its connection with the early history of the world, and at the same time to meet the ceaseless attacks of sceptics upon the first chapter of Genesis. It was published in 1876, and for some while attracted little attention, except from friends; indeed, seven years had elapsed before the edition was exhausted. However, towards the end of that period there was a more rapid sale of the remaining copies, and at the same time I began to receive many letters on the subject of the book; its influence was increasing, and it seemed well to hazard another edition. But since 1876 two movements akin to Spiritualism had also been developed in Christendom—Theosophy, and its Eastern form Buddhism.

The course of these latter was, however, different from that of the former in that they first appeared among the educated and upper classes, and became very popular in "society," especially with ladies. The mystic literature, of which the press kept up a copious supply, was eagerly read, the favourite books being, perhaps, Madame Blavatsky's "Isis Unveiled," Edwin Arnold's poems, and "The Perfect Way"—the latter *written through* Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, who claimed to have received its teachings by supernatural communication. About the same time, also, Schopenhauer's works, which had been previously brought forth from obscurity in Germany, were beginning to be studied in the other countries of Christendom. The prevalence of the ideas thus propagated was soon manifest even to a casual observer, and may be illustrated by a set of verses, which appeared in *The World*—July 2nd, 1884—and was entitled "Buddha in the Boudoir." After mentioning several "fads" with which the ladies of society had successively amused themselves in recent years, the writer finishes his list in the following words:

> "They're weary of exploring slums
> And watching slaughtered pigeons,
> And all the rage at kettledrums
> Is trying new religions."

Then he proceeds:

> "What time I sat *sub tegmine*,
> As Virgil tells us, *fagi*,
> I little dreamt the girls would be
> So mad about the magi.

I thought we'd nothing from the East
But bangles and bananas ;
But fashion spreads a mental feast
Of Shastras and Puranas.

When tea comes in the afternoons,
You'll see each verbal fencer
Raise high antagonistic spoons
With talk of Herbert Spencer.
You hear of dear old Buddha then,
Of esoteric preaching,
Of Kant and Strauss and mystic men,
And Schopenhauer's teaching."

But similar ideas soon found their way to the mechanics' institute, and I well remember my astonishment at an incident that occurred during a visit to Clapham. A workman was repairing one of the gaseliers in Mrs. Meredith's Conference Hall, when a deaconess came up, and invited him to attend the Gospel meeting which was to be held there in the evening. "You mean the Gospel of Jesus, I suppose," the man replied. "But I do not want Him. I have a better Saviour : it is in Buddha that I trust." Startling as this case appeared, a little inquiry in the neighbourhood revealed the fact that it was by no means exceptional ; for Spiritualism, Buddhism, and a species of "Social Christianity" which, to say the least, was on the best of terms with the other systems, had been widely disseminated among the more intelligent of the small tradespeople and mechanics.

In the face of these facts it was necessary to add other chapters to "Earth's Earliest Ages ;" and when the original had also been re-written for the most part, and considerably enlarged, the whole was passed into the hands of Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, and the comparatively rapid sale of the new edition proved that some little interest was at last aroused in a movement which had been gradually and secretly transforming the theology of Christendom.

But we must leave these reminiscences, and inquire more particularly into the actual teachings of Spiritualism. Its fundamental doctrine is, of course, the possibility of present intercourse with the other world. The spirits of those who die in our age can, we are told, still see and communicate with their friends who are yet in the flesh ; nay, can even counsel, aid, and protect them, and very often predict what is about to happen to them. This is an idea which, in some form or another, has ever fascinated human minds, and is frequently received even among professing Christians. I will cite two instances from widely diverse quarters.

Coleridge, in his memoir of Keble, tells us of the latter that, in regard to deceased friends, it was "a part of his practical belief that even now the separation was not absolute." What this practical belief meant we may discover by turning to the poem entitled "Bereavement," in his *Lyra Innocentium.* The motto to the poem is, "The Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before ;" and it is worked out in the following manner. The poet meets two sisters in the time of year when

—"vernal meads were bright,
And many a primrose smiled,"

the elder leading the younger, and each enjoying the other's society. On a second occasion he meets them in the chilling dampness of an autumnal evening ; but the elder sister is now attending the younger to her grave. And so, as Coleridge puts it, "he cheers the mourner with his favourite idea of communion with the departed spirit :"—

What if henceforth, by heaven's decree,
She leave thee not alone,
But in her turn prove guide to thee,
In ways to angels known.
O yield thee to her whisperings sweet ;
Away with thoughts of gloom !
In love the loving spirits greet,
Who wait to bless her tomb.
In loving hope with her unseen
Walk as in hallowed air.
When foes are strong and trials keen,
Think, "What if she be there ?"

To turn now to a mind of another class, "General" Booth is reported to have said at the recent funeral of his wife, that she had promised, if she were permitted, to visit him from the other world ; that he had charged her to look after the interests of the Salvation Army, and that, as she had never failed him in this world, he did not think she would do so in the other.

"Well, and what harm is there in such an idea ?" would be the quick retort of many. "It is very beautiful, and withal very comforting." Yes, but our first thought should be, Is that which it involves lawful ? And to this question the Bible answers peremptorily that "he who goes to the dead to inquire" is an abomination unto the Lord (Deut. xviii. 11, 12). To the believer in God's revelation there is no need of another word. Unfortunately, however, both of our versions have slightly obscured the sense, to many readers at least, by the rendering, "a necromancer." But the literal and exact translation is "one that goes to the dead to inquire ;" and it is most important to preserve it in this form, which may possibly have been chosen to signify that which the seeker intends to do, or thinks that he does, without admitting its possibility.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SUNDAY OPENING OF ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUMS.

From *The Rock* (Church of England), London, March 20, 1891.

As once more the annual motion in favour of opening museums on Sunday is before the House of Commons, it may be worth while to look at the question for a moment entirely apart from its religious aspect, and to discuss the interesting problem of the capability of art to meet the real requirements of the working-man. In the present day there is fortunately no one who imagines the working-man beyond the scope of a refining influence, for it is well known there are many labourers in the great industrial centres who, while toiling all day at their trades, resolutely devote a portion of the evening to self-improvement. This is a happy feature in the development of democracy, but it does not follow that, if every workman became an artist, the ethical value of Sunday should be set aside, or that the refining influence of art has a higher ethical value than the rest on one day of seven. Let us, however, inquire what is the past history of art in this respect, and what is the present position on the Continent, where museums have been open for many years ? A correspondent of ours has visited great numbers of picture galleries on Sundays abroad for the purpose of satisfying himself on the latter of these two heads, and he has come to the conclusion that, so far as the genuine working-man is concerned, the museums might just as well be closed. Let us take France, for instance, and look at the thing as we find it at Paris. The Louvre is crowded on a Sunday afternoon —so full, indeed, that it is decidedly unpleasant, but with well dressed men, women, and children, the *bourgeois* element being represented in all its glory. The *ouvrier*, however, the man of the blouse, whose happy disposal is the riddle for the Government to solve, is nowhere to be seen. In truth, if work is plentiful he cannot be seen, as Sunday is no holiday to him, Monday being the sabbath of Belleville, and on that day all the Government galleries are closed. It has been found necessary in Atheistical France to have a day of rest, and the workman cannot on his own day, if he wished, visit the galleries. If, indeed, he really felt the necessity of art, there is no doubt some other arrangement would be made, but in spite of all his opportunities it is evident he does not. Nay more, in 1871, in the hour of his triumph, the Louvre narrowly escaped destruction. Surely a national monument of such importance should have been above alarm ? France is probably the most forward country of the continent, where ideas are most prolific, and the action of its workers, who are always supposed to be the most artistic of work-people, is of more consequence than that of Italians, who are backward of art feeling, although inhabiting the land of art. To any one acquainted with Italy it is needless to say that taste has entirely died out, and that the people who frequent its galleries on a Sunday are the foreign tourists of every nation, making use of a free day and escaping the payment of a franc.

If we turn now to the other point, to the historical aspect of art, there is scarcely any consolation to be found. In olden days, when the cloister was the chosen home of devotion, or the catacomb the coveted refuge of the weary from a world of injustice, the highest utterances of painting did appeal to the people, who saw in the resignation of a Crucifixion the bowing of the will to a Superior Being, and in the Good Shepherd a guardian capable of wiping away all tears. Painting was then closely allied to religion. She was its handmaid, and represented the yearnings of individuals held in bondage. With the spread of the invention of printing, however, the liberty of the Christian was proclaimed, till, in the emancipation of the intellect, the pictorial art was naturally superseded as the vehicle of expression. There was no longer the same necessity for it. A revolution in opinion instantly followed, and in the first wild sweep of freedom nothing was believed that did not commend itself to the reason. There was a long struggle against the most dangerous divisions of the new culture. Galileo and Savonarola, the two greatest innovators, fell before the thunderbolts of the Vatican ; painting, having no heretical tendency, was enthroned in the Holy of Holies ; but, with the continued advance of the new ideas, she refused to be bound any longer to monkish legends. For a time religious types were clothed with earthly loveliness, but, like the San Sebastiano of Fra Bartolommeo, referred to by Symonds, it led the mind to carnal joys, and it revelled in the pride of life till all direct connection with heaven was abolished. With the glory of the Renaissance still a vivid reality, the living death which fell upon Italy after 1527 is a satire on the worship of the fine arts ; intellectual vitality departed, and the people could not, if they had wished it, appreciate the triumphs of the past. There was no revival of the religious spirit of the mediæval Church under the Jesuitism which succeeded. The burning faith of Dante lay buried beneath symbols, and painting lost its significance for the liberated conscience, just as in the decaying period of the Byzantine Empire it pandered to the superstition of the day, till every atom of spirituality was destroyed, till ghastly contortions of pain were reproduced as stimulants to worship, till a fetish of fear was substituted for the God of love, and the Mohammedan invasion was necessary to sweep out the corruption. Nor is there reason now to modify the opinion which this retrospect forces on us. We know it is the universal complaint of travellers that if the finest pictures in Italian churches are not hidden among festival trappings or obscured by altar requisites, it is necessary to fee the custodians in order to see them, so that they are of no use to the people. We know, too, that some of the greatest spiritual conceptions, such as those of Giotto, have been cruelly covered with whitewash; while in places like the interior of St. Mark's, at Venice, where the hopes of the new revelation are fully revealed with matchless skill and purest colour, these pictures are neglected for inferior work or the attractions of a fifth-rate Madonna supposed to possess miraculous powers. It is not the English Puritans who are responsible for the eclipse of the fine arts in churches. Religious painting had had its day as an instructor, and these fearless reformers knew it, and, knowing it, saved the English Church from being a receptacle of trash and an enslaver of the human mind.

If the Atheistical Frenchman desires a weekly rest, and has ceased to be influenced by the moral in art; if art itself is no longer an ethical consoler, but in the modern Parisian school of painting, said to be the best, has taken to depicting mere nakedness and horrid scenes of blood, its elevating value has certainly failed. It does not touch the great want in the struggle of life, namely, that of active assistance based on fellowship. Its beauty beams at times, but in a spirit alien to the energy of the day, while in the highest flights of religious interpretation its Christ is a sentimentalist. The question, then, from a purely secular point of view, is one of balance. Does absolute rest outweigh art culture? Frenchmen alone have at once answered in the affirmative. Art is, of course, a refining influence and must be studied, but it no longer represents the truer spirit of the age, and consequently does not appeal in its former power to the people. Their ideas are in another direction, and another method must be employed to perform them. The decay of faith has gone too far to be won back without personal and spiritual effort. In the loosening of the ties that bind us to the unseen, hope has lost its hold, and a dreary religion of negations is the substitute. A contemplative art like painting can scarcely touch this. Its primary value sinks in proportion as it comes in contact with the hard realities of toil, whilst the remedy of Christianity rises into higher esteem. For here man meets man in the strength of human sympathy, and in the love of unselfish labour. We are thus far ahead of the Continental *ouvrier*, and are brought towards a true universal fellowship which the French workman's ardent desire to gain has led him into wild extremes. As the result of long neglect of Christian teaching, the instincts of art and religion have almost disappeared. Those alone who spend their lives in constant work can understand the literal meaning of the word "Sabbath." The rest which is desired is one which brings with it a feeling for a total change of occupation. The antithesis of labour, therefore, according to the workman's ideal, is a restoring power in the ceaseless round of toilful existence. The cry for the opening of museums, which means an increase of unnecessary work, is on every account a misleading one. Neither the working-man's comfort, nor his art education, will be promoted by the Sunday opening of museums and art galleries.

MISSION CHAPELS.

From *The Christian Register* (Unitarian), Boston, April 2, 1891.

At a union meeting of the clergy of three or four orthodox sects recently held in New York, one of the clerical speakers made some interesting statements about the mission chapel. He pronounced it a failure, and recommended the building of cathedrals for the poor, as most of the unchurched of the metropolis come from foreign lands where they have been accustomed to cathedrals, and find the contrast between these and the consecrated ugliness of the mission chapel, with its bare walls and hard benches, a reason for staying in the street or in the tenement rather than resorting to some such annex to a rich and beautiful uptown edifice.

When the mission chapel was first established, it was hoped the poor would be grateful for the privilege of attending it.

But the reverse of this has proved true. The poor are not grateful for the mission chapel. It has not proved a spiritual lodestone in the midst of our American Alsatias. It is often left in isolation and loneliness, while the neighboring Catholic church is crowded to overflowing by the very class it is designed to reach. Something like resentment doubtless is felt by the less fortunate class toward sects that aim to deal out a different gospel for the rich and the poor, or, if the gospel is the same, to serve it for one class in gold and silver and for the other in earthen vessels.

The mission chapel is built to appease the conscience of Dives, and make him feel comfortable in his well-padded pew, in a building combining all the splendors of architecture, ablaze with painted windows, and filled with luxurious appliances. He likes to think of Lazarus sitting on his bench in the humble little chapel, listening to the voice of the missioner, and joining in the prayers and psalms. But Lazarus of our day, if he does not lie at the rich man's gate, cares not much to sit in the little chapel he has built for his spiritual good. His heart is full of bitterness and unrest. He is sullen, and grumbles at the inequality of human conditions. He is envious and resentful at the luxury of Dives, and does not care to imbibe his religion, especially when it comes in the form of charity.

The mission chapel is built much on the same principle that Mrs. Dives gives her old clothes to the mission-box,—that she may feel more virtuous and comfortable in wearing her new ones. But it is not a merit to give away what we do not want. Nor can we believe that the mission chapel is a merit in the sight of God. It helps to render the rich man's church an exclusive club where no sense is offended by the sight of contact of poverty, where a meanly clad person never stands as a mute reproach to those who lead self-indulgent lives.

Christ's command, Go and preach the gospel to all the world, is so little obeyed in our great cities that from a third to a half of the population seldom see the inside of the sanctuary. If the churching of the unchurched is ever to be attained, it will not be by spending millions on the up-town church and hundreds on the down-town chapel. The suggestion of the clergyman above mentioned that the poor should have cathedrals built for them, if extravagant, still holds the kernel of the matter. The down town church should not be a spiritual barrack, a kind of religious poorhouse: it should be a beautiful and attractive edifice, fitted with those charms of architecture that the dwellers in tenements never find any hint of at home in their joyless rooms, but which delight the humble man as well as the millionaire, and set free the soul by lifting it out of the bondage of a mean and narrow life.

Neither should all the eloquence belong to up-town pulpits, while mediocrity and dulness are thought good enough for the mission chapel. There is no part of our populace too low down to appreciate the best that the greatest man can give. It is a singular perversion of Christ's teaching that finds the rarest gifts of prophets and apostles in the service of the respectable, well-conducted, moral classes, while the publicans and sinners have few opportunities of hearing these living voices of truth and power and love. If the heathen dwellers in our slums and alleys are ever to be Christianized, it must be through consecration of the highest powers. It requires a genius of devotion equal to that of Saint Francis of Assisi to deliver these spirits in prison. The poor had the gospel preached unto them by the Founder of Christianity himself, by Paul and Apollos. No powers were too great, too exalted, to be devoted to this service in the early Church.

Why is it that the poor Catholic never feels ashamed of his miserable clothes in his house of worship, nor perhaps thinks of them, while the poor Protestant gives as his first excuse for not attending church the fact that his coat is indecent and ragged? It is because the poor Catholic feels he is at home in church, while the poor Protestant feels himself an alien, a stranger, an interloper in the house of God. The Catholic helps to build the church and maintain the service by his offerings, however poor and meagre they may be. His faith is, in some sense, a personal expression. The church belongs to the whole body of worshippers, and not to the favored few. The Methodists in their early work built on the same foundations; but of late years they have run into narrower grooves, and in some of their churches the exclusive spirit now reigns. We hear of rich and fashionable Methodist churches, which is a singular commentary on the work of Wesley, who gathered the poor about him in barns and in the woods and fields.

The mission chapel is a criticism on the whole system of conventional Christianity. Out of the defects of the system has grown the Salvation Army, that claims to meet the poor on their own ground, using the lowest and most degraded of human beings to build the edifice of its power and influence. However doubtful the utility of these methods may seem, they have the spirit of sympathy, brotherhood, and humanity alive in them. The Salvation Army has succeeded where the mission chapel has failed. It has reached thieves, drunkards, outcasts, and abandoned women, who would never think of entering the prim, clean, correct, but singularly dull doors of the mission chapel. The old idea still lurking dimly in many minds, that religion must be shrouded in gloom, and made as coldly decorous as possible, shrinks from the thought of bands of wretched sinners, marshalled by drum, fife, and bugle, dressed in uniform, and led by gay banners, as if for a picnic or a target-excursion; but, if the drums and bugles can make a way through dulled sensibilities, through deadened perceptions of things spiritual, for a little gleam of God's light to penetrate, will they not do more than has been done by many well-meant but misdirected efforts among the churches?

Shut our eyes as we may to the truth, the heathendom of great cities is a fearful spectacle. Rrespectability, piety, and honesty go to church, sing, pray, listen to the good and comfortable words of the preacher; while the great mass of the poor remains outside, hears no glad tidings of great joy on Sunday, finds its temple in the streets and along the wharves and in the grog-shops, its gospel in the Sunday newspaper filled with high-spiced sensationalism, hardly knows it has a soul to save, and lives too often like the beasts that perish. Such is the state of the unchurched in our slums and crowded poor quarters. Is not the confession by an orthodox clergyman that the mission chapel has failed an implied arraignment of the present methods of Christian endeavor?

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION.

BY REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

From *The New York Observer*, New York, April 9, 1891.

An able paper on the "Renaissance and the Reformation" was delivered at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, which convened at Florence, Italy, on Saturday last, by the Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., Honorary Foreign Secretary of the Alliance for the United States of America. We give a very large portion of the paper:

Renaissance and Reformation are significant words for two kindred, yet distinct movements of history; the one closes the Middle Ages, the other opens the Modern Age. Both are not simply past events, but living forces which control our civilization, and have not yet finished their mission. Renaissance, Reformation, Reaction, Revolution, Reconstruction, are the links in the chain of modern history.

The Renaissance was a revival of classical culture; the Reformation a revival of primitive Christianity. The former was an intellectual and æsthetic movement; the latter a moral and religious movement. The Renaissance drew its inspiration from the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome; the Reformation from the Apostles and Evangelists. The Renaissance aimed at the development of the natural man; the Reformation at the renewal of the spiritual man. The Renaissance looked down upon earth; the Reformation looked up to heaven. The Renaissance is the work of Italy; the Reformation is the work of Germany and Switzerland. The Renaissance prepared the way for the Reformation, and furnished the necessary intellectual equipment for it. Erasmus and Reuchlin, Melanchthon and Zwingli are the connecting links of the two movements. Without the Renaissance there could have been no Reformation, and the Renaissance is incomplete without a Reformation. For man is a unit, and his intellectual culture and moral character must be developed and perfected in harmony.

I.—The Renaissance.

The Renaissance was born in Florence. It began with Dante, the greatest son of Florence and the greatest Italian poet, whose power extends over the civilized world, and grows with the years. His *Divina Commedia* is at once autobiographical, national and cosmopolitan, a song of the Middle Ages, and of all ages, a spiritual biography of man as a sinner, a penitent, and a saint. It is a pilgrimage of the soul from the dark forest of temptation, through the depths of despair, up the terraces of purification to the realms of bliss, under the guidance of natural reason (Virgil) and divine revelation (Beatrice). Dante was and still is a prophet, rebuking tyranny and injustice, avarice and pride, in high and low places of Church and State, without fear or favor, and pointing to the eternal issues of man's actions. He stands on the transition between the Middle Ages and modern times. He broke the monopoly of the clergy for learning, and of the Latin as the organ of scholarship. He proved that a layman may be a philosopher and a theologian, as well as a statesman and poet, and that the *lingua toscana* may give expression to the deepest thoughts and emotions as well as the language of Virgil and Cicero. He proved that one may be a good Catholic Christian and yet call for a thorough Reformation.

In the fifteenth century the enthusiasm for classical literature and humanistic culture spread with irresistible force through all the cities of Italy, and even crossed the Alps as far north as Poland, and as far west as England and Scotland. The discovery of the classics was the revelation of a long-forgotten civilization, and created as much sensation in the fifteeenth century as the discovery of the hieroglyphics and cuneiform inscriptions and the excavations of Troy and Mycenæ in our age.

The discovery and reproduction of classical literature were followed by the discovery and reproduction of classical art, which revealed the beauty of the human body, as the former had revealed the strength of the human mind. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, such as the Laocoön group, the Apollo of the Belvidere, the torso of Hercules, were dug from the ruins of palaces and villas of old Rome, and kindled an enthusiasm for similar achievements.

What do we owe to the Renaissance of letters and arts? What is its permanent contribution to the civilization and happiness of mankind? The Renaissance raised Greece and Rome from the dead, recovered and collected the ancient classics, created a taste for the humanities, for literary and artistic culture, produced the national literature of Italy, and the greatest works of art, adorned churches, and filled museums and picture galleries, which will attract admiring visitors from every land to the end of time. The Renaissance destroyed the clerical monopoly of learning and made it accessible to the laity; it emancipated the mind from the bondage of tradition, and introduced the era of intellectual freedom. It substituted for the monastic seclusion from the world, the social duty of transforming the world, and the institutions which God has founded. It taught the value of man as man, and showed the finger of God in reason, in nature and art. Humanism made the literatures of Greece and Rome repeat the preparatory service which they had accomplished at the first introduction of Christianity by furnishing the language and the framework for its divine contents.

But man is a moral and spiritual as well as an intellectual and æsthetic being. And here we must not be blind to the defects of the Renaissance. Some of the first humanists and artists of Italy were sincere and devout Christians. But many of them were indifferent or secretly hostile to religion, while outwardly conforming to its ritual. Not a few were pagans at heart, and disciples of Zeno and Epicurus, rather than of Peter and Paul.

The corruption centred at the metropolis of Christendom and culminated in the highest dignitaries of the Church. Alexander Borgia practised vice as an art, and turned the Vatican into a den of prostitution and murder.

When Erasmus, as the literary monarch of his age, visited Rome in 1508, he was charmed with her culture and refinement, her freedom of discourse, the honeyed conversation of her scholars and the magnificence of her arts, but at the same time shocked by "the abominable blasphemies" uttered by priestly lips at the papal court. And when Luther, four years later, went to Rome as a humble monk and pilgrim, he visited the tombs of the apostles and martyrs and climbed up the Scala Santa on his knees, but was horrified by the sight of the prevailing worldliness, frivolity and ill disguised infidelity of priests. Machiavelli, the great statesman and historian of Florence, asserts from his own observation that "in proportion as we approach nearer the Roman Church, we find less piety," and that, "owing to the bad example of the papal court, Italy has lost all piety and religion, whence follow infinite troubles and disorders."

Dr. Schaff quoted other contemporary testimonies and asked: "Who can doubt, in view of these testimonies of the most competent observers and judges, the necessity of a Reformation?"

II.—The Reformation.

The Reformation began during the pontificate of the last Pope of the Renaissance, who was a cultivated pagan, and fairly represented the secularization of the Church, which from a kingdom of heaven had become a kingdom of this world. It was at first an indignant protest against the sale of indulgences, which degraded religion to an article of merchandise, as had been done by the profane traffickers in the temple at Jerusalem, whom the Saviour expelled at the beginning of his public ministry. Leo X. condemned Luther, and the monk answered by burning the Pope's bull. This was the fiery signal of separation. Since that time Western Christendom has been divided into two hostile armies.

The Reformation was neither a revolution which destroys, but cannot build up, nor a reaction which restores a former state of things without vitality and permanency. It had a positive and a negative side. It was constructive as well as destructive, conservative as well as progressive. It emancipated the half of Europe from the spiritual tyranny of the papacy and cleared away the rubbish of mediæval traditions, which obscured and made void the Word of God, like the rabbinical traditions of old (Matt. xv. 6), and which obstructed the access to Christ, the only Mediator between God and man. It brought every believer into direct communion with Christ and his Word. This of itself is an inestimable blessing, which can never be surrendered.

The Reformation kindled an unbounded enthusiasm for primitive Christianity; it produced the most faithful and idiomatic versions of the Scriptures, German, Dutch and English, which occupy the position of first classics in modern literature; it enriched worship with a treasury of hymns of faith and praise, which are a perennial fountain of edification and comfort. It taught the supremacy of the Bible in matters of faith and practice, justification by a living and ever-active faith, and the general priesthood of believers. It secured liberty of conscience and private judgment, which, in legitimate development, led gradually to full liberty of conscience and public worship within the limits of public order and peace. Protestantism has been a propelling force in modern history, and a stimulus to every progress in theology, philosophy, science and politics.

The Reformation was so deeply rooted in the necessities of the Church, and was so thoroughly prepared, it broke out almost simultaneously in different countries, and marched with irresistible force through Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland, Scandinavia, England and Scotland. It was making progress even in Italy and Spain till the middle of the sixteenth century. Pope Paul IV. is reported by Onuphrius to have declared that the only firm support of the papacy in Italy was the Inquisition, with its prisons and funeral piles.

Some distinguished scholars and orators of Italy, as Bernardino Occhino, of Siena; Pietro Martire Vermigli, of Florence, and Pierpaolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria and nuncio of two Popes, renounced Romanism, and had to flee from the Inquisition. Others who occupied the highest positions, like Cardinals Sadoleto, Contarini, Morone and Reginald Pole, favored at least a moral reform, and came very near the fundamental evangelical doctrines of the supremacy of the Bible and justification by faith. That remarkable little *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Gesù Christo,* the work of a monk of Naples, Don Benedetto, of Mantova (a pupil of the Spanish nobleman, Valdés), and the poet Flaminio, of Imola, teaches the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, and the union of the soul with Christ, as clearly and strongly as the writings of Luther, and was spread in many thousands of copies throughout Italy. It was first printed at Venice, 1540, and publicly burned at Naples in 1553.

The Counter-Reformation and the Inquisition extinguished the rising flame of the Reformation in Italy, and at the same time sounded the death-knell of the Renaissance by charging it with immorality and irreligion. The last representative of the philosophical Renaissance was condemned as a heretic and burnt on the Campo de Fiore at Rome, but on the same spot the friends of liberty of thought and speech erected a statue to Giordano Bruno in 1889, three hundred years after his death. What a change! The Renaissance has risen from the dead and is as strong in Italy now as it was four centuries ago. Yea, it is stronger and more widely spread among educated men and women who will not go back from the light and liberty of the nineteenth century to the ignorance and superstition of the dark ages.

III.—Italy and the Future.

By repudiating the Renaissance and burning the Reformation, Italy and Spain lost their front rank among the nations of Europe, and reaped the Revolution as a chronic disease. In the sixteenth century Italy was the most civilized country, and Spain the most powerful monarchy in Europe, while Prussia and England were far behind them, and just emerging from the semi-barbarism of the Dark Ages. Now the case is reversed. The same change has taken place in America; the United States and Canada, which are Protestant to the back-bone, have far outstripped the older Catholic settlements of Central and South America.

But in our age, Italy has made vast progress, and undergone a political and social regeneration. She has achieved the incalculable temporal blessing of national unity and independence in spite of the protest and obstruction of the papal hierarchy, which finds it more easy to rule Italy divided than Italy united, according to the maxim, *Divide et impera.*

The unification and emancipation of Italy and Germany from the selfish misgovernment of petty tyrants are among the greatest events in the nineteenth century. Many of us remember the time when none but Roman churches were allowed within the walls of Rome, when Protestant Bibles were confiscated at the Custom House, and when the Madiai family was put in prison at Florence for the innocent crime of holding meetings for prayer and reading the Holy Scriptures! Now religious liberty is established throughout the kingdom of Italy as fully and firmly, we may say, as in England and North America. It was the great Italian statesman, Cavour, who spoke the winged words: "A free Church in a free State," as the key to the solution of the vexed question of the relation between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. It is true, the *statuto fondamentale* of March, 1848, which has since 1870 become the law of all Italy, still recognizes the Roman Catholic Church as the sole religion of the state (*la sola religione del stato*), and gives only toleration to other existing modes of worship (*gli altri culti ora existenti sono tolerati conformamente alle leggi*); but in point of fact, toleration has become liberty, which is an inalienable right and cannot be taken away. A return to the ages of persecution for conscience' sake is impossible.

We cannot expect or wish Italy to become Protestant, but we do hope and pray that she may become evangelical and Christian in the best sense of the term. She will not and ought not to turn the back on her glorious past, to disown the immortal works of her literature and art, to break with her Catholic traditions, and to import a foreign religion which is not congenial to her genius and taste. She wants a religion that will in some way combine the best elements of the Renaissance and the Reformation, with the best features of Catholicism.

The liberals of Italy are dissatisfied with the church of their ancestors, and have no leaning to the sects of foreigners, but they are not, on that account, destitute of religion; they have a religion of their own, which will kindle into a flame of enthusiasm when the Spirit of God, through some inspired prophets, shall blow the breath of life into the dry bones and clothe them with flesh and blood.

There must be a possibility of harmonizing the highest civilization with the highest virtue and piety. There must be a way of reconciling the Protestant, the Catholic and the Rationalistic rules of authority. The Bible, the Church and enlightened reason are not necessarily antagonistic. The Bible, as containing the Word of God, is and must remain the supreme rule of faith; the Church of God is and will remain the guardian, propagator and expounder of the Bible; reason, the greatest natural gift of God to man, is the organ by which alone we can understand and appropriate the teaching of the Bible and the Church.

These are the ways which lead us to God, who is the source of truth. In this threefold light every man must decide for himself what to believe and how to live according to his conscientious conviction and personal experience. This is the awful responsibility which God has laid upon every rational being made in his image. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." (Rom. xiv. 5.)

IV.—CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

The Catholic Church has been greatly benefited by the Protestant Reformation and forced to an abolition of many abuses. She shows to her best advantage in Protestant countries where she is put on her defence, and feels the impulse of modern life and progress. She is still the largest body of Christendom, and nearly equals, numerically, the Greek and evangelical communions combined. She is the best organized body in the world, and "the prisoner of the Vatican" commands with infallible authority an army of priests and monks in five continents. She is still full of missionary zeal and devotion, and abounds in works of charity. She embraces millions of true worshippers and followers of Christ, and has the capacity of unbounded usefulness. We honor her for all she has done in the past, and wish her God's blessing for all the good she may do in the future. We do not pray for her destruction—God forbid!—but for her reformation.

On the other hand, Protestantism is by no means perfect in any of its forms. With great merits it has also its defects, and is liable, by the abuse of individualism, to run into sectarian division, rationalism, scepticism and agnosticism. It has, fortunately, never claimed infallibility in any of its numerous confessions of faith, and hence admits of constant progress, rectification and improvement. It ceases to be Protestant if it ceases to move. Its mission is far from being completed. It has to grapple with problems which lay beyond the horizon of the Reformers, but press themselves upon the attention of the present generation. Protestantism is bound to investigate and reinvestigate every theological and philosophical problem; to search and research the Scriptures in the light of modern discoveries and advances in philology, archæology and science; to harmonize faith and reason; to grapple with social problems; to improve the condition of the working classes; to preach the gospel to every creature, and to bring the Word of God, as a lamp of life, into every household.

The Duty of Protestants in Italy.

Evangelical religion has now fair play in Italy, and numbers, in a population of thirty millions, about sixty thousand professors, including the foreign, nominal residents. In Rome and in Florence alone, there are about a dozen Protestant congregations representing nearly as many denominations. Two of these denominations are of native growth (the Waldensian, which is by far the strongest of all, and the Chiesa Liberal); the others are of foreign importation and chiefly supported by friends in England and the United States. They all do good in their respective fields of labor, and far be it from us to underrate their usefulness on account of their numerical weakness. The kingdom of heaven itself began as small as a mustard seed, and Paul, when a prisoner in Rome, was mightier than Nero on the throne.

At the same time we should not be blind to the danger of the centrifugal tendency of Protestantism to excessive individualism and division, which hinders its progress among Catholics brought up in the tradition of a centralized church organization, and unable to discern the essential spiritual unity which underlies the variety of external forms.

There must be liberty in non essentials, but there ought to be unity in essentials, and charity in all things. Liberty we have as much as we desire, and divisions only too many. Unity and charity are the greatest needs, and necessary conditions of success for evangelical missions in any country.

Let the various denominations come to an understanding, which will prevent jealousy, unnecessary collision and unholy rivalry, and enable them to present a united front to the common foe. Let them remember that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but a new creature, and faith operative in love. Why then should we be kept apart by minor questions of episcopacy or presbytery, presbytery or independency, immersion or sprinkling, or even by doctrinal differences which, in the polemic and scholastic age of Protestantism, roused the scandalous feuds between Lutherans and Calvinists, Calvinists and Arminians, and made the best men pray for deliverance from "the fury of the theologians."

Let us be frank. There is as much Protestant as Roman bigotry, prejudice and hatred, and it is all the more inexcusable because we profess to occupy a more advanced liberal position. For more than three hundred years Protestants of the radical type have been abusing the Pope as Antichrist, papists as idolators, and the Church of Rome as the great apostasy and synagogue of Satan. Is this courteous, is it charitable, is it Christian? Or is it an ignorant prejudice, based upon a false interpretation of some obscure passages of Scripture and a perversion of history? At all events what has Protestantism gained, what can it expect to gain, by such bitter antagonism? The converts made by the abuse of Romanism who are worth anything may be counted on the fingers; while the number of those who are repelled and alienated by it is beyond calculation. It can only obstruct and put off a reconciliation. The best way of refuting error is to preach the positive truth. *Verum est index sui et falsi.* The noblest and surest way of converting an enemy is to show him the love whereby Christ has loved and saved us.

Oh! for a pentecostal effusion of the spirit of love which is better than speaking with the tongues of men and angels, better than the gift of prophecy, greater even and more enduring than faith and hope.

SISTERHOODS.

BY MRS. ERNEST ZANTZINGER, ASSOCIATE OF THE ORDER OF ST. MARGARET.

From *Standard of the Cross and The Church* (Episcopal), Philadelphia, March 28, 1891.

I HAVE been asked to say a few words on Sisterhoods as one who is deeply interested in both them and their work. Before, however, entering on this subject, let me say that I do not include under this head those quasi-Sisters who belong to no order or community, and who own no superior but their own will; these can never be Sisters in the true sense of the term, as obedience is one of the vows a Sister must take; and the very essence of the religious life is self-renunciation.

Now what are Sisters? A band of women

living in community, called of God to follow evangelical counsels and united for the purpose of carrying out that vocation to the best of their powers, separated from the world, not for the *mere* purpose of carrying on some work of mercy, but for the glory of God, ready to do work in any way He may point out; but this is accidental, not essential to Sisterhood life. Such is the religious life; and here we must define the difference between *a* religious life and *the* religious life. A religious life is to exhibit somewhat to the service and worship of Almighty God, and this I trust we are all doing, as it is needful to salvation. *The* religious life is to give up all one's self and what one has to God, to know nothing in this life but Christ and Him crucified. All who enter this life profess their desire for perfection, and all who remain faithful in it profess to be tending toward it, devoting all their powers to attain that goal which is Jesus Christ Himself. All, however, are not called to this state of life; that is a question which each one must determine for herself, a matter between God and each individual soul; but that such calls *do* exist and *have* existed we know and believe. Abraham believed in them; when called of God, he went out, not knowing whither he went; and the Apostles believed in them when they left all and followed their Master. To hear such a call and not to obey it, is to imperil one's salvation. A Sister in entering the religious life offers to God herself—her soul and body—this she does in taking the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Now, are not these vows after all only those made at Holy Baptism on a higher key? And, as has been well said, would not an enthusiast of some other creed than Christianity, having those baptismal vows read to him without note or comment, without knowing the current views of Christians in regard to the nature and extent of their force, expect that a very stringent and ascetic mode of life would be exacted from those who believed and accepted them? And is not a Sister, in taking those threefold vows, simply promising to carry out those baptismal vows to perfection, as laid down by our Lord?

First, Poverty. In order to attain perfection, it is necessary to abstract one's affections wholly from all earthly things. Our Lord said to the young man in the Gospel who came asking what he should do to inherit eternal life, "If thou wilt enter into life keep the Commandments;" "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me."

Next, Chastity. When our Lord, after dwelling on the sanctity and indissolubility of marriage, is asked by His disciples whether viewing marriage in this way it would not be better not to marry at all, He replies, "All men cannot receive this saying, save those to whom it is given." Then He goes on to enumerate the different classes of celibates, ending with those who are so "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," and adds, "he that is able to receive it, let him receive it." That a permanent state of life is indicated here is clearly shown by St. Paul when he draws a parallel between the virgin and the married life, two distinct states of "callings" of God.

Lastly, Obedience. This vow is the most pleasing to God, as it is offering Him the will, which is a greater oblation than man's body or his goods. Indeed it is so essential that the religious life would not be complete without it. It is not the mere consecrating one's work to Christ, it is the entire renunciation of self, following Him who was "obedient unto death." Now, how can such vows be made without involving a life-long observance of them? How can a person give a thing and take it back again? How is it possible to vow one's *all* to Almighty God and then after a few years to change one's mind and choose some other estate of life? Would it not be lowering one's standard of perfection and thus lower too the moral tone? Would it not encourage devoting one's self to God only until something pleasanter turned up, and would such an offering be acceptable in God's sight? We may well ask, too, What would be the practical effect of such temporary ties in a community? Where would be the binding link, the *esprit de corps,* if I may call it so? The community life is intended to be a picture of family life, all having the same interests, the same object in view, and all personal feeling being absorbed in the one thought, that they are bound together for the glory of God; the frequent hours for prayer together being, as a Sister once expressed it to me, the "backbone" of the Sister's life. These vows, too, would not be apt to be so lightly incurred if they were felt to be irrevocable. And why should a woman not be as capable of deciding in favor of a life of celibacy as for a married life? Particularly as there is a long period of probation required, two or three years, before a novice is allowed to take the final vows; once taken, however, can they be made too binding? Why does not the argument, if valid against the principle of life vows, apply equally to Holy Orders and matrimony? Both have often been entered into thoughtlessly and often bitterly regretted. Does it not savor, too, of compulsion, the infringement of the perfect law of liberty, the free choice of each individual, not to be allowed to live the life she feels most fitted to the needs of her nature? Can one soul in fact dictate what is best for another?

Let us now glance at the Constitutions of Religious Houses. This differs in different communities; but all well-organized Sisterhoods are founded on a firm basis of well-digested laws taken from ancient sources, but necessarily modified. Sometimes the Superior governs alone, kept in check by the Rule only; sometimes the government is constitutional and vested in a body of Professed Sisters, who give their votes or opinion in Chapter. The Superior in some orders is elected for life, in others for a limited number of years.

It has been urged as an objection, that Sisterhoods are not amenable to the Bishop. Now this is a mistake. Of course, as concerns the Rule of the Order, the Superior is the sole head, as every woman should be in the internal government of her household. If any other principle were adopted dire confusion would be the result. Let us suppose, for example, that some members of a community should be sent into another Diocese, and the Bishop, disliking the rule as laid down, should undertake to change it; we would then have members of the same community working under different Rules, and there would be no order, but disorder. There is no reason, however, why they should not work under Episcopal jurisdiction, and why the Bishop should not give them his fatherly countenance and blessing. To quote one or two of the many instances where this is the case, the Bishop of Oxford holds the position of Visitor to the Order of St. John the Baptist in England; the Bishop of New York to the same Order in this country; the Archbishop of Canterbury is the Visitor to the All Saints' Sisterhood in London, and the Bishop of Maryland holds the same position in Baltimore. It has also been urged against Sisterhoods that they were not willing, when doing parochial work, to be under the control of the rector of the parish. Now I can mention at least one Order that is not allowed to start any work in a parish unless expressly asked to do so by the rector, and then only in such manner as he may direct. This certainly does not look like antagonism to the powers that be. And does it not seem more like common sense, that those who are vowed to and trained in obedience would be much more likely to work amicably in a parish, than when, as is often the case, the charities are managed by one or more competent women who, whatever their own good qualities may be, are too apt to indulge their love of power, and try to control not only the charities of the parish, but the unfortunate rector himself. There is another point about Sisterhoods, and that is the stability of their work. It is impossible for any woman who has home duties and who has not, to give all her time, or even a large portion of it, to Church work; and often she works on, if conscientious, when she has scarcely strength to remain at her post, because there is no one to take her place. Now the advantage in a community of Sisters is, that when one drops out of the ranks another steps in to fill her place, and the continuity of the work is not interrupted. I would also call your attention to the fact that it is nearly forty-five years since the revival of Sisterhoods in England, and time enough has elapsed to fully test them. In 1847 the first Sisterhood was started by Miss Sellon at Devonport, quickly followed in 1849 at Clewer by the order of St. John the Baptist under a Rule approved by the Bishop of Oxford. In 1851 the Sisterhood of All Saints was established for works of mercy in the district, and quickly spread. Next in order comes St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, founded by the Rev. Dr. Neale, in 1854, to visit the sick and poor in their homes, hospitals and infirmaries. There are several hundred Sisters in these orders all doing a good work, and besides those I have mentioned there are many other Sisterhoods, but it would take too long to enumerate them. Then, as to this country, the St. Margaret's community came here in 1871, and was formally established as a Branch House in 1873. The St. John the Baptist came over about seventeen years ago and were formed into a Branch House a few years afterward. The All Saints established a Mission in Baltimore, 1873, and were organized into a Branch House quite lately.

Although these Houses were established originally by English women, they have American Sisters. In 1865 a distinctly American Sisterhood, St. Mary's, was formed, and has been most successful; there are many others, but those I have mentioned are the largest, and there are several hundred Sisters belonging to them. It would be impossible to give an account of their work beyond saying they have numberless schools, hospitals, homes, infirmaries and missions all over the country, and all working successfully.

Let me say in conclusion, Who so fit for works of mercy and charity as she who has vowed her life to her Master, to live for Him and Him alone. the handmaiden of the Lord ?

"How prove an unfelt evil ?
Would'st be the poor man's friend ? must freeze
with him—
Test sleepless hungerlet thy crippled back—
Ache in the endless furrow ; how was He,
The Blessed One, made perfect ? Why, by grief—
The fellowship of voluntary grief—
He read the tear-stained book of poor men's souls.
As I must learn to read it."

These are feverish and busy times we live in, when one-half the world is engrossed in the pursuit of pleasure and the other half driven to death by the many duties, cares and charitable schemes that claim its time and attention. Ought we not all to welcome these religious communities as a help in our religious life ? It is an age full of energy, full of philanthropy, but is it full of a spiritual life, and does it not call all the more loudly for some reminder of the life beyond ? As it has been well put by one writer, "A religious life speaks in behalf of the truth to the heart and conscience of those who observe it. It is a continual reminder that however great may be the difficulties of our position here, we must not forget to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. It elevates the soul when ready to sink in weariness, and keeps a heavenly aim before the mind which would otherwise be apt to forget God, even while working for Him."

THE TYPE OF PERSONAL PIETY FOR TO-DAY.

BY REV. JAMES STALKER, D.D., GLASGOW.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, April 2, 1891.

1. *It must be manly.* Ours is a democratic age. This means that the minds of men are less and less influenced by merely hereditary and official distinctions, and bestow their esteem only where they recognize personal merit. Formerly it was enough if a man was a king or a noble ; now people ask : Is he a kingly man ? Does he act nobly ? Not long ago a minister was certain of honor because he belonged to the clerical order and wore the clerical garb—as the saying is, people respected his cloth. But this is rapidly passing away. Respect for ministers who are worthy of the name is not, indeed, passing away ; it was never greater than it is at present. But people no longer respect the cloth unless there is a man inside it. If a minister is to be loved and revered, he must be able to dispense with any artificial cubit added to his stature, and, coming down among men and standing side by side with them on his bare feet, allow his manhood to be compared with theirs.

Religion of old enveloped itself in mystery and retired behind the walls of the cloister or the convent, and the ignorant multitude looked up to it with traditional reverence. There are countries of Europe in whose languages to this day a religious person means the wearer of an ecclesiastical dress. But religion in our day is summoned forth into the open. It has to show what it can make of men and women in the ordinary ways of life. Does it make servants and subordinates more trustworthy ? Does it make masters and superiors more just and more generous ? Des it make merchants more honorable ? Does it sweeten the temper, refine the manners, and make the tongue charitable ? Such are the tests by which Christianity is tried to-day. In 1874, when Mr. Moody was conducting a most successful revival movement in Edinburgh, a minister well known to me was visited by a young engineer, belonging to his congregation, who informed him that he had decided for Christ. My friend asked how it had come about. Had he been attending Mr. Moody's meetings ? No. Had he been impressed in church ? No. Had any companion been talking to him about his soul ? No. How was it then ? It was the way in which the foreman in the place where he was employed did his work. The foreman was a Christian, and he wished to be a Christian of the same type. This is thoroughly characteristic of the present age. The way to win its attention and sympathy is to show Christianity in combination with a massive manhood or a sweet and gracious womanhood.

2. *It must be brotherly.* Ours is, I have said, a democratic age. It is also a philanthropic age. The democratic easily expands into the philanthropic idea, for it emphasizes the dignity and the rights of man ; and the rights of one man imply the duty of all other men to treat him as a man and to respect his dignity. In past ages the majority of the inhabitants even of civilized countries were in a condition utterly inconsistent with their dignity as men, but those

who enjoyed a happier lot were not moved by the spectacle of the degradation around them; it seemed to them to be in accordance with the law of nature and the ordinance of God. In our day there are portions of the community existing in conditions which render a life that is worthy of men almost, if not altogether, impossible. Childhood is stunted and crushed; the bloom of modesty and reverence is rudely rubbed off the mind of youth; manhood is surrounded by so many temptations that escape is nearly impossible. But at present there are multitudes of those born in happier circumstances to whom this spectacle is a perpetual pain. They can hardly enjoy the comforts and refinements of their own lot for thinking of their less fortunate fellow-creatures.

A famous English prelate asserted, the other day, that the social question is the religious question of the age; and one of the most distinguished of the younger British peers has recently said that the politics of the present, and still more the politics of the future, are the politics of the poor. We even witness in our day the strange spectacle of an atheistic philanthropy—men and women who do not believe in God or Christ or immortality, yet teaching that the service of humanity is the true vocation of man, and professing themselves to be in all the greater haste to relieve their suffering fellow-creatures because they must be made happy in this world or not at all. In this temper of the times is it not evident that the Christianity which will tell on the public mind must be a brotherly Christianity? If we contend, as we do, that Christ taught the doctrine of human brotherhood, and placed it on its true foundation eighteen hundred years before fraternity became the watchword of atheism and revolution, the age demands that we should prove our property in this principle by deeds and not by words. It demands that all who bear the name of Christ should be seen standing back from those customs of society and those practices in trade which grind the faces of the poor and enrich the few out of the vices of the many. It demands that they be seen to be engaged in a hearty and uncompromising struggle with the causes of poverty and degradation. A Christianity which is intent only upon saving its own soul in the repose of luxurious churches, whilst the river of human sin and misery sweeps unregarded past the door, will not impress the present generation. The world will not be persuaded that the Church believes her own creed, if, teaching what she does about the blessedness of possessing Christ, and the infinite misery of losing Him, she is not exerting herself with all her might to make Him known to every creature under heaven.

3. *It must be godly.* I have called ours a democratic and a philanthropic age; many would add, I dare say, that it is a skeptical one. I do not say that, but I say it is an age which needs a sign. Its religious teachers tell it that of old God revealed Himself in miracle and prophecy; they tell it that eighteen hundred years ago He revealed Himself in His Son—that in Jesus of Nazareth God dwelt among men. The arguments are strong which can be brought forward in proof of these facts; but it is long since the things happened, and this age is doubtful of the argument. Can you not, it asks, show us God at work in the world today? If there be a God, does He work no miracles now?

What has Christianity to say to such questions? Earnest Christians answer that God has wrought a miracle in them; God is in the world to-day, and He is still a God that doeth wonders. For what is it to be a Christian? It is to have a life which is fed from no earthly source. It is to be in actual contact with the supernatural. To us Jesus Christ is not dead—he is not merely a historical figure. He is alive; He is with us; He is in us, and we are in Him. We profess that supernatural changes have taken place, and are taking place, in us by the operation of the Holy Ghost, who works, indeed, through our will and efforts, yet is far more than they.

But if these things are so, what is there to show for them? If such forces are at work in us, what are their effects? This is what the world is asking, and is entitled to ask. Let the world see the Christlike life and it will not fail to appreciate it. There is no power so subduing as genuine goodness. Holiness is a flower which the world well knows it is incapable of producing out of its own soil, and it acknowledges, when it sees it, that there must be another world to account for its existence. When all the arguments have failed, the doubting mind yields to the evidence of a saintly life.

We hear loud calls for an aggressive Christianity, which will go forth with irresistible energy and conquer the world. But are you sure that this is the way to conquer the world? When, in the fable, the wind and the sun strove together which of them could compel the traveler to remove his cloak, the wind blew and blew, more and more furiously, and the traveler only wrapped his garment the more tightly around him; but he took it off at once when the sun smiled on him with its gentle and genial force. Perhaps it is an attractive even more than an aggressive Christianity we need. Men are not at peace; they are hungry for happiness, and they pursue it over land and sea, but they have not found it. If in every Christian they beheld a soul at peace with itself, and filled with a joy unspeakable, which betrayed that it had found the secret of life, we should not need to plead with them—they would come flocking of their own accord, like doves to their windows.

DR. STORRS ON THE MISSIONARY DECLINE.

From *The Advance* (Congregationalist), Chicago, April 2, 1891.

Dr. Storrs's great address before the Foreign Missionary Conference at the Park Street Church, Boston, was notable for its emphatic statement that there is a decline in the intensity of missionary zeal, not in one society, but in all, and not in one, but in all denominations. He attributed this to a number of potent causes, among which were, the wide secularizing of the general Christian mind of the country; a more brilliant and engaging life than that of fifty years ago, more colossal business enterprises, and absorption in politics. Another cause, the decline of fervor in preaching, we give in his own words.

PREACHING LESS SPIRITUAL.

"Preaching itself has lost all the fervor of appeal for what the dear old Hopkinsonians used to call instant submission to God, and what the more modern evangelical word for has been immediate consecration to Christ. The preaching is very apt to become educational rather, sometimes ornamental merely, sometimes entertaining, as if the final cause of it were to fill pews. So there comes a relative want of consecration on the part of the most active-minded and vigorous young men to the work of the ministry, which seems to them to be so largely an ornamental work, and while consecration to missionary work is wide—blessed be God for that!—even that wants something of the intensity which it had in the earlier time when men were accustomed to say, 'Send me to the hardest place on the face of the earth.' Men are willing to go to Japan, or to India perhaps, inviting fields, but they do not care to go to the Cannibal Islands, that is, in large numbers, or under the desolate shades of the African forests. There is a want of intensity in consecration, though the width of it, the extensiveness of it, is still very large.

"The church, in other words, my dear friends, has come to an easy and luxurious style of experience. It walks in embroidered slippers rather than iron shod, as the fathers were. It luxuriates in Sunday dressing-gowns rather than robes itself in the raiment for the march and for the battle. It does not like to contemplate great enterprises and hard labors and mighty achievements. It wants to rest at home and be baptized with discourses and take a palace car toward heaven.

"Now out of this comes as well a variety of what old-fashioned believers like myself hold to be novel, loose and dangerous doctrines or theories, whatever they may be called. They don't concern the future state alone, and any opportunity which may be conceived to be there for repentance and regeneration and entering into fellowship with God. They concern the Bible itself, and men pick away with the instruments of their higher criticisms at the very constitution and authority of the Bible. They don't believe there ever was any paradise, even at the North Pole, where one of your Boston savants has located it. They don't believe there were any Adam and Eve. They think that Abraham was only a myth or a legend, and that Moses was the most gigantic, though unconscious and unintentional, imposter of history.

"There are doubts about the atonement—the nature of it and the reach of it, doubts about the character of God and the place which distributive justice holds in that character and in the divine government. All these speculations or theories, whatever you may call them, imply the secularized state of the general Christian mind. 'Revival doctrine implies revival temper. He that will do the will shall know of the doctrine, and where the revival temper is, and the missionary temper, in its full vigor, there the Bible opens itself as a luminous discoverer of God's mind to the world and men want to preach it as it is, to preach it at once, to preach it without addition and to preach it without diminution. Then there comes a general skepticism and a still more general indifferentism in the public mind, until the result is that the level of enthusiasm for missionary work is lowered and the current of contribution becomes lessened. It is not the mighty rushing of the river, because the thousand rills among the hills which fed that river have been checked and chilled."

INCREASE IN WORTHY OBJECTS.

Another cause he found in the increase of the objects of benevolence, concerning which he said:

"Then there comes in this, a second thing, which is also of very great importance: that there are a multitude of other worthy objects appealing to us all the time which, to a certain extent, intercept the enthusiasm for foreign missionary work—home missions, for example. Now, surely there is not one of us who is not in the intensest sympathy with the home missionary work of this country, over this vast continental area, with these sixty odd millions of people already upon it and others coming as fast as babies can be born and as fast as the flashing wheels of the steamship can bring immigrants hither. We must do this work whatever happens. It is not a work that appeals to sympathy merely; it is a work that strikes at the patriotic sentiment in us. We have to do this in order to save the nation. It did save it in the civil war, and it has got to do it, this work, whatever perils and troubles are to come to us hereafter. We must do this surely. And yet this very work feels the same debilitating, enfeebling and fettering influence which comes to foreign missionary boards, and every year our beloved and venerable Home Missionary Society has to send out its fresh appeals, and go staggering under a burden of debt into the last few weeks."

Going on to indicate some of the remedies for this apathetic condition, Dr. Storrs alluded to the proposal of a change of policy.

CHANGE OF POLICY NOT NEEDED.

"I hear it said sometimes, if this policy were introduced, or if that person were expelled from the missionary board, everything would be well, or if this change in organization should be made or that change, or if this doctrine could be eliminated or hurled into the air and that one magnified, then everything would be well. Sometimes I hear it said, if personal prejudices could be conciliated, personal animosities reconciled or removed, then we should have clear sailing before us; that if certain particular changes could be made here or there in committees, perhaps, then we should have free sailing.

"Now, gentlemen, ladies, friends, I never wish to speak too strongly, and in this town of Boston, where I believe everybody speaks, unless it be Dr. Phillips Brooks, with bated breath and cultivates a studious English reserve, I wish to state my point of view as plainly as I can that all this talk, from first to last, is the most preposterous nonsense that ever got uttered in human speech.

"What we want to do is something far deeper and more wide reaching than that. I believe, for one, that policies which have lasted for eighty years are not going to break down now, and that an organization which has stood the test of three generations has vindicated its right to continue to operate in time to come.

WHAT IS NEEDED?

"The work we have in hand is to lift the entire level of the Christian field of feeling, purpose, conviction in the Christian minds we touch, and, when that is lifted, the old enthusiasm for foreign missions will come back and sweep all its impediments out of its way, as the rush of a river sweeps before it the piles of brush which a child's hand has heaped together.

"We are to do that work. Don't let us under-estimate it. Let us understand that it is a great work, and therefore the more demanding our intelligent enterprise and our heroic purpose. Then let us do it by cultivating in ourselves, every one of us, that temper of conviction and consecration and enthusiasm in the Master's service which we desire to have extended throughout the whole church. Fire kindles fire. Life propagates life. Spiritual energy begets spiritual energy in sympathetic souls. You remember how Wesley, one of the great men of the world, was inspired by the humble Moravian teachers; how Charles Finney, out in an obscure town in Western New York, had his spirit touched with a chrism from on high by the temper of those with whose theology he never could bring himself to agree. It is life propagating life in others.

"Now we want that life. We want to feel in ourselves the immense possibilities of the human soul for time and eternity. Everything great in the world comes from this human soul in you and me, in the cannibal islander, in the heathen wheresoever found.

"We want to recognize the immense need and danger of the human soul, to see it as it is—like a tapestry with the gold and purple threads intertwined in it, that has been bathed in a bath of filth and blood until every thread is begrimed, though, thank God, the substance is not destroyed. We want to understand the unique grandeur and power of the gospel in it appeal to the human soul, lifting it to height of purpose, of vision, of faith and hope never attainable before or otherwise.

"We want to have a deeper certainty in our minds of the ultimate kingship of the Lord, rightful and glorious in the world. We want to feel upon our souls the nearer flash of that great immortality which is not far before any one of us, and the briefness of the interval which separates us from it—that immortality into which our works are to follow us. One Christian soul alive with these convictions, these aspirations, these divine consecrations, will illuminate and enkindle a church.

"You ride through the country lanes in the springtime or the early summer, and suddenly your senses are hit by an invisible perfume, more delicate and more sweet than was ever elaborated by any human chemist, and you ask yourselves in wonder whence it comes; and it comes from the little modest flowers, violets, or pansies, or daisies, or whatever, hidden among the grass in the field which you are passing. So humble souls, sweet and perfumed, in any church, will give an atmosphere of beauty, will give an atmosphere of sweetness, will give an element of power which the preacher, with all his study of texts and themes cannot command. Let us recognize our individual responsibility for them; let us make ourselves educators concerning this work of foreign missions, and not merely general stimulators."

THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN.

BY MRS. C. VILLIOT ENGLISH.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, March 26, 1891.

IN the upper portion of Eastern Saxony, termed Upper Lusatia or "Die Ober Lausitz," is an old and beautiful country, which greets the eye of the traveler. Here and there are still to be found the vestiges of feudalism, and occasionally a cloister or a chapel. Many are here the pictures of living poetry, from which some of the choicest poems of art have been taken. Should one walk by the Chaussée from Loebau to Fittan, instead of going by train, he would be struck not only by the peculiar appearance of the country, but especially by the affectionate greetings given him along the road. "Gott gruesse dich" resounds strangely to an American ear, perhaps, but these words are significant; they contain a most heartfelt joy. In the midst of these people, famous for their "Gemüchlichkeit," lies "Herrnhut," the Cradle of the Moravian, quiet and undisturbed. In fact, its quiet, especially when you have come from lively Dresden, impresses you with a peculiar feeling. The few people you meet seem so glad to see and welcome you; there is no inquisitive staring; a finer atmosphere seems to envelop you. There is no din of industry, no noise to trouble the peace. On entering the village you have before you a perfect idyl. Pretty little gardens, without hedges, plain but well-built houses of scrupulous neatness. The whole picture presents a dreamy repose, an outward look of inaction. Yet do not be deceived by it; a great deal of work, intellectual and manual, is accomplished in these settlements, and its members have attained a most wonderful culture. Beautiful linden trees adorn the settlement, and an avenue of these leads to the Husberg, the cemetery. In our cities these places are looked upon with awe; not so here. The Moravian has surrounded death with so much poetry that this place has become, in all his settlements, a favorite resort, a promenade. Close by, at a distance of about three and a quarter miles from Herrnhut, lies Berthelsdorf, which may be called "The House of Moravian Government." In estimating their system, we must put a great stress on the fact that the organization formed by Zinzendorf aimed chiefly at exclusion, bringing together a community of people whose whole life and pursuits, trades, occupations, professions, pleasures, pastimes, were all to be regulated and characterized by *one* religious impulse.

Of course there are to be found in this organization some of the most unexceptionable forms of communism. Individual interests requiring a mutual protection, the number of trades is limited by the Rulers of the Congregation. No one is allowed to undersell; a close inspection is held in order to maintain a certain standard. The general proprietary is called "Diacony," and holds lands and establishments under control, the revenue being applied to the benefit of the Society at large.

Another of their maxims is never to let the love of gain be the aim of those engaged in trade, but let the desire to benefit others be the paramount object in life. Hence large fortunes are as uncommon among them as also, be it said to their credit, paupers and beggars are unknown.

The congregation is divided in classes or choirs; it is in this very division that we find the most beautiful and pure idyllic poetry. The children form the first choir; they have their day on the 17th of August, when the church, beautifully decked with green, receives them, and where the truth is brought to them in such a charming and yet so practical a form. From early childhood to old age there is a link which seems to twine around the cross; not in dogmatical or rigid form, but in such a poetical shape as to become endeared to each heart. Many an old man or woman has looked back with emotion to the "Kinderfest" as tracing to them the dawn of the inner life. In Germany no Moravian sister goes to church in a bonnet. The little girls wear plain tulle caps, trimmed with pink ribbons. The maidens, or "maedchen," form the second choir. Like the sisters, they wear the pretty egg-shaped batiste cap, closely pleated around the smoothly brushed hair, with cherry-colored ribbons tied under the chin. The single sisters wear a dainty pink ribbon; the married sisters, sky-blue; the widows, white. These brethren and sisters constitute distinct choirs and have stated and special meetings.

On communion days the sisters wear black gowns, white lace aprons, and white shawls; it is a touching sight to see them file in, the brethren on one side, the sisters on the other, in deepest silence. Usually all the sisters, even those living at home with their parents, go to their respective houses to go together to the church. The choirs each have a principal, or "sprecher," whose special duty it is to have at frequent intervals a confidential talk with each member. These peculiar seasons are a source of great spiritual benefit. There is no excitement connected with them. No members are bound by vows; the brothers and sisters can marry at any time; but while in the sisterhood they are expected to use their talents, either in teaching, sewing, embroidering, in the laundry, kitchen, or in field and garden. In the same way the brethren are expected to follow trades or avocations; idleness is never tolerated. Many people come to these houses either for a time or for life; some ladies of rank repair to them for Easter seasons or other special occasions.

Nowhere have I found all througn as much genuine purity, charity, combined with intellectual and religious life, as among these apparently plain people. The church services are very impressive; music plays a great part in them. I have heard some of the finest parts of "Elijah" and "The Messiah" given at the Moravian Easter observances. There is no trace of Romanism either in their service or in their churches. These are of extreme simplicity. They have neither pulpits nor cushioned seats; nothing but a raised table for the performance of all religious services. Dr. Leo, of Halle, says: "Herrnhut is not to be pointed out as a model for practical purposes; but regarded as an instrument of instruction, it teaches us all we need."

Human love, which is the beginning, middle, and end of individual career—does it work here as elsewhere? or has love divine satisfied all longings? In primitive time, during courtship, it was unusual for the fair lady to have seen her intended spouse even a single time before marriage, and all the preliminaries became the work of a day. Clergy and laity submitted the decision of their choice to the "*lot*," evincing thus an entire submission to the will of the Lord. Besides the sanction of the elder, conference was required in all cases of proposals to become man and wife; and the suspense formed an important passage in the history of love. Still many a romance has been enacted, and in such cases, if, unwilling to submit to the lot, the couple have preferred to leave the congregation, no hindrance is ever put in their way. The marriage ceremony is very simple. The sister, dressed in black, with lace apron, lace kerchief crossed over her breast, comes into the church, accompanied by the principals of the sisterhood, while simultaneously the brother comes in at the opposite door, meeting at the altar. After the ceremony the pink ribbon is exchanged for a blue and the couple receive the congratulations of their friends. To those who would ask, How do such marriages turn out? I would say, mostly well. Faith being the foundation, and not low motives of rank or position, the couple gradually grow toward each other; and a deep affection, which life only ends, is often its result. Separation and divorce are entirely unknown.

Missionary and educational work has always been one of the glories of the Brethren. In Germany, where the standard of literary and musical education is so infinitely high, their schools bring forth specimens of highly cultivated men and women; they are patronized by the highest nobility.

The schoolhouses, though spacious, are very simple; but the tone and tenure is elevating and noble. The teaching, whose prime object is to gain souls (never to make proselytes), is of a very superior order. Every teacher is bound by her written engagement to devote so many hours daily to the study of the branches she is to teach; a well-stocked and frequently replenished library is at their service.

It may be worthy of note that Goethe, who had formed an early and platonic acquaintance with a Moravian sister of Herrnhut, furnishes a sketch of her life and character, under "The Confessions of a Beautiful Soul," in "Wilhelm Meister."

The simplicity of costume both for men and women renders their unpretending figures as attractive externally as these people are spiritually noble. I am told these outward distinctions are done away with in America; if so, I regret it, for they are both beautiful and becoming. We also regret the "prayer hour," and the old night-watch, going through the village and singing a hymn, indicating the hour; these are peculiarly German customs, and would scarcely be understood by our practical Americans. I have used the word "poetry" often in these lines; by it I meant the worship of all that is genuinely good, beautiful, and true—which constitutes the poetry of the heart—embodied alone in God, and I will say that it does still exist in all its force and purity among the humble Moravian brethren.

SMALL DISHONESTIES.

A "CHAPEL TALK" TO YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN.

BY REV. GEORGE A. GATES, PRESIDENT OF IOWA COLLEGE.

From *The Golden Rule*, Boston, March 19, 1891.

WERE it not for the fact that men and women of very high character are thoughtlessly guilty of small dishonesties, it might seem an affront to the maturity of character of college students to bring such a subject before them. Many very good people seem to think it nothing wrong to cheat a corporation. If a railroad conductor fails to take up a ticket, many a man will use it for another ride. He would be astonished to be called a thief; but that is his name. He wouldn't break into a ticket office and take a ticket, but he will keep one that he has no more right to use than he would have to use one so stolen. A ticket represents a ride of a certain distance; when that has been had, the ticket is a cancelled obligation as much as a promissory note that has been paid. To ride on it again is just as bad as it would be to present such a note for another payment because a receipt had been accidentally lost, or on any other technicality. The conductor is not to play policeman to the traveller's conscience; he is for the traveller's convenience. It is only simple justice to recognize that the lapse of morality is due not to deliberate thieving, but to mere, though not blameless, thoughtlessness. True, in many cases, if one is scrupulous about such matters, he will be "laughed to scorn" by the railroad officials, who are not accustomed to such scrupulous honesty. But that makes no difference to the honest man. What other people do or think in these respects is not the measure of his honor.

A man of the most sterling honor and honesty told me lately that, coming back from Europe once, he had a very fine shawl that he was bringing as a present to a friend. As they neared New York, he was debating whether he should not ask some lady acquaintance to throw it over her shoulders, "just to keep her warm till she got to the hotel" (worn garments are not subject to custom duties). When he "came to himself" the next morning, he saw that there was only one possible course for an honest man,—to pay the duty. The other course, which probably three-fourths of the people aboard would not have hesitated to take, would have been *stealing* from the United States government the amount of the duty. The fact that they would not look upon the transaction in that way doubtless modifies the guiltiness; but the name for it would be stealing, and nothing else could be made out of it.

A business man told me this incident. His firm employed a certain young man at a good salary and his "travelling expenses." In one monthly report of work and expenses was a charge of fifty cents for a dinner on a certain day. The fact was that he was with a friend, and had paid nothing. He is now almost begging to work for the same firm at half his former salary. That item of fifty cents cost him his position. He might have argued that his friend's courtesy was extended to himself and not to his employers. There is a certain specious reasonableness in that. But it fails here: it was not such an identification of his interests with those of his employers as they wanted to see. Had he been a member of the firm, he would not have thought of making such a charge among his travelling expenses; neither should he when their agent.

Bring the matter nearer home. I hold it the duty of every student to render periodically the strictest account of all expenses to those who furnish the money. One should not need that parent or guardian ask to have it done. There may well be reluctance to seem to humiliate you by suggesting the need of any report. Do it of your own accord. Think hard at it, and I think you will agree with me. But even in many cases where reports are expected, many students lie dreadfully about it. You resent the imputation? I sincerely hope so. But see. What do "sundries" mean? Does not that word sometimes cover items that you would not quite like to have written out? Put the question in this way: Are the exceptionable items (in case there are any such) all excluded from sundries, and only the scrupulously unexceptionable ones included in that word? If "sundries" are to be, then that should be the principle.

Now hold up against the sky the transactions of which we have been speaking, and let its light shine through. Spell out the watermark now. It is very plain. L-I-E. Is the indictment too severe? Judge ye. Only think clearly, and no honest person among you will ever do such a thing again.

How about little dishonesties of the classroom, the little frauds practised on classmate or instructor, the pretence to faithfulness or knowledge that does not exist? Drag these things out into the light of day, and be you judges of them. I am willing to abide by your decision.

O but these things, seemingly so small, do so awfully make or mar eternal character. No, no, they are not small. There are no words to express how big they are in the time when character is being moulded.

Take this matter into a higher sphere where is something for us all. There are many small intellectual dishonesties. Any tendency in scientific or philosophical studies to see or state things by a hair's breadth different from what they are, any disposition to think untruly, unless fought against and conquered, leads to intellectual perdition.

Greater yet is the danger in moral and spiritual life, of any shadow of dishonesty. What can God do with or for any soul that is not honest? Any pretence to experience that is not real, any expression of conviction that is not true clear through, is rotten stone built into the foundations of the fair temple of character. The earlier it comes out, the less of the temple needs to come down with it.

THE SENTENCE OF REV. HOWARD MACQUEARY.

From *The Living Church* (Episcopalian), Chicago, March 28, 1891.

THE Rev. Howard MacQueary received official notice of his sentence from Bishop Leonard on the 19th inst. The following is a copy of the sentence of suspension:

WHEREAS, The Rev. Howard MacQueary, a presbyter of the diocese of Ohio, was, by a written presentment from the Standing Committee of said diocese, dated Oct. 27th, 1890, duly presented for trial under Title 2, Canon 2, Sections 1 and 5, of the digest of the Canons, and according to the canon of discipline of the diocese of Ohio, upon the charge of holding and teaching publicly and advisedly doctrines contrary to those held by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and upon the charge of having, by such holding and teaching, been guilty of an act which involves a breach of his ordination vows said obnoxious doctrines and the manner of holding and teaching them being plainly set forth in said presentment; and,

WHEREAS, The ecclesiastical court of this diocese of Ohio, after a fair and public trial of the Rev. Howard MacQueary upon the said presentment, and after the patient consideration of the case, have declared in writing, signed by a majority of them that they find the Rev. Howard MacQueary guilty of each of the charges set forth in the presentment as aforesaid; and

WHEREAS, This finding of the court, together with the evidence and an attested copy of all the proceedings, has been delivered to the Bishop, according to the canons of the diocese, accompanied with the canonically required opinion of the court as to what sentence should be pronounced, which opinion is that the Rev. Howard MacQueary should be suspended from the functions of the holy ministry for the period of six months, in order that he may have time to reconsider his views and errors and give evidence that he will no longer preach and publish the same; and that in case the Rev. Howard MacQueary fails to retract his errors and comply with these conditions aforesaid within the six months of his suspension, he should then and thereupon be deposed from the priesthood of the Church;

Now, therefore, we, William Andrew Leonard, D.D., of divine permission exercising ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction in this diocese of Ohio, do hereby pronounce upon the Rev. Howard MacQueary sentence of suspension from the exercise of the functions of the holy ministry in all and every particular, and in accordance with the above-cited opinion of the ecclesiastical court, for the period of six months next following this 18th day of March, 1891, and furthermore sentence that if after the expiration of six months from the 18th day of March, 1891, he shall not have retracted and given evidence that he will no longer teach his errors of doctrine, of which, under the presentment aforesaid, he has been found guilty, he shall be thereupon deposed from the priesthood of the Church.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto caused our episcopal seal to be affixed, and subscribed our hand this 18th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1891, in the Trinity cathedral church at Cleveland, O., being the second year of our consecration. WILLIAM ANDREW LEONARD,
Bishop of Ohio.

The following letter of resignation has been sent by Rev. Howard MacQueary to Bishop Leonard:

CANTON, O., March 19, 1891.

RT. REV. and DEAR SIR:—The verdict of the court that tried me for "heresy," and your sentence of suspension suggested by said court, together with your personal letter, have been received and carefully considered. In reply permit me to tender my resignation from the ministry of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

and to ask that it be accepted, and that steps be at once taken toward my deposition. My reason for this action is so well known that I need hardly state it. There is not the slightest probability of my retracting my alleged "errors" within six months or thereafter. On the contrary, I have every reason to believe that further investigation will simply confirm my present convictions. I am, very respectfully,

HOWARD MACQUEARY.

CLOSED QUESTIONS.

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE DIOCESE OF SPRINGFIELD.

BY THE RT. REV. GEORGE FRANKLIN SEYMOUR, S.T.D., LL.D.

From *The Living Church* (Episcopalian), Chicago, April 11, 1891.

THE Church enjoins it upon her Bishops as a duty, from time to time, to address to their flocks "Pastoral Letters upon some points of Christian doctrine, worship, or manners."

The course of events in the history of our Church during the past few months, seems to suggest the propriety of our issuing such a Pastoral Letter to you, our beloved in the Lord, in order to allay any doubts which may have arisen in your minds, or to quiet apprehensions which may naturally have been occasioned by the assaults which have recently been made upon the Faith once delivered to the saints.

Brethren, there are closed questions in the Church of God—questions which have been settled directly by divine authority, or indirectly by the same authority speaking through the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. These questions, which are comparatively few, relate to the doctrine, polity, sacraments, and worship given by the Apostles to the first believers in Christ, as the legacy bequeathed by the Master to be received and held and guarded and handed on from generation to generation to the end of the world.

From the outset, the matters embraced in these subjects were to those who received them, beyond debate, because they came to them by inspiration from God. They belonged to the sphere of supernatural knowledge, about which man knows nothing and can know nothing, except in so far as God wills. St. Paul states this fact explicitly in his letter to the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4), when he says: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures: and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.' The Apostle here quotes *three* articles from the body of the Creed, couched in the very phraseology which we still repeat, and gives them as a sample of the Gospel which, he says, "he preached unto them." Moreover, he expressly declares that he received this sacred deposit of faith, which he communicated to them. It was not his own. He had no power over it to mould it and fashion it, to abridge it or enlarge it. He gave it as he received it, and he bids them, as they value their salvation, to maintain it in its integrity.

From the very beginning this was the same. The first believers, who were baptized on the day of Pentecost, "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers." (Acts ii. 42.) The faith, the polity, the sacraments, the worship came from the Apostles, and they had received them, as we know, from the Lord, and were commanded by Him to communicate them and to provide for their continuance forever. (St. Matt. xxviii. 18–20.) He, the risen Lord, just about to ascend in his Humanity to the throne of God, gave His solemn pledge and promise, as He invested the eleven with their official commission, that He would shelter them and their successors in office with His divine presence throughout all time. "Lo!" says he, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Brethren, the Church is a divine institution, not a mere human association. It is constituted by God, not made by man. Its representative on earth is the family. The divine Master weaves the family idea into His teaching about the Church, as He does no other. We breathe it when we say the prayer which He taught us to repeat, "Our Father." He roots it in the sacrament which makes us His members; "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." (St. John iii. 5.)

Man can no more alter the character and essentials of the Church of God than he can contrive substitutes for father and mother, and invent some new method of entering the world, to supersede natural birth. He seeks to do this, and his efforts are on exhibition all around us. He depraves the divine organization into a voluntary association, and lowers his language about it accordingly. To him, entering the Church is joining it as one does a club. To the divine Master it is being born into it. The idea of joining the Church of God is utterly abhorrent to the mind of Christ. It is an utter impossibility. One might as well talk of joining a family as of joining the Church. The idea of the Church is a closed question. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has closed it in His holy Word. All the essentials of the Church in faith, polity, sacraments, and worship are closed questions for us, who are within the fold. They may be and are to those without, open questions, about which one may think one thing, and another maintain the opposite; and this must always be the case with them while they refuse the divine authority of the Church, and degrade her to the level of voluntary association, depending for her existence and continuance upon the accidents of human opinion and preference.

There is no greater mercy for which we have cause to thank our Heavenly Father through Christ, beloved brethren, than this, that it is not our sad condition to be in such an evil plight, where nothing is settled, nothing is fixed, but everything in a state of flux, without hope of relief.

It is true that there will often be within our ranks of laity and clergy, those who are disloyal to the faith and polity of the Church. This is incident to human infirmity, and may arise from many causes: ignorance, perverted judgment, ambition, self-conceit, as well as downright wickedness. Be the cause what it may, such persons are self-condemned. The Church of God is an open book which may be read by all men. Her faith, her polity, her worship are published to the world. The fact that they are closed questions is self-evident. No man in his senses can honestly think otherwise. There is not, and there could not be, in the very nature of the things concerned, any provision made for the revision of the government, or the creed, or the sacraments of the Church of God with a view to alteration. The bare thought of such a thing is ruled out forever.

The unhappy men who fall thus into error in denying the principles of the Church, whether they live in the fourth century with Arius, or the fifth century with Nestorius, or the seventh century with Honorius, or the nineteenth century with the false brethren of our own day, must be for a time endured. The Church is strong and can afford to be patient. But the time comes at length when delay is no longer mercy, and judgment must be pronounced, and Arius and Nestorius and Honorius and nameless ones must be cast out, and become the subject of the Church's prayer on her knees beneath her dying Saviour on Good Friday, when she entreats that He would fetch them home with Turks and infidels.

See, beloved, as touching the faith, for example, with which we are now more nearly concerned, how it is made for us a closed question to all honorable men.

When we are baptized, each and every one is severally asked, "Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?" and he answers, "I do." When he is confirmed, after due and careful instruction, he is asked whether he still holds and affirms this belief, and again he replies, "I do." On this condition, with others, he is admitted to the Holy Communion, and virtually renews the vow every time he presents himself at the Lord's Table. If one goes forward and receives Holy Orders, he is obliged to present testimonials which commit him to the faith of his baptism. This he must do again and again, when he is admitted a candidate for Holy Orders, when he is to be ordained a Deacon, and once more when he is ordained a Priest.

Prior to his ordination as a Deacon and as a Priest, he must subscribe the following declaration: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the Doctrine and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." When he is ordained Deacon, he is asked, "Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments?" and he answers, "I do believe them." He is asked again, "Will you apply all your diligence to frame and fashion your own lives and the lives of your families according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both yourselves and them as much as in you lieth wholesome examples of the flock of Christ?" and he answers, "I will, the Lord being my helper." These questions are substantially repeated to the Deacon, when he presents himself to be ordained Priest, and in addition he is asked other questions, which close him in absolutely, if he be an honorable and true man, from contravening and forsaking the Faith, while he retains his orders. Thus the Bishop inquires, "Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same according to the Commandments of God, so that you may teach the people committed to your care and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same?" and the candidate responds, "I will do so by the help of the Lord." On these conditions, a man is made a Christian in Holy Baptism, and advanced step by step to the privileges of the Lord's Household, at each stage renewing his profession of acceptance of the Creed of the Universal Church. On these conditions, if the layman becomes a Priest in the Church of God, he has been admitted to Holy Orders, and advanced to the high and sacred office which he holds; on these conditions only, the compliance with which he has acknowledged with his own lips, at intervals with years between, again and again, could he have gained this awful dignity and honor. It might reasonably be anticipated that no man who was thus voluntarily bound by his own oft-repeated pledge and promise, and had in consequence of his reiterated declaration of fidelity obtained a position as a trusted minister of the Church, could trifle with, much less deny, the faith; and if by chance he was so unfortunate as to cease to believe any or all of the fundamental verities of the Gospel as summed up in the Creed, it might be expected that he would at once, as soon as he knew his own mind, renounce his orders, and leave the ranks of the Priesthood, in which he could no longer remain.

Self-evident as this seems to be, it is not always the case; nay, it is frequently otherwise. All along the line of heretical perversions of the truth, from Arius down to Colenso, the inventors and advocates of error have been found, as a rule, unwilling to abandon their positions in the Church, which they obtained on the conditions of holding and professing that faith which they have brought themselves in whole or in part to deny. Heresy seems to cast a blight upon the moral nature, and to deaden and paralyze the conscience. Its victims, though shut out from such a course by their own voluntary and oft-repeated pledge and promise to the contrary, seem to think that they are called to stay in a body whose faith and principles they repudiate, and reform it. They seem to fancy that to them all questions are open, as though they had not entered a system, the very essence of whose stability lies in the fact that within its bounds certain questions are finally and forever closed. When such men are called to account for their perfidy and dishonesty, they respond with the charge of persecution and bigotry, and the world echoes their cry. Often such men occupy positions which enable them for a time to defy the Church and proudly to cast contempt upon her. It was so in the fourth century when Arians occupied the chief sees of Christendom and were supported by the wealth and influence of the Empire. God is ~~no~~ respecter of persons, but men are, and hence the heresiarch in a lofty place, supported by the rich and powerful, sometimes escapes, while his obscure follower, with little or no adventitious help from social position and surroundings, is called to account and cast out. This is due to the weakness and pusillanimity of those who happen at the time to administer the affairs of the Church. In the end God takes care of His own: the gates of hell do not prevail against His Church. Donatism, though possessing at one time all North Africa, vanished away; Arianism, with which St. Jerome said "the whole world groaned," was crushed; Honorius, Patriarch of Rome, and his Monothelite associates in the Eastern Patriarchates, were placed under the ban of Anathema. As in the past, so it will be in the future; those who despise their spiritual birthright and scorn God's promises and blessings, will always ultimately share in the ruin and obliteration of "*the lost tribes.*"

Possess your souls in patience, dear brethren: be not affrighted at the apparent boldness, nay, audacity of misguided men who deny the Lord that bought them and repudiate the faith by the profession of which they gained the places which they occupy, and acquired the influence to do evil which they possess. God will bring all such into judgment. Be not afraid. The Church is "the pillar and ground of the truth." She upholds it by the authority of God. He hath spoken, and because He hath spoken and for no other reason, doctrine, and fellowship, and sacraments, and liturgy are closed questions, questions forever settled, beyond debate, for us who believe. Be not surprised at our language about closed questions as though such sentiments implied limitations upon human freedom. What we say is no new thing, with which you are unfamiliar. Every science has its closed questions for those who accept its teachings, while they are not closed for those who have not mastered its elements, or refuse its conclusions. Thus the cause of a solar eclipse is a closed question for Europeans and Americans, but it is not a closed question for the native tribes of darkest Africa. Their astrologers and necromancers and medicine men still indulge in high debate as to what causes the sun at high noon to drape himself in black. So precisely for us who believe in God and accept Christianity, there are questions forever closed. They are settled by divine authority. On that we rest the Creed of the Universal Church, which is older than the Scriptures of the New Testament; on that we rest the same Scriptures as the word of God; on that we rest the polity of the Church; on that we rest her sacraments and liturgy. These are closed questions to us who believe in the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. They are not for those without, for the unlimited right, as it is called, of private judgment, leaves everything open. Every one is free to pick and choose as he pleases in a sphere, where of necessity of himself he can know nothing; the sphere, namely, of the secret things, which belong and must forever belong to the Lord our God. In this regard he is like the African savage in his relation to natural science. The poor negro knows nothing about nature's phenomena, and he can in consequence adopt and proclaim whatever theory he pleases in reference to everything. He is nature's freeman. So those who are ignorant of the Church or reject her authority, may roam over the field of spiritual and ethical speculation at their pleasure, and adopt and lay aside opinions and views as they choose. They are more than nature's freemen, they are the freemen of the universe. They rise above all authority, and own allegiance to no law outside of themselves; and this condition, so deplorable, they call freedom.

Brethren, be not envious of this boasted freedom. It is in reality wretched slavery. There is no freedom away from Christ. In His school we are under authority, and we learn obedience, a hard lesson, but most salutary, and as we advance in our spiritual training, continuing with the first believers, steadfast in "the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers," the conviction gains upon us more, as we lift our eyes to the cross, that the service of Him, Who died upon it for our salvation, is "perfect freedom."

Commending you, dear Brethren, to the grace of God, I remain, in the fellowship of the gospel,

Your Chief Pastor and Servant for Christ's sake,

GEORGE F. SEYMOUR,
Bishop of Springfield.

Monday in Holy Week, 1891.

HOWARD CROSBY, D.D., LL.D.

BORN IN NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1826, DIED THERE SUNDAY, MARCH 29TH, 1891.

From *The New York Evangelist* (Presbyterian), New York, April 2, 1891.

HE is gone to the grave! And the world seems colder, poorer, lonelier, than before. When the tidings came, which had been for some days expected, the first feeling was that of a personal loss that was irreparable, for we have not many friends whom we have loved so long and loved so well. It is full thirty-five years—half the allotted term of man upon the earth—since our acquaintance began, which soon ripened into friendship, and grew stronger year by year till the end. It was an honor, as well as a great happiness, to have the friendship of such a man. And it is a great deal to be able to say, that in the constant intimacy of all these years, he never once spoke a word, or did an act, that gave us pain. A friendship so constant and so true has filled a large space in our life, and it is sad indeed, to think that we shall not look upon his face again.

But we must not dwell on our personal relations. Dr. Crosby was made not only for private friendship, but for public influence. He never arose in any assembly that he did not at once command attention by his presence, his large brain and open, manly countenance; an impression that was immediately confirmed by his powerful, ringing voice, to which an audience, however dull it might be, or indifferent to the subject, or even opposed to the speaker, could not choose but hear. All saw that here was a man who had the courage of his convictions; who thought for himself, and who was not afraid to say what he thought in any presence; and hence it was that he became a positive force in any "Congress" in which he bore a part. Those who were present at the meeting of our General Assembly in Baltimore in 1873, will remember with what dignity, though he was then but forty-seven years old, he presided over it; with what grace he received the delegates from foreign bodies; and how he guided the deliberations, so that the business moved forward smoothly and rapidly.

But it was not only in ecclesiastical bodies that Dr. Crosby was a man of influence and power. He touched life at many points. As one of the first Greek scholars in the country, he took high rank in the guild of literary men; while, as a native of this city, he felt a natural interest and pride in its growth and prosperity. Hence he felt the keenest shame that it should be badly governed, and felt it to be a part of his duty to exert himself actively for a better administration of its affairs. Instead of making his clerical office, or his scholarly studies, an excuse for neglecting his duties as a citizen, he felt that the city of his birth had a claim on him all the more for whatever of influence they might give him. No position was too sacred to be used for the public good. And hence no layman was more active in his efforts to purify the political atmosphere of this city. There was no man who was better known to the police, or who was more constantly urging them to the performance of their duty, in breaking up the vile dens which line our streets, and are the source of so much vice and crime. In this work it is not too much to say that he has done more for us than any other man, for which he is entitled to the noble appellation of our first citizen.

But much as he gave of his time to public affairs ; and fond as he was of his classical studies ; and great as was his delight in meeting with his club of "Grecians" to read together the Dialogues of Plato, or the poems of Homer (of which he preferred the Odyssey to the Iliad) ; yet over and above all he was a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to preach it was the work which he loved the most. Even while he was a professor of Greek in the University in this city, and afterward in Rutgers College, his heart was all the time turned toward the pulpit, and to this he devoted the last twenty-eight years of his life.

Here his scholarship came to its noblest use in opening to him "hidden treasures." So familiar was he with the Greek Testament, that you could not name to him a single passage in English, of which he would not give you instantly the original. And he studied it, not merely with the critical eye of a scholar, but with the humble faith of a believer, for he carried the doctrine of inspiration to the furthest point, saying with emphasis, "I believe in the literal, verbal inspiration of the Bible." So believing, he preached with the power which faith alone can give.

All these gifts and graces were blended in a personality which grew upon us as we knew him longer and better, drawing us toward him with an ever-increasing regard. It was not the scholar that we admired so much as the man ; who was made to inspire strong attachment. He was a friend to trust and a brother to love. To have known such a man was a privilege for which we are grateful to God ; and still further to be assured that we in return had his fullest confidence and affection. Such friendships cannot perish. They have in themselves the pledge of immortality. And so, as we part, it is with the feeling that it is *not forever*, but only "until the day break and the shadows flee away."

PARAGRAPHIC.

THE LATE CANON LIDDON.—A short time before his death, Canon Liddon wrote to a correspondent in Melbourne a letter which finally disposed of the idle gossip that was at one time current as to his personal relations with the Queen : "June 3, 1890, 3 Amencourt, St. Paul's, E. C. Dear Sir : Certainly I should advise you to believe very little of the personal gossip which is retailed from London. It is true, when Mr. MacColl was attacked on the score of his account of the impaled man whom he saw on the Save, I thought it my duty to bear witness to his accuracy. But I have no reason to suppose that the correspondence which followed ever attracted the notice of the Queen. . . . The only occasion on which I ever preached before her was eight years before it. On that occasion I did not 'imitate Bossuet' or use any such words as 'And you, madame, must also die,' nor did the Queen leave her seat before the conclusion of the service. I have no means of knowing what she may have said to the late Dean of Windsor. But I was staying with the dean at the time, and what he said to me was quite inconsistent with the words quoted as having been used by the Queen." "I have the best reason for knowing," added the canon, "that the Queen does not entertain toward me any feelings less kindly and gracious than toward others of her subjects." In confirmation of which he stated that her Majesty had offered him the See of St. Albans, which he had been compelled "to decline on the ground of health."—*Church Times.*

A REMARKABLE order written by General Winfield Scott is preserved in the Order Book of General Henry Dodge, and now in the Iowa State Library. General Scott was in command at Rock Island when the cholera broke out there, and after various injunctions in this order as to sobriety and cleanliness, he adds this curious paragraph : "In addition to the foregoing the senior surgeon present recommends the use of flannel shirts, flannel drawers, and woollen stockings ; but the commanding general, who has seen much of disease, knows that it is intemperance which, in the present state of the atmosphere, generates and spreads the calamity, and that when once spread good and temperate men are likely to take the infection. He therefore peremptorily commands that every soldier or ranger who shall be found drunk or sensibly intoxicated after the publication of this order be compelled, as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying-place, large enough for his own reception, as such grave cannot fail soon to be wanted for the drunken man himself or some drunken companion. This order is given as well to serve for the punishment of drunkenness as to spare good and temperate men the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions."—*Universalist.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from the Old Testament to the New Testament. By CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1890. 8vo., pp. xvii., 456, $3.

In this volume Professor Toy has undertaken to trace the progress of religious thought from the definitive establishment of Judaism on the basis of the written Law, in the fifth century before Christ, to the close of the Apostolic age. The origins of Christianity are thus put into connection with its antecedents and its environment in a way which best enables us to understand both what is old in it and what is new. It is to be wished that the author had so far enlarged the scope of his work as to include the movement of Jewish thought down to the redaction of the Mishna, which marks the close of the period corresponding to the Apostolic age of the Christian Church. Not only would the survey thus gain in completeness, but there would be, in some points, a welcome addition to the material of the historian, and perhaps a corrective of the one-sided impression of Palestinian Judaism which too exclusive a dependence on the apocalypses may easily give. The Mishna, Tosefta, and legal Midrash represent the main current of theological activity in Palestine in the centuries in which Christianity appeared; the apocalypses are a side stream, and whatever share of popular favor may have been accorded to them, we do not know in what light they were regarded by the leaders of religious thought. The silence of the Rabbinic literature is at least suggestive. In the sphere of eschatology, where Judaism began to create a dogma, it is not from the apocalypses, but from the works of the theologians that we must learn what the orthodox doctrine was. When Professor Toy observes (p. 251), "The references to the future life in Palestinian works outside of the apocalypses are very few," adding that there is no mention of it in the "Sayings of the Fathers," the reader might infer that there is really little evidence that the subject was much in the thought of the Doctors of the Law. But surely the Eighteen Prayers, the second of which is the praise of the God of the resurrection, sufficiently attest the importance attached to it; nor is there any reason to doubt that the anathema of the Mishna, "Whoever denies that the resurrection of the dead is taught in the Law has no lot in the world to come," is as old as the New Testament times. The very vehemence of the utterance reflects the conflicts of Pharisees and Sadducees. A critical use of this material is the more to be desired because there is so much uncritical abuse of it. The method of writers like Edersheim, who bring together for the illustration of the New Testament, indiscriminately, passages from the oldest Mishna and the youngest Midrash, only promotes error; and the useful work of Weber has a very different scope. And it must help us to a better apprehension of Christianity to see what was the outcome of the tendencies in Judaism against which it set itself. It is, however, true that in the case of most of the tenets discussed in this volume the material gain from the Rabbinic literature would be inconsiderable; nor would it anywhere much modify the results reached.

In the Introduction, on the General Laws of Advance from National to Universal Religions, Professor Toy discusses the basis of religion, the general conditions of religious progress, and the working out of these laws in the historical religions. With much that is true and well said, there is not a little in these pages which will not pass without challenge. The account of the origin of religion (p. 4), which makes it "a product of human thought," or, more definitely, a product of reflection, will seem to many to be no less inadequate than the theories which trace it to fear, or the feeling of dependence, or a subjective faculty for apprehending the infinite, etc. At any rate, the explanation offered cannot be considered a result of the historical study of religions; for of the origin of religions history has as little to tell us as of the origin of human society.

Upon this Introduction follows, as the first chapter of the work, a sketch of the literature which are the historian's sources for this period: the last words of prophecy and transition to apocalyptic, the *historia sacra* and the religious stories, the wisdom, books, liturgical poetry, the apocalypses, and the historical and theological works of Josephus and Philo—with an account of the formation of the Old Testament canon, or canons. The author's tact in disposition and lucidity of statement stands him in good stead here, and enables him to give, within narrow limits, a good idea of the interesting and varied literature of the period, which has too often been thought of, and sometimes, by a fatal misapprehension, described as "Four Centuries of Silence."

Coming, then, to the body of the work, we have in the first chapter the development of the idea of God. The points of chief interest here are the degree in which Judaism and Christianity became conscious of the universal aspects of monotheism; and, on the theological side, the tendency to hypostatize divine attributes or activities, especially the Wisdom of God (Proverbs, Wisdom) and the Word (Philo). The subject deserves a thorough investigation, in the light of race-psychology. The propensity to confer upon the objects of thought a substantive existence is very strong in the Semitic peoples. The controversies of the Moslem theologians over the Eternal Attributes, for example, are immensely instructive. The Mutazilites contended, not without reason, that what passed for orthodoxy really hypostatized the attributes and dissolved the Unity of God. The conception of pre-existence attached to the Messiah, the Law, the New Jerusalem—that is, the inability to conceive of ideal existence except as supersensible reality, would fall within the scope of the same inquiry. The place held in the thought of the times by supernatural beings subordinate to God naturally forms the next subject of investigation—spirits, angels, evil beings. The roots of this development are in the religion of Israel itself, but the contact with Persian angelology was a favorable milieu, and it may have furnished material suggestions elsewhere than in Tobit I.

The inner impulse of the rapid growth of this limbus of theology in the period under discussion was the increasingly transcendent conception of God, which in the effort to think nothing unworthy of God put Him farther and farther away from the world, yet clinging to the belief that all that is and happens is of Him, found a temporarily satisfactory reconciliation in the idea of intermediate creature-beings, who do His will in the world.

The doctrine of man fills the longest and in some ways the most interesting chapter in the book. Its general subdivisions are: the constitution of man; the nature and origin of sin; the removal of sin; the conception of righteousness in the Old Testament; the later Jewish theology, and the New Testament. A sort of appendix to the discussion of the theological idea of righteousness is the chapter on the moral standards and the moral ideal in this period. The teleological idea is treated in two chapters, on the Kingdom of God and on the Eschatology. The division seems to me to have disadvantages which more than counterbalance its manifest convenience. For it obscures the fact that the kingdom of God is the eschatological idea of the older religion, and makes it difficult to show, without much repetition, how the hold which, in later times, incongruous ideas gained upon the faith of the Jewish people, and the attempt to combine them with the established doctrine, was the cause of the confusion which reigns in this whole sphere. The reign of God on earth, or what is the same thing, the reign of the saints of the Most High, was, for the old faith, a necessary corollary of the supremacy of Israel's God; it was a necessity of theodicy. The resurrection of the dead of Israel to participate in the glory and blessedness of that reign is, in turn, a corollary of the theodicy. So far all is simple and consistent; but the growing force of the belief in the immortality of the soul and in retribution for all mankind in another life, the increasing distinctness of the notes of universality and individuality in religion, found no adequate expression in this scheme. The new ideas did not succeed in displacing the old, but made for themselves a place beside them. In the next stage they were reconciled by the hypothesis that the earthly kingdom of the saints is of limited duration—in Fourth Ezra, four hundred years; in the New Testament Apocalypse, a thousand—and from being the end and justification of God's ways in history, the Messianic age becomes an episode, the meaning of which is no longer apparent. It is succeeded by the final judgment and the retributions of the other life. The inadequacy of the compromise is seen in the persistence of the disturbing question whether the times of the Messiah are to be reckoned to the world that now is or to the world that is to come. It is one of the consequences of this drift of thought that the figure of the Messiah becomes, I will not say of less prominence, but of less significance in the eschatology. After the Jews had come face to face with the world powers, had felt the grip of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, it was not easy to conceive the triumph of God's cause on earth as achieved by the conquering progress of the armies of Israel under the lead of a second David. The immediate intervention of God in a stupendous catastrophe of nature and history alone could accomplish this miracle. In Joel, for example, the Messianic figure is wholly absent; in later books he appears upon the scene only after the enemies of God's kingdom are overthrown.

All this makes me seriously question the premises of Professor Toy's criticism of the oracles in the books of the older prophets in which a Davidic king is the central figure. He is disposed to relegate them, one and all, to a post-exilic date. "The people without a head thought of a royal leader as the natural saviour" (p. 316). Thus not only Isaiah xi. 1–9, but ix. 5, 6, "and perhaps several of the preceding verses," are carried over to this period. So also all passages in which the note of universality is distinct, as Is. xix. In general, the author leans to late dates. Genesis ii., iii. assumed its present shape after the fifth century B.C. The pre-exilic prophecies enumerated on p. 315, note, are certainly a minimum. I am not insensible to the considerations which may be urged on this side of the question; but there are difficulties on the other side which may well give us pause. Criticism on the ground of theological contents is a legitimate branch of criticism; it has been too much neglected. But its criteria are, in the nature of the case, less capable of verification, its conclusions more liable to be influenced by our own construction of the lines of advance in religious thought than almost any other. Its results, when unsupported by more objective grounds, need to be received with double caution.

Of greater consequence, in the present case, than the author's positions in Old Testament criticism, is his attitude to the mooted questions of the origin and age of the New Testament literature. It would have been, perhaps, to many readers a convenience if the critical premises in accordance with which the New Testament sources are used had been succinctly stated at the end of the chapter on the Jewish literature. Those who are familiar with the present state of the question will have no difficulty in ascertaining what the author's views are, from the text or from occasional foot-notes. They are in main those of what, with a name we would gladly avoid if we knew where to find a more suitable one, we may call the prevailing critical school. The four great epistles, Thessalonians and Philippians are Paul's, Ephesians and Colossians are of the Pauline school—we miss a definition of their relation to the Johannean literature—to which, in successive removes, belong also First Peter, Hebrews, and the Pastoral Epistles. The Fourth Gospel is "a product of the first part of the second century, made up of Christian material shaped under the influence of Jewish-Greek philosophy." The Epistles of John fall in the same category. The apocalypse has perhaps a Jewish core. A discussion of these positions does not belong to my province. It may not be improper to remark, however, that the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel loses very much of its importance when it is recognized, as it seems to be by the most recent defenders of its authenticity, that it contains, as really as the Pauline epistles, a theological interpretation of the person and work of Christ. The essential thing in a work like the present is not the determination of authorship or date, but that we rightly apprehend the nature and scope of the interpretation. It seems to me that in this Professor Toy is less successful than in his presentation of Paul's teaching. The point of view inclines to that of an older generation of critics, and certain notes in the Gospel appear to me to be forced. But I gladly leave this side of the book to the hands of scholars who have better right to speak than I.

Professor Toy has given us a work of thorough and cautious scholarship, from which, however we may dissent from some of his positions, we may all learn much. It is clearly and forcibly written, and takes hold of our interest. The publishers have done their part well; good paper, sharp type, and an open page give the reader a sense of luxury. There are Indexes of Passages of Scripture, and of Subjects.

GEORGE F. MOORE.
ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

REASON AND AUTHORITY IN RELIGION. By J. MACBRIDE STERRETT, D.D., Professor of Ethics and Apologetics in Seabury Divinity School. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. 12mo, pp. xiii., 184, $1.

Professor Sterrett prints together in this little volume a brace of essays which, though they have no direct connection with one another, have this in common, that both bring into discussion—the one in direct exposition, the other through a contrasting criticism of *Lux Mundi* and Dr. Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*—the source and nature of authority in religion and the ground of religious certitude. All who call themselves Christians rest on God alone as the ultimate source of authority in religion. But differences emerge when we ask after the *media* through which God's authoritative voice is conveyed to us, and consequently after the proximate ground of religious certitude. The Rationalist finds in his individual reason the only voice of God in which he can place implicit confidence. The Romanist points to the Church as the infallible organ of the divine author of all truth. The Protestant, while seeing in the Church the divinely instituted witness to the truth, and in reason the divinely ordained organ for its reception, finds the authoritative delivery of the truth in the Scriptures, which he declares to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice. He offers, indeed, a synthesis of the Church, reason and the Scriptures, as the sources of knowledge of divine things. The Church, he declares, preserves the Scriptures and lays them before men with her testimony that they are the authoritative revelation of God. Reason examines into their credentials as such, tests and tries their credibility, apprehends their meaning, and systematizes their contents. But these contents the soul receives and rests upon as the very word of God, not on the authority of the Church, though in accordance with her testimony, and not on the authority of reason, though in accordance with its judgment, but solely on the authority of God, their author, witnessed to be such by the Church and evidenced by reason, but believed on His own authority. The Hegelian philosophy, though springing out of Protestant ground, offers a different synthesis—one by which the authority of the Scriptures is depressed and that of reason and the Church exalted. It appeals to reason as strenuously as the Rationalist, but not to the abstract, individual, but to the concrete, corporate reason as done into history. This corporate reason is but another name for the Church. So that it is equally true that it appeals to the Church as strenuously as the Romanist: but not necessarily to a single ecclesiastical institution, but to the communion of saints. Professor Sterrett occupies Hegelian ground; and accordingly finds the ground of authority in religion in "the Divine reason done into the historical institution of the Church," or in other words, in "the communal Christian consciousness." Certitude is no doubt personal, but it comes through *media*, and the inclusive medium is the Church (p. 26). "The rational 'I believe' thus rests psychologically and historically upon a 'we believe.' The rational 'we believe' rests upon the Christian consciousness of the community of which we are organic members. This consciousness rests upon the primal and perennial vital bond of God with His offspring. Thus the ultimate ground of authority and of certitude is God's adhesion to man. The secondary or mediating ground of certitude for the individual is the Church, which represents the adhesion of man to God, through consciousness of this bond" (pp. 107-108).

The consequences of this view are followed out by Professor Sterrett moderately but logically; and accordingly the chief familiar Hegelianizing positions find expression in his pages: the overestimation of the Church and its authority (pp. 25, 163, 166); the confusion of the real and the rational with its resultant doctrine that might is right (p. 170); the depreciation of the Scriptures as a product of the Church (pp. 24, 59, 88, 158, etc.), and the like. Criticism in detail is impossible here. It is enough to say that in spite of all this Dr. Sterrett has said many things noble and well, and his book will repay perusal.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE GOSPEL AND MODERN SUBSTITUTES. By the Rev. A. SCOTT MATHESON. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1890. 12mo, pp. 319, $1.50.

The purpose of this book is worthy of all praise. It is an attempt to show that all that is valuable and helpful in those systems proposed as substitutes for Christianity is already found in larger measure and greater purity in the religion of Christ.

The method pursued is properly conciliatory and irenical in conceding in many respects the merits of Socialism, Positivism, etc., and becomes aggressive and polemic only in the endeavor to exhibit the superiority of Christianity in the very respects in which the merits of its proposed substitutes are cordially recognized. The task which Mr. Matheson has set for himself is one requiring intellectual powers and scholarship of the highest order, and while he has made an interesting and suggestive book, we confess to a sense of disappointment at his comparative failure to accomplish successfully the admirable purpose which he has undertaken.

The successful execution of his plan demands, among other qualifications, and in a high degree, the power of clear and profound thought and careful and accurate definition; but in many parts of the volume there is a hazy and nebulous-like atmosphere which confuses and distresses the careful reader. For example, the treatment of the relations of religion and science is vitiated by the failure, which is so common in books of this class, to score plainly and deeply the distinction between science and philosophy, and between religion and both science and philosophy.

Much of the so-called conflict between religion and science is a conflict between religion and that metaphysical speculation which falls entirely within a department of philosophy with which science is in no wise connected.

The best part of the volume is that which relates to the application of Christianity to the social, economic, and political problems of our time. It is cause for joy that there is with every year a clearer recognition of the truth that the religion of Christ has its mission not simply to the individual, but as well to all of those corporate bodies in which men are organized—the family, the school, society, the state, the church. The reader will find much that is suggestive in this connection in the chapters in which our author discusses the Gospel and Socialism. THORNTON C. WHALING.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

THE LIVING CHRIST AND THE FOUR GOSPELS. By Rev. R. W. DALE, LL.D., Birmingham. New York: Armstrong, 1890. 12mo, pp. xii., 299.

This book is composed of fourteen lectures which were delivered on Sunday mornings and weekday evenings to "a congregation in the heart of a great manufacturing community (Birmingham, England)—a congregation in which there are never many masters of arts, although there are in it many men and women with an active, vigorous, and speculative intellect, and with a keen interest in public affairs and in current theological controversies." The nature of the audience necessarily determined to some extent the nature of the lectures; but while they are popular in form, they do full justice to the intellects of the hearers in being eminently thoughtful and in presenting the results of criticism in a frank and fearless way. The plan of the course deserves the highest commendation, and furnishes a worthy example to writers on similar subjects. The argument from Christian experience is placed first, and to it full justice is done in four admirable lectures. That the Christian religion is a living power whose validity is independent of the varying results of the historical criticism of New Testament documents is first insisted upon, and the Christian student is thus prepared to give a fair hearing to the discussion which follows. So long as the historical and literary criticism of the Scriptures is regarded by a large portion of the church as calculated to undermine the very foundation of the faith and, therefore, to be repudiated by all right-minded Christians, theology will remain in an unhealthy state and the progress of the Gospel among the more intelligent classes of the community be seriously retarded. We welcome such a book as Dr. Dale's because it places the emphasis where it belongs and prepares the way for an intelligent treatment of the Word of God.

In his presentation of the historical evidences of the authenticity of the four Gospels Dr. Dale is peculiarly happy. He is clear and yet concise, interesting and yet accurate. Scholars will, of course, find nothing new, but to those unfamiliar with the subject such an outline of the historical argument and such a statement of results must be very helpful.

The author's discussion of Justin Martyr's use of the Gospels leads me to say that many of the difficulties which are felt in dealing with his quotations and references will disappear if it be assumed that he made use of some kind of a Gospel harmony. To this conclusion I was irresistibly led more than a year ago in studying with a special class the history of the New Testament Canon, and I have been gratified to find the same view presented, with reasons therefor, by Professor J. Rendel Harris in his scholarly essay on Tatian's *Diatessaron* (Haverford College Studies, No. 5, p. 54 *sq.*). The opinion thus independently reached in different quarters will, I am confident, increasingly approve itself to students of Justin and Tatian.

The argument for the authenticity of the fourth Gospel is not altogether satisfactory as presented by Dr. Dale, and in his treatment of Papias he does not seem to me to do full justice to the difficulties presented by the famous Papias-fragments. His failure to do this ought not, perhaps, to be urged as a criticism, for he expressly disclaims the intention of discussing the questions raised by the mutual relations of the synoptic Gospels. But that the difficulty is much greater, and that the bearing of Papias' words upon the composition and original nature of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark is less clear than Dr. Dale's words on page 236 seem to imply can hardly be denied.

To emphasize these and other criticisms would be ungracious, for Dr. Dale's lectures admirably fulfil the purpose for which they were written, and it is to be hoped that they may give to a large circle of readers the instruction which they are so well calculated to convey.

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THE CAUSES OF THE SOUL. A Book of Sermons. By DR. WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, Rector of Grace Church, New York. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. 390, $1.75.

It is next to impossible to review an ordinary volume of sermons, because, though bound up together, they do not properly constitute one book. These sermons, for instance, are no otherwise connected than by being short essays on religious subjects, in the form of expositions of certain passages of Scripture. Any one of them might be taken as an adequate illustration of the preacher's method. The first gives its title to the book, and has for its text a sentence from the *Lamentations*, "O Lord, Thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul." "Causes" are of two kinds, those in which the accused may plead guilty, those in which he may plead not guilty. The "causes of the soul," the accusations brought against the soul in its relation to God, are of both kinds. This is by some, perhaps by most people denied. They have no consciousness of guilt; they do not believe that God will ever punish, even "if it must be conceded that He exists, which they doubt." But such persons are shallow, both in character and experience. On such questions as guilt and sin one turns to deeper natures, souls of a wider range, an à Kempis or a St. Augustine. But when we admit guilt we are confronted with a yet deeper question: *Can* sin be forgiven? Can an honest advocate "plead the cause" of a confessedly guilty soul? Is not every analogy of nature against such a supposition? Must not the mercy even of God confine itself to clear explanation of the law and emphatic warning of the consequences of disobedience? "To all which" the preacher "merely answers that if it be indeed so, then is the word Gospel emptied of meaning, and the title 'our Saviour' robbed of all its power to charm." This account of God's relation to guilt is wholly incompatible with what "the Bible tells us that He is." As to the causes of the soul in which the soul may plead not guilty, the pleading of the Lord takes the form of extrication from misunderstanding and misrepresentation; and this is effected in the ordinary course of the divine providence. The practical end and aim of the discourse is to "emphasize this one thought"—that, in very fact, "our help cometh from the Lord."

This sketch is meagre enough, and all illustrative matter is omitted; but it will be sufficient to indicate that these sermons are examples of what is often called "intellectual preaching." Those faculties by which human action or conduct is produced operate normally and logically in the following order—intellect, emotions, will. We never determine upon an action until we are moved by some feeling; no emotion is excited but by our coming to know something, and its probable tendency to promote or hinder our happiness. An ideal sermon, therefore, would be so constructed, both as to matter and form, as perfectly to convince the understanding; to convince the understanding by selecting out of all possible arguments precisely those which would most readily excite feeling; to excite those particular feelings which would be instantly transmuted into a resolute purpose to perform the required acts. Nearly all sermons omit one or other of these stages. "Devotional preaching" takes the first and third for granted; what is called "practical preaching" takes for granted the first and second. Dr. Huntington takes for granted that, when due provision has been made for the first, the second and third may be trusted to follow of their own accord. He has chosen, perhaps, the most difficult part of a preacher's task ; but if, and in so far as he omits the other two his sermons fall short of the perfect ideal.

It is out of the question to criticise each of these short discourses. While argumentative, they are intended for and adapted to congregations of *believers.* Thus, in the first sermon the argument that a righteous advocate cannot plead the cause of a confessedly guilty soul is carried only to the point when we reach what "the Bible says that God is." In a sermon preached to a congregation in Grace Church, New York, this is a merit ; it is, on the other hand, a serious limitation. Nobody knows better than Dr. Huntington that if the argument in proof of the impossibility of forgiving sin be valid, *it is valid against the authority of what the Bible says that God is ;* and that it logically precedes and excludes all possible arguments in favor of Biblical theology—just as *a real and logically complete* disproof of *the possibility of miracles* would disprove in advance any possible arguments for the veracity of the four Gospels.

Of course, everybody will turn to the sermon on *The Unpardonable Sin :* partly for the reason that he has never yet seen a satisfactory explanation of that most mysterious subject. Dr. Huntington will not be surprised if some of his readers remain still unsatisfied. The Pharisees are not particularly attractive, but they have had so much abuse at the hands of commentators that they may perhaps have a right to demand from the Court the services of an Advocate. It is surely quite easy to understand that when they attributed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub they were regarding them *not as good acts,* which, taken separately, they might have admitted them to be, but *as part of a series of acts which, taken all together, and tending and intended to abolish the Mosaic law,* they regarded as impious. It is a good thing to quote Scripture, but the devil has often quoted admirable texts of Scriptures for diabolical purposes. The Pharisees, in effect, argued that for the sake of ultimately luring men to destruction the devil would, every now and then, perform really beneficial acts beyond the power of man. To which our Lord's answer was that, *in this particular case,* the devil would run no such risk ; for him to *cast out devils* would involve too certainly the ruin of his own kingdom. But the difficulty involved in Dr. Huntington's account of *the Unpardonable Sin* seems to be this : that, according to his explanation, it is a sin which it is morally and psychologically impossible for any human being to commit. Perhaps, even still, we are compelled to admit that to the meaning of our Lord's words, notwithstanding their solemnity and impressiveness, we have lost the key.

Nearly every one of these sermons—*How are the dead raised up?* is a conspicuous example—raises most interesting questions. We have wasted none of our short space on needless praise. Dr. Huntington's reputation is far above the need of it : and those who read these sermons will be amply repaid.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

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BOOK-NOTES, BY THE EDITOR.

The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628–1660. Selected and edited by *Samuel Rawson Gardiner,* M.A. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1889. Small 8vo, pp. lxvi., 376.) In this volume are reprinted for convenient reference no less than ninety-five documents which "are intended to serve either as a basis for the study of the constitutional history of an important period, or as a companion to the political history of the time." With the exception of four, mentioned in the preface, they are taken from books that are beyond the reach of most students unless they have access to large and well-equipped libraries ; well equipped in a way that we fear is unusual in America. These sources are, among others, the following : "Statutes of the Realm," Rushworth's "Collections," Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," Prynne's "Canterbury's Doom," "State Trials," "State Papers," "House of Lords Manuscripts," "Journals of the House of Lords," and also of the "Commons," Brewer's "Fuller's Church History," "Clarendon Manuscripts," and "Lauderdale Papers." One of the documents became known, in unique manuscript form, to the editor only after this volume was printed off, and is therefore placed in an appendix—the Constitutional Bill of the First Protectorate Parliament.

The whole is prefaced by a concise account of the period, in forty-four pages, so that we have at hand what might be compared to the finder on a telescope. In the table of contents we have a list of the documents in the order in which they appear. It is perhaps a pity that the editor did not affix the date to each of the entries at this point as well as in the text. Among the papers are the following, of which we have often heard, and which we can here examine that they may throw light upon our understanding of the history of the period : The Declaration of Sports, the Scottish National Covenant, the Root and Branch Petition, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Self-denying Ordinance. It is, of course, impossible to give a full list of the papers reproduced, and we must be content with calling attention to only a few, which are of special interest to us from the standpoint of religious history.

Christian Living. By Rev. *F. B. Meyer,* A.B. (Chicago and New York : Revell, 1890. 18mo, cloth, pp. 160, 50 cents. (The contents of this book are "The Appropriation of Christ," "Christ's Proprietorship," "Reciprocal Indwelling," "'Sin' and 'Sins,'" "The Will," "Guidance," "The Fulness of the Spirit," "Our Work for Christ," and "Concluding Words."

These nine sections contain as many "addresses delivered at several conferences and missions." They breathe a spirit of devotion and faith. They are eminently scriptural, and calculated to aid the spiritual life. Though unostentatious in form and unassuming in style, they are evidently the outpouring of a heart full of the love of God. The same things may have been said before or even better said, but this little volume is another evidence to the unfailing truth.

A Syllabus of Old Testament History : Outlines and Literature, with an Introductory Treatment of Biblical Geography. By *Ira Price,* Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the Theological Seminary, Morgan Park, Chicago. (Chicago and New York : Revell, 1891. Pp. viii., 198, $1.) Of the importance of a knowledge of biblical history to the Bible student no word need be said, but the question is, How shall it be attained? In a crowded seminary curriculum there seems little room for a study that is so elementary. It is too often crowded out and let go by default. Professor Price has done well to attempt to fill the gap and to provide a *vade mecum* for the man who desires to pursue the subject by himself. His book is in the shape of an outline merely, without any filling in. It looks more like a table of contents than like the finished work. It thus presents the plan which he has found valuable, and which the individual may work out and complete. If faithfully followed it will give a knowledge of the historical sequence of the Old Testament narrative that cannot but be valuable and useful. Being thus the work of the student it will be his in a truer sense than if he had read it *in extenso* in a book. Unfortunately too little regard has been had for the contemporary history, at least in the case of Egypt, and in the matter of chronology little assistance is rendered. The literature cited is, if anything, too full and with too few hints as to its intrinsic value and trustworthiness.

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[Any of these books may be ordered through the Christian Literature Co.]

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The Presbyterian and Reformed Review (Quarterly), April. Contents : Recent Dogmatic Thought in Scotland, by John Cairns ; The Vulgate Old Testament in Textual Criticism, by Henry P. Smith ; Christianity and Tolerance, by William M. Sloane ; Mr. Gore on the Holy Spirit and Inspiration, by Robert Watts ; "Looking Backward," by Adam Shortt ; Federal Union between the Reformed Churches, by David Van Horne, James I. Good, William H. Clark, John B. Drury, Mancius H. Hutton ; Presbyterian Union in India, by R. Morrison, K. C. Chatterjee, Narayan Sheshadri, J. J. Lucas, Francis Ashcroft, Robert Stewart ; Klostermann on the Pentateuch, by Lewis B. Paton ; The Materialistic Physics Unmathematical, by W. G. T. Shedd ; Recent Theological Literature.

RECENT DOGMATIC THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND. By Rev. JOHN CAIRNS, D.D., LL.D. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1891.

This is the first of a series of articles intended to deal with recent dogmatic thought in different countries of the Protestant world.

Recognizing that the term "recent" is a very relative one, the author takes his start from the publication of Principal Cunningham's "Lectures on Historical Theology" in 1862. The term dogmatic in his view also excludes all natural theology; apologetics; introduction and history of the canon; exegesis, except as specially related to dogma, and church history, except of doctrine. He then considers his subject under seven heads: 1. The Trinity; 2. Person of Christ, Christology, or Incarnation; 3. Atonement; 4. Justification; 5. Sanctification; 6. Election; 7. Eschatology.

Giving now a very brief sketch of their separate heads, Dr. Cairns notices that the able and temperate statement of the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, by Principal Cunningham, in his "Historical Theology" (1862), has not been controverted by leading writers, nor has the Trinitarian controversy stood prominently forward.

2. With regard to the Incarnation, or Person of Christ, there has scarcely been more discussion than in regard to the Trinity, the most prominent writer being Professor Bruce, of Glasgow, in his lecture on "The Humiliation of Christ" (1876). There have been some commentaries rising into the dogmatic region, and Dr. James Stalker has given two books, a popular "Life of Jesus," and his "Imago Christi," which is ethical and devotional rather than critical and historical.

3. The Atonement has been fruitful in far more diversified authorship, and is, in fact, the one point of earnest debate. There has indeed been little or no division among the writers, who have not so much disputed with each other as responded in their discussions to the influence and movements general among the Scottish people.

The only writer of prominence among the minority has been Dr. John MacLeod Campbell, whose work on the Atonement was published in 1856, and who represents a certain element of mysticism, holding the doctrine of Christ's literal identification of himself with sinners, and appears in special sympathy with Maurice, Young, and Bushnell. To him were opposed Dr. G. Smeaton, Dr. T. J. Crawford, Dr. Bruce, and Dr. Lindsay Alexander.

In speaking of the general strain of their discussions, Dr. Cairns notices that they all follow the inductive method, considering the question one of revelation, and to be solved by biblical theology.

Thus Dr. Smeaton carries out a very careful, minute, scholarly, almost scholastic study of our Lord's utterances, and while contending earnestly for the older doctrine, recognizes a drawing nearer to the school of Dorner.

Dr. T. J. Crawford, with less of exegetical power perhaps, but greater constructive ability, examines first the texts of the New Testament on the Atonement, and then the Levitical and Patriarchal sacrifices. He also takes up the theories of the sufferings of Christ which have been opposed to the Catholic doctrine, and finally the objections to that doctrine.

Dr. Bruce, in his "Humiliation of Christ," noticed above, touches closely on this topic, taking the same general position as the others, yet recognizing that in holding to *objective* imputation it is not necessary to repudiate as utterly false all the others, in each of which is a fragment of the truth that may lead up to the whole truth.

These three writers are confirmed by the studies of the fourth and latest, Dr. Lindsay Alexander, whose association with the Congregationalist type of thought, and his departure at some other points from the Westminster line, make his coincidence here all the more striking. As to the extent of the Atonement, his position is practically that of the United Secession Church.

4. With regard to Justification there has been little discussion since the full handling of the question by Dr. James Buchanan in 1866, though whatever references have been made are in the line of accord to the positions there set forth. In regard to the allied doctrine of Adoption, both Dr. Candlish and Dr. Crawford opposed the native Fatherhood of God of the broader school of Dr. Campbell and Mr. Maurice, but Dr. Candlish held that it was the condition of a subject rising to a high point of graciousness, whereas Dr. Crawford contended that it was already sonship.

5. In regard to Sanctification there has been more of a movement, arising partly, no doubt, from the degree in which revival or evangelistic movements have occupied the public mind, and have directed public attention to the work of the Spirit, not merely in conversion, but in connection with the so-called higher Christian life. This has been manifest, however, mostly in preaching and in literature of a less scientific character. Dr. Smeaton's "Doctrine of the Holy Spirit" is, however, one of the ablest works ever written on that subject, embracing the biblical theology of the Old and New Testaments, the doctrinal theology of the personality and procession of the Holy Spirit, and a historical review of the whole field of literature, patristic and reformed.

6. Election to Eternal Life has not been brought much into prominence in discussion, partly because the Presbyterian churches have learned to see that there is a large field of argument and co-operation with other Christians, who do not hold at this point the Calvinism of their own standards, but still concur in such a basis of truth as is held by the Evangelical Alliance, and partly because of the general desire of other bodies, especially Methodists, for co-operation with them. The trend of view, therefore, must be sought elsewhere, and two instances are given to show that the tendency is to hold the Calvinistic view firmly, but to recognize that "salvation is sufficient for all, adapted to all, and offered to all, and involves the responsibility of every man for his dealing with the free and unrestricted offer of eternal life." Of late the chief literary monument on this topic is Dr. Lindsay Alexander's work, holding and defending the Calvinistic position most forcibly.

7. Eschatology has stirred Scotland as it has other lands, yet there has been nothing of strenuous controversy and little of literary production. The agitations in churches have so far died away, and at this point there has been no liberty of teaching extended beyond what existed before, and it is not probable that the movement for revision of the Westminster Standards in the Free and Established Churches will result in any modification on the point of a probation after death.

In conclusion Dr. Cairns notes that, while there are movements in doctrinal thought not to be contemplated without serious anxiety, there is no reason for gloom or misgiving. The Scottish people, like the American, have been able, sooner or later, to estimate at its just value any changes suggested from Germany. Christian education, Bible study, moral life have never been more active, and the lovers of the best traditions of their country may, with the critical helps and processes of the nineteenth century, grasp the Bible of Knox and Chalmers in the belief that "The Word of the Lord endureth forever."

New Englander and Yale Review, April. Contents: Caucus Legislation, by Linton Satterthwait, Trenton, N. J.; College-bred Men in Political Life, by Professor Winthrop D. Sheldon, Colorado Springs, Col.; Some Difficulties of the Indian Problem, by Rev. Alfred L. Riggs, Santee Agency, Neb.; Present Tendencies in German Philosophy, by Arthur Fairbanks, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.; The Storage of Electrical Energy, by Alexander Jay Wurts, Westinghouse Laboratory, Pittsburgh, Pa.; The Election Controversy in Connecticut, by Hon. Lynde Harrison, New Haven; The Late Election in Connecticut, by Professor Simeon E. Baldwin, Yale Law School; The Gubernatorial Controversy in Connecticut, by Henry T. Blake, Esq., New Haven.

The Reformed Quarterly Review, April. Contents: Heinrich Bullinger, the Successor of Zwingli, and Second Antistes of Zurich, by Professor Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.; The "Church Review" Symposium on Christian Reunion, by Rev. William Frederick Faber; The Music of the Old Testament and the Religion of Israel, by Rev. J. B. Rush, A.M.; C. E. Smith on the Apocalypse, by Rev. W. M. Reilly, Ph.D.; Why am I Reformed? by Rev. C. Clever, D.D.; The Practical Side of Culture, by Charles H. Lerch; Infant Con secration to the Lord, by Rev. George B. Resser; Simon Bar-Jona; The Stone and the Rock, by Mrs. T. C. Porter.

WHY AM I REFORMED? By Rev. C. CLEVER. D.D. *The Reformed Quarterly Review*, April, 1891.

The term Reformed, according to Dr. Schaff, as used in all continental works on church history and symbolics, means originally *the Catholic Church reformed of abuses or regenerated by the Word of God*, and was originally applied to that whole movement of the sixteenth century which liberated Christianity from the burdens of superstition and idolatry. It claims all the Reformers, yet may perhaps look to Zwingli as the chief, and to his doctrine that the pure teaching of God's holy Word is the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice as its fundamental thought.

This spirit has remained, and we are members of the Reformed Church, on account of

1. ITS UNWAVERING LOYALTY TO CHRIST.—It has always held that the divine-human Person, the divine-human life, was the central foit, to be held at all hazards, and has done more than any other to bring out the full force of the terms Christological, Christocentric, those watchwords that distinguish the theological thinking of these latter days.

2. ITS CATHOLIC SPIRIT.—Zwingli, its founder, was the first to assert that infants dying unbaptized would be saved, numbered also in his catalogue of saints Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, and the rest of the heathen world that had lived up to the light that had been granted unto them, and there is no church that can so easily fellowship with other churches as the Reformed. Born in free Switzerland, it has found a home in every land; owning many leaders, it has permitted no one to impress upon her his name or theological system, and it watches with consuming interest the growth of the Evangelical Alliance, insisting that no unnecessary burdens be imposed upon Christians, in order that they may have fellowship one with another.

3. ITS IRENICAL SPIRIT, which is bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh, and spirit of its spirit. In rough places, as at the conference at Marburg, when the giants stood face to face, and the Reformation was threatened with wreck, Zwingli's outstretched hand and his words, "Let us be friends," tokened a course for the Reformed Church which has saved it from many a split. Looking out upon the so far only tentative efforts at union, it seems as if she held the key to much of the confusion of sectarianism, and that her Heidelberg Catechism will probably be the catechism of the future union-church which must come.

4. ITS EFFORT TO CULTIVATE A DEEP PERSONAL PIETY.—The Westminster Confession opens with, "What is the chief end of man? Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever." The Catechism of the Episcopal Church, "What is your name?" The Heidelberg Catechism, "What is thy only comfort in life and death?" The address is personal, *thy;* the object is comfort, and has to do with the life and death of the individual. So throughout the answer, wherein we have the very soul of the Gospel, and are met by all that the soul requires, and that is Christ. "It is no cold workmanship merely of the understanding. It is full of feeling and faith. The joyousness of a fresh, simple, childlike trust appears, beautifully, touchingly interwoven with all its divinity."

5. ITS IDEA OF EDUCATIONAL RELIGION.—Sainthood is not reached at a single bound. Men must through much intellectual and moral tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. The order of the command is (1) baptism; (2) teaching; (3) the aid of the ever-present Christ. The child engrafted into the covenant is heir to all the blessings of God, and Christian nurture is to him what sunshine, rain, and dew are to the plant. He is the son of God, but it doth not yet appear what he shall be.

Occupying the standpoint of Reformed theology, we are sure that the past is secure, and that God has never left himself without a witness; we cannot be satisfied with anything short of unity on necessary points of doctrine and life; we give largest liberty to our brethren on non-essentials, and exercise long-suffering and hopeful charity for all, and feel sure that whatever ministers to pride, strife, and hypocrisy shall vanish away.

The Andover Review, April. Contents: The Life and Times of Plato, by A. P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D.; Revelation, Inspiration, and Authority, by Mr. Alfred G. Langley; The Poetry of Alfred Austin, by Mr. Oscar Fay Adams; Bazán's Russia, by Mrs. M. B. Norton; Mr. Bellamy and Christianity, by Anna L. Dawes; The Function of Public Prayer, by Rev. John McGaw Foster; Editorial: The Spirit of Expectancy, On Preaching Christianity as a Gospel; Letters and Life: Life from a Tokyo Point of View, by Professor Hardy; Biblical and Historical Criticism: Immanual—Prophecy and Fulfilment, by Professor H. G. Mitchell; Social Economics; The Outline of an Elective Course of Study. Part III.—Pauperism, by Professor Tucker; Notes from England by Mr. Joseph King, M.A.; German Theological Literature, by Rev. Mattoon M. Curtis, M.A.

REVELATION, INSPIRATION, AND AUTHORITY. By Mr. ALFRED G. LANGLEY. *The Andover Review*, April, 1891.

This is a discussion on the fundamental basis of authority in religion, especially designed to meet the danger of indifference in regard to religion, resulting partly from the general restlessness of this transition age, and partly from the fact (according to the author) that "the rank and file of the ministry to-day are utterly at sea on this important question," having never thought it out, either because they have not recognized its importance, or have not dared to meet the possible results.

From the general discussion as to the nature of knowledge he passes to that of revelation as a form or sphere of knowledge. This is both process and result, the unveiling of the unknown, and the knowledge or truth thus attained. As a process it implies the existence of something to be revealed, which, however, must be revealed in accord with law, not in an arbitrary, irregular, disorderly manner, as is so often falsely imagined. It implies a constant working of God in revealing and of man in making God's work his own, by the aid of the Spirit, which is as near men now as in the apostolic days.

Inspiration is a means by which man attains a knowledge of the truth. Strictly defined, it is the personal influence of God upon the psychical nature of man in its totality, in accord with the laws of psychic action. While in a valid sense involved in all perception, insight, knowledge, it is specially manifested in the realm of truth relating to holy character, yet still always dependent upon intelligent and real reception and mastery, without which it can give not revelation, but only the means of revelation.

"Revelation, strictly so called, begins when man begins to apprehend the significance of the material, and is limited by the extent of this apprehension. . . . The old conception of a complete statutory revelation is false, both psychologically and philosophically, and fails utterly to furnish the infallible authority which is the demand of indolence or timidity."

Any writer's statement of truth attained by him may include more truth than he himself is aware of, and the result of man's action under inspiration is simply the preservation of such truth as is attained, subject to correction and supplement as the man grows in power and the apprehension of the truth. Each man or age has as much revelation as it can take, and its responsibility is limited by its light.

Turning, then, to the authority of an inspired revelation, the author claims that "the authority of revelation, Scripture or other, rests in its intrinsic excellence and worth as truth, inherently rational and practical; . . . it is a constantly progressive process continually approximating the final goal—perfect apprehension of absolute truth." Thus the only claim to authority possible or actual lies in the self-evidencing excellence and worth of the truth itself at any particular stage of revelation. An example is given of the absolute conception or idea of Christ, which is a gradual approximation, by reflection upon all the data given in the New Testament, and the ideals of the race in its best literature, etc.

Jesus Christ, as the absolute ideal, continuously and increasingly evidences himself as worthy of his claim, and is thus absolute authority, the infallible Teacher, Guide, and Saviour.

Inspiration thus gives no authority to truth, but is merely an aid to men in apprehending truth. For the practical efficacy of Scripture truth, it matters little or nothing whether it is inspired or not. Its authority rests not on the inspiration, but on the truth it evinces, and Christ is authority, in distinction from the ecclesiolatry of the Roman Catholic and the bibliolatry of the Protestant, because he always stands the test of the progressive study of truth. There is thus no room for agnosticism, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."

The author closes with the claim that he is constructive, not destructive, inasmuch as he sets forth the true psychologic basis of revelation and its authority as based on actual experience of men. "If the view be erroneous, let the error be exposed; if true, let us accept it and act accordingly."

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC PRAYER. By Rev. JOHN McGAW FOSTER. *The Andover Review*, April, 1891.

In endeavoring to contribute an element to the question of Christian unity, the writer of this article considers that one essential to that unity is the adoption of similar worship by different bodies of believers. He considers thus the essentials to prayer: 1. A right conception of God, which is not the anthropomorphic idea of the pagan world and of too many even of this day, but the conception of an Eternal Spirit who is the very life of the world. 2. Self in all forms must be banished from the thought of prayer, inasmuch as it clouds its meaning by placing the individual wish above the personal consecration. Our own wishes, pet desires, etc., as such are to be eliminated from the pure conception of prayer.

Prayer is thus "a communion with an ever-present God, a communion from which all consciousness of self is absent; a harmony with God, a spiritual state, in which we regard the world and life from the divine side."

Turning, then, to the question as to what spoken words can best express the spirit of common prayer, it becomes clear that in almost every case extempore prayer should yield to liturgical, because of the almost impossibility of eliminating from the former the personality of the minister.

MISSIONARY METHODS OFFICIALLY REVIEWED. By Rev. J. T. GRACEY, D.D. *The Missionary Review of the World*, April, 1891.

The various adverse criticisms, combined with the increasing general knowledge about and interest in missions, have prompted large sections of the Church in Great Britain and America to make a patient and thorough investigation into existing methods of missionary work and their results. The most important have been those instituted by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society of England, and the Committees of the Free and Established Churches of Scotland.

Dr. Gracey selects a few of the topics considered for special note:

1. CELIBATE MISSIONARIES.—The London Missionary Society Committee expresses the general concensus of opinion that the sending out of celibate missionaries, except in special cases and for a limited time, is bad; the Christian home and Christian family being considered unqualifiedly necessary for the exhibition of Christian life.

2. LAY EVANGELISTIC MISSIONARIES, however, are more and more considered to be very valuable, not merely because the theological schools cannot supply the demand, but on account of their ability to adapt themselves to numerous needs of new Christian communities. It is, however, deemed desirable that these should have opportunity for the study of Christian missions and the philosophy and comparison of religions.

3. NATIVE AGENCY.—This is recognized as the great desideratum, yet only partially filled on account of the lack of training institutions.

4. EDUCATION.—This was the gravest question discussed, eliciting some most careful investigation and calling forth some strong tributes to the value of missionary education, especially as noted in India. Among the authorities quoted are Sir William Muir, Sir Richard Temple, and other officials of high position and broad experience.

Still the troublesome question remains as to the definite results in Christian life of this education. It is admitted by the Free Church Committee, whose report on this point is the most thorough, that the mission colleges do not now produce the number of converts they once did ; in fact, they hardly produce any, and they are not looked for. The reasons assigned are three : 1. The changed relation of Hinduism and Christianity, owing to a difference in the view of Hinduism, and the infusion into it of the spirit of Christianity. The result is that young men do not now feel obliged in remaining Hindus to accept what they loathe or become Christians. 2. The demand on the schools to fulfil government university requirements and the stress of competition. 3. Dependence on government grants, which are conditional upon the fees raised in the schools, so that a sudden stampede would create a financial pressure which neither the local mission nor the home treasury could stand.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, education must stand as the only way of reaching the higher class of the Indian population. " Unless the Christian Church is prepared to abandon its efforts to get a hearing for Christianity among caste Hindus, unless it is prepared to confine its missionary enterprise to the sixty or eighty millions outside Hinduism proper, this higher education must be included among missionary agencies and given an important place."

Cumberland Presbyterian Review (Quarterly), April. Contents : How to Study the Gospels, by R. V. Foster, D.D., Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn. Part I.—The Preparation. Part II.—Jesus the Christ. Part III.—The Period of the Acts ; The Holy Ghost, by Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Family of God. An Outline of Systematic Theology, by W. H. Black, D.D., Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo.; What Shall We Believe ? by Professor J. I. D. Hinds, Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn.; A Children's Service, by Mrs. R. V. Foster, Lebanon, Tenn.; The Times of Israel and Judah—Lessons for April, May, and June ; History of the Doctrine of Free-Will, by Rev. J. L. Goodknight, D.D., Jena, Germany ; Free Schools in the South, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., Washington, D. C.

Quarterly Review of the United Brethren in Christ, April. Contents : The So-called Proofs for the Existence of God, by Rev. W. O. Krohn, Ph.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.; The Poet the Priest of Nature, by President W. M. Beardshear, A.M., Iowa Agricultural College ; Historical Development of Church Music, by Rev. William S. Gilbert, A.M., President of Philomath College, Oregon. The Church Recreant, by Rev. H. A. Thompson, D.D., LL.D., Columbus, O.; Eloquence, by Rev. J. H. Pershing, Greensburg, Pa. The subjects of the Quarterly Annex are : Sunday Opening of the World's Fair, by Wilbur F. Crafts ; The Use of the Scriptures in Public Worship, by S. D. Faust, and A School Day Reminiscence. The editorials are : A Blunder in Eschatology, Ecclesiastical Rights of Woman, a Modern Iconoclast.

The Universalist Quarterly, April. Contents : The Christianity of Christ, Part II., by Rev. E. L. Houghton ; The Idea of God, by A. B. Curtis, Ph.D.; Theories of Insanity, by William Tucker, D.D. ; A Few Expositions, by Rev. Dwight M. Hodge ; John Henry Newman, Part II., by Rev. Charles Follen Lee ; The Divine Sonship of Jesus Christ, by Edwin Sweetser, D.D.; Brain, by Isaac C. Knowlton, D.D.

The Lutheran Quarterly, April. Contents : The Theology of Zwingli, Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. ; The Abyssinians and their Church, by Professor George H. Schodde, Ph.D., Columbus, O. ; The Final Philosophy, by Rev. Samuel Schwarm, Ph.D., Tiffin, O. ; Reminiscences of Rev. John Ulhorn, read before the German Historical Society of Maryland, by John G. Morris ; Massillon, by Rev. H. H. Hall, A.M., New Lisbon, O. ; A Practical View of the Common Service, by Rev. J. B. Remmensnyder, D.D., N. Y. ; The Lutheran Source of the Common Service, by Edward T. Horn, D.D., Charleston, S. C. ; The Influence of the Church in the Organization of Modern Europe, by Rev. Professor B. F. Prince, A.M., Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. ; Lutheranism in the General Synod, by Professor E. J. Wolf, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.

The Methodist Review (bi-monthly), May–June. Contents : The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians, by Rev. Jesse Bowman Young, D.D., Kansas City, Mo. ; Major-General Clinton B. Fisk, by Rev. A. B. Leonard, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y. ; Life : A Symposium, by R. H. Howard, D.D., Franklin, Mass ; H. H. Moore, D.D., Emlenton, Pa. ; Professor H. Lummis, Appleton, Wis. ; Bristol in Relation to American Methodism, by Rev. W. H. Meredith, D.D., Stoneham, Mass. ; Newfoundland, by Rev. Richard Wheateley, D.D., Cornwall, N. Y. ; The Southern Problem, by Rev. L. M. Hagood, M.D., Louisville, Ky. The Editorial Notes and Discussions take up the Theology of the New Testament, Sociological Christianity a Necessity, and the Ground for Woman's Eligibility. The Arena, Itinerants' Club, and Foreign Resumé discuss special political and Church topics, both at home and abroad.

The Presbyterian Quarterly, April, has these contents : Burney's Soteriology and the Cumberland Theology, by Thomas Cary Johnson ; The Scriptural Idea of the Church, by Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D. ; The Doctrine of Inspiration, by Henry Carrington Alexander, D.D.; The Deluge, by George D. Armstrong, D.D. ; The Christian Endeavor Movement, by William McKibbin, D.D. ; Notes (including one on the inauguration of Dr. Briggs) ; Criticism and Reviews ; Notices of Recent Publications.

The Quarterly Review of the M. E. Church, South, April Contents : Peter Akers, by William Henry Milburn ; Pulpit Pleasantry, by W. A. Black ; A Sketch of President James Madison, from the Unpublished MS. of a Contemporary ; The American Bible Society and its Work, by Thomas H. Law ; William Morley Punshon, by Samuel A. Weber ; The Confessions of Augustine, by George G. Smith ; Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament, by J. M. Wright ; Satan in the School-House, by H. Walter Featherstone ; The Intellectual Drift of the Century, by William Harrison ; The Doctrine of Atonement, by J. G. Burney ; The Equity of Providence, by Joseph B. West ; The Blue Laws of Connecticut, by J. R. G. ; Woman's Worth, by Richard M. Smith ; The Unknown God, by C. R. Lamar ; The Editor's Table.

CONTENTS OF THE MAY MAGAZINES.

Harper's Magazine for May, 1891. Analysis of contents: ("Frontispiece," Naseby Church; illustration for "The Warwickshire Avon" drawn by Alfred Parsons); "The Warwickshire Avon;" first paper, by A. T. Quiller Couch (with thirty-three illustrations from drawings by Alfred Parsons). An account of the picturesque scenery and historical associations connected with 'Shakespeare's Avon;' being the record of a journey from the source of the river in the gardens of Naseby to its junction with the Severn; "In the 'Stranger People's' Country" (a story). Part V., by Charles Egbert Craddock (with two illustrations by W. T. Smedley); "Mortality" (a poem), by W. D. Howells; "Some American Riders;" first paper, by Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge, U.S.A. (with six illustrations from paintings by Frederic Remington). The primitive horseman—The bareback rider—Horsemanship among the Greeks—Types of Indian riders—The bronco—The travaux pony—Indian modes of transportation—The Cheyenne—The Comanche—The Apache; "The Argentine People and their Religious and Educational Institutions," by Bishop J. M. Walden. An interesting and appreciative account of the wonderful transformation which has taken place in the Argentine Republic within the past thirty years; "A Batch of Bread and a Pudding" (a story), by A. B. Ward; "The English Ancestry of Washington," by Moncure D. Conway (with seven illustrations drawn by H. D. Nichols). A paper containing many interesting facts not hitherto published, the result of patient research among parish records, and a pilgrimage through the English Washingtonshire; "Wessex Folk," Part III., by Thomas Hardy (with two illustrations drawn by C. Green); "The Salvation Army," by the Venerable Archdeacon F. W. Farrar, D.D. A history of the origin and progress of this remarkable religious movement, with some account of the peculiar methods of the Salvationists, and an impartial estimate of the results which they have accomplished; "The Republic of Uruguay," by Theodore Child (with a map and sixteen illustrations) drawn by T. de Thulstrup, Harry Fenn, and H. D. Nichols. A pastoral republic—Physical features of Uruguay—Railroads—Scenery—Landholders—Immigration—Montevideo, a city of stucco and bright colors—Public buildings—The cemetery—The parks—Books-stores—Amusements—Society; "Over Johnson's Grave" (a causerie), by Walter Besant. A pleasant talk concerning the famous Doctor and his friends, their ways and their times; "Faint Heart never Won Fair Lady," by Caroline Earl White. A story of Switzerland, and of love and adventure on the Swiss Alps; "Golden Bubbles" (a poem), by Robert Burns Wilson; "Roman London," by Eugene Lawrence (with fourteen illustrations drawn by H. D. Nichols). An account of the Roman remains recently discovered beneath the London pavements, with descriptions of life and manners in Roman Britain as evidenced by these discoveries; "The Joys of Hospitality" (full-page illustration drawn by George du Maurier); Editorial Departments: George William Curtis, in the Editor's Easy Chair, recalls a number of interesting facts concerning old New York, makes some pertinent remarks about spurious Americanism, and closes with a brief and appreciative review of the life and services of General Sherman. William Dean Howells, in the Editor's Study, inquires into the "Possibility of an Exhibition of Poetry," and reviews several late volumes of verse by American authors. Charles Dudley Warner opens the Editor's Drawer with an entertaining essay on the modern conquest of Egypt—by fashion—and the department is, as usual, rich in joke and merry anecdote; Monthly Record of Current Events.

The Century for May has these contents: "Portrait of Emperor Nicholas I." (engraved by G. Kruell; frontispiece); "Game Fishes of the Florida Reef," by C. F. Holder (pictures by Victor Perard); "Illusions," by Robert Underwood Johnson; "Salons of the Empire and Restoration," by Amelia Gere Mason (with nine portraits); decorations by A. Brennan; "The Squirrel Inn," I., by Frank R. Stockton (pictures by A. B. Frost); "Poetry," by O. C. Auringer; "Visible Sound," by Margaret Watts Hughes: I. Voice-Figures (pictures from photographs taken by the author); II. Comment, by Sophie B. Herrick (four diagrams); "Of One We Love or Hate," by Maurice Francis Egan; "The Faith Doctor" (begun in February), by Edward Eggleston; "Ballad of an Old Pine," by John H. Boner; "Louisa May Alcott," by Josephine Lazarus (with three portraits); "A Bulgarian Opera Bouffe," by F. Hopkinson Smith (pictures by the author; portraits from photographs by Karastoyanov, Sofia); "In Disguise," by Frances Louise Bushnell; "At the Court of the Czar" (in two parts), Part I., by George Mifflin Dallas (decorations by George Wharton Edwards); "A Heady Maid," by Louise Morgan Sill; "Exhibition of Artists' Scraps and Sketches," by William Lewis Fraser (with thirty pictures by the exhibitors); "Old Gus Lawson," by Richard Malcolm Johnston (picture by E. W. Kemble); "The Confederate Diplomats and their Shirt of Nessus, a chapter of Secret History," by John Bigelow; "Pioneer Mining in California," by E. G. Waite (pictures by Harry Fenn, A. Castaigne and others, with suggestions from paintings by Nahl, and from *Punch*); "In Beaver Cove," by Matt Crim; Topics of the Time: "International Copyright Accomplished;" "Lobby Evils and Remedies;" "The National Conference of Charities and Corrections;" "An American Cheap Money Experiment;" Open Letters: "Certain Criticisms of Certain Tales," by James Lane Allen; "The Negro in Nashville," by C. F. Smith; "Homœopathy and 'Expectant Treatment,'" by C. H. Oakes; "Does Vivisection Help?" by Thomas W. Kay, Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D.; Bric-àBrac: "Observations," "Friend and Lover," by M. A. De Vere; "To a Thermometer," by W. D. Ellwanger; "Ashes," by J. C. Miller; "The Latest Indian Outrage," drawn by E. W. Kemble; "When Youth Mounts," by E. Singleton; "Love's Young Dream," by G. D. Litchfield; "Fame," by C. H. Crandall; "The Survival of the Fittest;" by V. F. Boyle.

Lippincott's Magazine for May has these contents: "Vampires," by Julien Gordon; "The Experiences of a Photographer," by A. Bogardus; "Lost Treasures of Literature," by William Shepard; "Poems," by Charles Henry Lüders; "That Hound o' Joel Trout's," by M. G. McClelland; "Absence," by Owen Wister; "Some Familiar Letters by Horace Greeley," III., edited by Joel Benton; "A Successful Woman," by M. E. W. Sherwood; "A Blossom from The Hague," by William E. S. Fales; "Polly," by Patience Stapleton: "Aims of University Extension," by Sydney T. Skidmore; "By the Sea," by Clinton Scollard; "What Country Girls Can Do," by Grace H. Dodge; "Latent Force," by John Worrell Keely; "The Personality of the Prince of Wales," by Frank A. Burr; "The Moujik," by Julien Gordon; "Some Letters to Julien Gordon;" "John Dickinson," by Anne H. Wharton; "Literary Dynamics," by Francis Howard Williams; "Maidens Choosing," by Frederic M. Bird; "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

The Atlantic Monthly for May, 1891, has these contents: "The Brazen Android" (in two parts). Part II., by William Douglas O'Connor; "A Voyage on the Grand Canal of China, Leaves from an Unpublished Journal," by Richard Henry Dana; "A Native of Winby," by Sarah Orne Jewett; "Capture of Louisbourg by the New England Militia," III. by Francis Parkman; "The Ethics of Horse-Keeping," by H. C. Merwin; "The Last Bowstrings," by Edward Lucas White; "Jeremy Belknap," by George Edward Ellis; "The House of Martha," XXIX.-XXXII., by Frank R. Stockton; "Modern Teaching of Arithmetic," by Truman Henry Safford; "The Ideal," by Florence Earle Coates; "Goethe's Key to Faust;" second paper: The Tragedy of the First Part, by William P. Andrews; "Mrs. Kemble's Letters," "A System of Political Science and Constitutional Law," "Gildersleeve's Essays and Studies," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

Littell's Living Age. The numbers of *The Living Age* for the weeks ending April 11th and 18th contain: "Sedgwick's Life and Letters," *Quarterly;* "A Visit to the Grande Chartreuse," *Nineteenth Century;* "Sir Herbert Edwardes at Peshawur," and "The Contrasts of English and French Literature," *Macmillan's;* "Some Birds in India," *Longman's;* "The Seal Islands of Bering Sea," *Murray's;* "'Eothen' Kinglake, and Horace Walpole's Twin Wives," *Temple Bar;* "Cost of a London Fog," *Leisure Hour;* "Epitaphs, and Biblical Drama in South Staffordshire," *Cornhill;* "Unclaimed Stocks, Dividends, and Bank Deposits," *Chambers's;* "Our Village Book Club," *Speaker;* with instalments of "The Flight of the Shadow," "Eight Days," and "Madeleine's Story," and poetry. The yearly subscription price is $8.00. Littell & Co., Boston, are the publishers.

The Missionary Review for May has these contents: I. Literature of Missions: "Evangelizing the World, etc." by Arthur T. Pierson; "A Voice from the Field," by Rev. Dr. McGilvary; "Modern Missionary Marvels," by L. P. Brockett, M.D.; "Protestant Missions before Carey," by Rev. D. L. Leonard; "One Thousand More Missionaries for China," by Rev. A. P. Happer, D.D.; "Student Volunteers' Convention," by Max W. Moorhead; "Extracts, etc., from Foreign Periodicals," by Rev. C. C. Starbuck; II. International Department; III. Editorial Notes on Current Topics; IV. Monthly Concert; V. General Missionary Intelligence.

The Cosmopolitan for May has these contents: Frontispiece, "Spring;" "Cleopatras of the Stage" (illustrated), by C. E. L. Wingate; "The Silver Camp of Colorado" (illustrated), by Theodore F. Van Wagenen; "The Coup de Grace" (illustrated), a story by Archibald Forbes; "The Comte de Paris" (illustrated), by James Grant Wilson; "The New Philadelphia" (illustrated), by Henry C. Walsh; "Spring Song" (poem), by Frank Dempster Sherman; "Kennels and Kennel Clubs" (illustrated), by H. M. Bangs; "New York as a Musical Centre" (illustrated), by W. J. Henderson; "The Elixir of Pain" (story), by H. H. Boyesen; "The Flight of Joy" (poem, illustrated), by John Vance Cheney; "Dr. Koch and his Lymph" (illustrated), by Julius Weiss; "Corporal Billee" (illustrated) a story, by Albion W. Tourgée; "Our Boarding-House in Salamanca," by Herbert Pierson; "Current Events," by Murat Halstead; "Social Problems," by E. E. Hale; "On Certain Recent Books about the Theatre," by Brander Matthews.

THE
MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. JUNE, 1891. No. 3.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THEODORE PARKER'S EARLY SERMONS.

BY REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, EDITOR OF THE "CHRISTIAN REGISTER," BOSTON, MASS.

WHATEVER view we may take of Theodore Parker's theology, his eminence as a preacher is beyond question. One of the elements of a great preacher is the power to get and hold the ear of the community, or of the age in which he lives. Parker neither in his presentations of theology nor in his advocacy of reforms was on the popular side. His views were deemed so dangerous that at first no publisher would consent to put his name on Parker's pamphlets, and yet, either through the force of his ideas or through the force of his personality, he compelled a hearing. He may not hold the ear of posterity, for every generation has new voices that compel attention, but he did get the ear of his time.

When a man succeeds in doing this, the question often arises, What is the secret of his power ? Sometimes this is very apparent. It lies in the arts of rhetoric, in the grace of elocution, in fascination of manner, in artistic power of depiction. Dickens could have written interestingly about a three-legged stool. Chrysostom, if he had taken the same text, would have shown its relation to the Delphic tripod, and then preached a glowing sermon on the divine oracles. Sometimes, on the other hand, the secret of oratorical or sermonic power is strangely elusive. It resides in some mysterious element of personality which we can feel but cannot easily define. The speaker magnetizes his audience, not by the force of his ideas or the force of his words, but by the personality which projects them. It is not the nature of the message, but the shock of the battery which we feel. The message might be changed ; but if we were brought within the circuit of influence, we should feel the electricity just the same. This accounts for the great disparity which often exists between a man's spoken and written word. When we read in print the words of some of the great preachers of the present and the past, we fail to get any idea of their power. The thought is commonplace ; it does not set us thinking. Exhortation is there ; it does not move us. On the other hand, there are preachers who can throw themselves in a remarkable manner into their writings. They can magnetize type as easily as they can an audience. You feel the force of their ideas, the glow of their emotions, the play of their wit, the melting tenderness of their pathos in the printed page. They set us thinking ; they stir our pulses. The man did not throw off the message then as a Morse telegraph may tick one off on a piece of paper, but somehow he threw himself into the message as the power of a dynamo is thrown into the living light of an electric inscription. Phillips Brooks is such a man. I find it impossible to take up a volume of his printed sermons without feeling the man in them. Beecher, whom I regard as the greatest preacher which this country and perhaps this century has produced, had the same power of throwing himself into his message, so that, after it had gone through the brain and fingers of a shorthand reporter, and then through the brain and fingers of a compositor, and stood out in black letters on the printed page, it was still living and burning thought. His delivery of course was remarkably magnetic ; and to read one of his sermons was a different thing from having Beecher behind it. Nevertheless, his poorest sermons were those which least bore the test of printing. They needed his magnetic delivery to bolster them up. Channing is an example of another preacher who, however great his influence in the pulpit, is undoubtedly exercising a wider influence by his pen than he did by his voice. His writings have been read more since he died than when he was alive. Like Channing, Beecher, and Brooks, though differing greatly from them all by the power of an intense and strongly marked individuality, Theodore Parker had the same genius for throwing himself into his message. His delivery added, as every true preacher's must, to the power of his message, but his effective force did not depend upon his elocution or graces of delivery. His sermon was carefully written before it was brought into the pulpit, and in writing it he had drawn not merely from inkstand and dictionary, but from the best powers of his mind and heart. His work as a preacher was not slighted. His capacity for labor was immense. His sermons were not made from dregs of time and effort; they were the best product of his life.

It was said of Increase Mather, by his admiring parishioners, that he seldom preached a sermon but was worthy of the press. After Parker came into public notice and influence in Boston, the demand for the publication of his sermons was so frequent that we might suspect that his warmest admirers held his discourses in similar esteem. He preached then much on the topics of the time; and many of his most direct and forcible sermons in the influential period of his life were printed at once by his followers. The English edition of Theodore Parker's works, in fourteen volumes, published by Trübner & Co. and edited by Frances Power Cobbe, contains the cream of all that Parker wrote in the most active period of his life—his discourses on "Religion," on "Slavery," "Politics," "Social Science," his "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays," his "Historic Americans," "Prayers," and much miscellaneous matter. In the Boston Public Library there is a large collection of pamphlets, duplicating some of the subjects in these volumes, giving many discussions and discourses of the hour.

The period in Parker's life which has not been covered in his publications, and which was therefore known only by those who came into personal relations with him as parishioners, is the early period of his ministry at West Roxbury. It is the object of this article to throw a little light upon Parker's character and development by the study of some of his earliest and hitherto unpublished sermons.

It is very natural that the earliest period of a public man's life should be the last to receive attention. It is not until he has made his way into fame that people begin to ask how he got there, and to study the trail he followed. His early works are then most valuable as links in the chain of his development; and it is seldom that they add to his reputation. On the contrary, the reputation of more than one great man has been somewhat weakened by publishing after his death the sweepings of his study or the immature productions of his youth. It is true of Parker, as of Channing, that he needs to be studied with reference to his chronological development. His public reputation, foreshadowed by his South Boston sermon in 1841, really began when he came to Boston, February 16th, 1845, to preach at the Melodeon in the forenoon, though still retaining his connection with the West Roxbury parish, and preaching there in the afternoon. The Theodore Parker that we know of is the Theodore Parker of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. Yet before Parker began to preach in Boston, he had preached 362 sermons to his West Roxbury congregation. Counting his exchanges, he had preached 766 times. He was then thirty-five years of age, and had been pastor of the West Roxbury church for eight years. Of these 362 sermons, the discourse on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," and the five discourses on "Matters Pertaining to Religion," given in the autumn of 1841, were printed, the first one in pamphlet form; the others were ably and fully reported in the New York *Tribune,* and published in a volume the next spring.

More than a year ago the whole collection of Parker's sermons in manuscript was kindly placed at my service by his literary executor, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn. They are 925 in number, and have been carefully bound up. An interesting guide-book to this vast mass of manuscript is Parker's own index, kept in a square blank book, in his own hand, in a very systematic way. It is entitled "Preachings." In one column he gives consecutively the number of preachings; in another column the number of the sermon, followed by the record of place, time, subject, and text. In the latter half of the book there is another list of sermons, with number, subject, text, and occasionally comments on his sermons. This book furnishes sometimes an indication of Parker's own relative estimate of his unpublished discourses. Another guide in studying them has been one which every minister will appreciate. I have picked out those which he preached most on exchange. When we find a sermon preached ten or a dozen or, as with one of Parker's sermons, twenty-five times, it is a sufficient indication that the sermon was a favorite one with the preacher and his audiences.

What shall we say, then, of these earlier sermons of Parker, covering as they do in number more than one fourth of his manuscripts? He himself has left us his own testimony as to the general fruitfulness and interest of this early period when he was spreading his wings and learning to fly. A minister's early work will be influenced somewhat by the conditions under which it is produced. On leaving the Divinity School to which, against the advice of many friends, he had been drawn by irresistible attraction, Parker preached in various places, particularly Salem and Northfield, until called to West Roxbury. He wrote about forty sermons before his settlement. Of these early sermons he says, in his "Experience as a Minister:"

> "Of course my first sermons were only imitations; and even if the thought might perhaps be original, the form was old, the stereotype of the pulpit. I preached with fear and trembling, and wondered that old and mature persons, rich in the experience of life, should listen to a young man who might indeed have read and thought, but yet had had no time to live much and know things by heart. I took all possible pains with the matter of the discourse, and always appealed to the religious instinct in mankind. At the beginning I resolved to preach the natural laws of man as they are writ in his constitution, no less and no more. After preaching a few months in various places, and feeling my way into the consciousness of man, I determined to preach nothing as religion which I had not experienced inwardly and made my own, knowing it by heart. Thus not only the intellectual, but also the religious part of my sermons would rest on facts that I was sure of, and not on the word of another."

Of these forty sermons preached before settlement, seven were Divinity School exercises, and written on the following topics: "Idolatry," "Excuses of the Irreligious," "The Way of Salvation," "Disinterested Virtue," "Retribution," "Necessity of an Honest Life," "Religion a Principle and Sentiment." These Divinity School discourses are what we might expect of a young theological student. Parker properly characterized them as imitation sermons. There was no lack of earnestness and sincerity, but their form was conventional; they were not wrought out of his own life. In his first sermon on "Idolatry," his text was, "Thou shalt have no other God before Me." It was not a mere essay. The young student did not treat his theme historically; he did not throw into it the result of all his studies. With the true instinct of the preacher, which characterized him in his most powerful sermons against slavery, intemperance, and political and social evils, the idolatry which the student attacked was that of his own time. His points were:

"1. We are idolaters when we serve our appetites exclusively.

"2. When we give way to our love of ease and shun to discharge the duties that devolve upon us.

"3. When we are ambitious or desirous of personal distinction.

"4. In the exclusive pursuit of knowledge for itself."

These are the forms of idolatry which furnished the skeleton of the sermon. Though conventional in phraseology, there was less immaturity than marks the first sermon of many young theologues. The faults in his sermon are evident. It is only metaphorically, and by far-fetched metaphor at that, that indolence can be called idolatry. Parker was doing what preachers have often done, using the odium ascribed to one form of sin to make darker the evils of another sin of a different kind. Enough may be said about the vice of indolence without bringing it under the classification of idolatry, which is a use of metaphor that confuses distinctions instead of making them clear. Nevertheless, whatever the faults of structure in this sermon, the preacher himself could hardly be accused of the forms of idolatry he rebuked with such earnestness and sincerity.

Here are a few specimens of his style. He is speaking under the third head; that we are idolaters when we are ambitious or desirous of personal distinction:

> "Desire of *excellence* is certainly truly commendable; but desire of excelling is a different thing. The one is absolute, and will lead us to the same result in all time and place; the other is fluctuating and uncertain. It leads us to adopt a false standard of life and virtue, and to accommodate our actions to the principles of those around us. It places us loosely drifting on the surface of public opinion. If that rises we ascend, but if that sinks we fall with it. It leads us to compare our actions with an outward and foreign standard instead of the true rule within our hearts. . . .
>
> "Desire of *excellence*, on the contrary, though in its external manifestations it may bear a resemblance to that motive just named, is yet as far removed from it as heaven is from hell, as virtue is from vice. This will prompt us to look, not around us merely, but within; not to spy out with insidious eye our brother's treasures, but to increase our own with a pure desire of improving our character, of benefiting mankind by our exertion, and of serving the Lord in all things more acceptably, so that we may be at last enabled to render a good account of our stewardship, and receive the smile of our Maker as a reward. He who desires to excel is selfish, and serves not God, but his own idol; while he who seeks after *excellence* considers wisdom the principal thing, and strives for the approbation of his own quiet conscience and the favor of his God. For such there is a crown of glory laid up in the heavens, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give him, eternal, unchangeable, and which fadeth not away."

> "Desire of man's applause leads to idolatry. He who attempts to win the admiration of man, and proposes this as his end, must employ a thousand deceitful arts that poison and corrupt the fountain of spiritual life within. He must often forego the promptings of his better nature and stifle the voice of conscience, the warning cry of the angel God has appointed to watch over and keep us."

Parker was not yet preaching from his experience, but he was preaching from his ideals. Few men ever lived up to them more fully. He was not animated by envy, he did not consult the dictates of ease; he followed the voice of his own conscience rather than the applause of popularity.

A reference to the titles and heads of a few of the forty sermons he wrote before his settlement will show how uncontroversial was the character of his discourses. No. 6, preached in 1836, was on "The Necessity and Use of a Heavenly Life," in which he showed that we are to seek the kingdom of heaven because it is the will of God; that we are to seek it through faith, obedience, and love; and that, as a consequence of seeking this kingdom of God, "our duties will become pleasures; sorrows and afflictions will lose their pain, and we shall find in our hearts that peace which the world cannot give nor take away."

No. 7 was on "Religion as a Principle and a Sentiment, and the Union of Both."

> "The basis of all true religion is love to God, as the foundation of all benevolence is love to man. It is not sufficient to recognize the existence of the Infinite Being, or merely to fear him; but religion, the free and perfect action of the religious sentiment, is to bring the soul to God, to make our actions, words, thoughts, and feelings conform to what is known of his will. . . . True religion is beautiful and lovely. . . . . Such is the religion of Christ. It brings the whole heart into communion with God. It ennobles enjoyment, sanctifies denial, and gives a new blessedness to everything we engage in."

No. 8 was from the text, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice," and showed that God reigns everywhere in the works of nature; that the records of history and lastly the history and conditions of individual men confirm the truth.

No. 9 was on the text, "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made ye free from the law of sin and death" (Romans viii. 2). The plan was:

> "1. There is a law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.
>
> "2. What does the law of the spirit of life enjoin upon us? What statutes has it decreed that we must keep in order to grow up and attain the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus? The first precept of the law of the spirit of life is, '*Thou shalt obey the dictates of thy conscience.*' The grand question to be asked in all actions, thoughts, feelings, is, Is it right? Are the actions just, the thoughts true, the feelings pure and holy? Another precept of the law is, use reason to enlighten conscience, and use feeling to excite conscience.
>
> "3. The consequence of keeping these precepts of the law of the spirit of life is the advancement of man to his highest religious perfection, and consequently to true blessedness both in this life and in the life to come. The occasion of this law of our religious natures is found in the aspirations of our souls to a better state, our striving after virtue and immortality and heaven. The nobleness of Christ's character consisted in his obedience to these laws of the spiritual life."

No. 15 was a sermon on the extent of moral obligation, in which he showed that the command of God embraces our actions, our thoughts, and our feelings.

Other sermons of this earlier period were "The Privilege of Prayer," "The Weakness of Man without Moral Integrity," "The Objects of the Creation of Man" (that he might go on unto perfection, and might unfold his noblest faculties and at the same time receive happiness from the exercise), "The Omnipresence of God."

Two sermons of especial interest, in view of Parker's later views on Christology, are No. 17, "The Greatness of Christ's Character," and No. 21, "The Office of Jesus Christ." In the first of these sermons he distinguishes between various types of greatness in showing that it consists in moral and religious elements. The greatness of Jesus, he thinks, consisted in his acting according to the laws of the spirit of life exemplified in love to man, in strict obedience to principle, in his self-denial, obedience to conscience, and an unfailing trust in God. The other sermon, on "The Office of Jesus Christ," was preached at Salem on Christmas Day, 1836. In his introduction he says, "No subject can be more suitable to the present occasion than that of the office of Christ. If this were fully understood; if the truths he taught were truly comprehended and rightly felt, they would impress the heart with a burning consciousness, and make the anniversary of his birth the most glorious record on the scroll of time." The two questions he asked were, "Why did Christ come into the world, and how did he accomplish his mission?" In answer to the first, he said:

> "We believe that he was a Teacher sent by God, and possessed of a degree of inspiration which fell to none before him, and which has been accorded to none since. He came to teach a new doctrine, to confirm and sanctify the most encouraging truths, to point out to man his nature, his duty, and his reward. Perhaps he revealed no new truths, nor disclosed anything which men unassisted

> could not have discovered. But he confirmed truths which men doubted, and made those lofty doctrines of the purest and most wise the common property of all mankind. He came to set forth the most exalted ideas of God, to paint him as a Father whose almighty power was directed by Omniscient love. . . . He shows that God cares for all men; that even the unthankful and the unmerciful are gladdened by his sun and refreshed by his rain; that he is a Being whose very existence and every action is perfect love. . . . Again, he taught the nature of man, and revealed human nature to itself. . . . He showed of what man is capable, what deep aspirations dwell within his soul. . . . He appealed to the deep principles in the heart.
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> "It was thus that he was the minister of reconciliation, and showed to man a new Comforter, and gave his peace to all his disciples. . . . It is this peace alone which can afford rest for all our souls; this is the kingdom of heaven, which cometh not with observation, but is within us. It is by this direction of the soul to its Almighty Maker and Preserver that man's desires are satisfied, that in the multiplicity of want he finds the unity of content, that the oneness of his soul is restored; and man is again united to God until they become one, as Christ and his Father, who is our Father, were one. . . . Jesus also teaches the doctrine that man is an immortal soul.
>
> "Christ accomplished his mission not only by addressing these principles in others and teaching truth by precept, but he has shown us his life, which is the manifestation of his principles. His whole life from end to end was not less a revelation than his doctrines. His life embodies his doctrines, and represents the spirit of God, which made him and his Father one. His life displays the very heart of love."

There was little in these sermons on Jesus that Parker had to change in later years. He was a Unitarian to start with, and never ceased to be one; but though his Unitarianism is easily apparent in these early sermons, it was not controversial. He had not entered into the storm and stress which came upon him six years later. The spirit in which he did his work at West Roxbury on his settlement in 1837 is set forth in his own recital of his experiences as a minister:

> "On the longest day of 1837 I was ordained minister of the Unitarian Church and congregation at West Roxbury, a little village near Boston—one of the smallest societies in New England, where I found men and women whose friendship is still dear and instructive. . . . For the first year or two the congregation did not exceed seventy persons, including the children. I soon became well acquainted with all in the little parish, where I found some men of rare enlightenment, some truly generous and noble souls. I knew the characters of all, and the thoughts of such as had them. I took great pains with the composition of my sermons; they were never out of my mind. I had an intense delight in writing and preaching; but I was a learner quite as much as a teacher, and was feeling my way forward and upward with one hand, while I tried to lead men with the other. I preached natural laws, nothing on the authority of any Church, any tradition, any sect, though I sought illustration and confirmation from all these sources. For historical things I told the historical evidence; for spiritual things I found ready proof in the primal instincts of the soul, and confirmation in the life of religious men. The simple life of the farmers, mechanics, and milkmen about me, of its own accord, turned into a sort of poetry, and reappeared in the sermons, as the green woods, not far off, looked in at the windows of the meeting-house. I think I preached only what I had experienced in my own inward consciousness, which widened and grew richer as I came into practical contact with living men, turned time into life, and mere thought became character.
>
> "But I had much leisure for my private humanitarian and philosophic studies. One of the professors in the Theological School had advised against my settling 'in so small a place,' and warned me against 'the seductions of an easy-chair,' telling me I must become a 'minister at large for all mankind,' and do with the pen what I could not with the voice. I devoted my spare time to hard study. To work ten or fifteen hours a day in my literary labors was not only a habit, but a pleasure; with zeal and delight I applied myself anew to the great theological problems of the age."

It was said by some of Parker's parishioners in West Roxbury, who afterward heard him in Boston, that some of his most beautiful discourses were those preached in the little country church which he loved so well. He dealt not only with the great problems of the universe, but with the problems of daily life. The topics of his first year's discourses after his settlement at West Roxbury were nearly all practical themes, such as "The Use of Crosses," "Spirituality of Man," "Throwing Thyself," "The Duty of Veracity," "Self-Renewal," "Tranquillity," "Labor," "Happy Home," "A Penny a Day," "Self-Command," "Resignation," "Independence," "Education," etc. There was one sermon on the "Fall of Man," more or less polemical; and he also wrote, in that year, two sermons on "Contradictions in Scripture;" but he tells us, in his record book, "These two were not preached till fifty-five other sermons were written." In this instance at least he was not hasty in presenting new theories or in attacking old ones.

In reading over and preparing for the press a volume of Parker's unpublished sermons, I have purposely omitted those in his early years which treated of doctrinal subjects, covered more fully and with greater maturity in later life. If we wish to study a man's doctrinal system, it is best to take it when it is most developed. We must wait until the mind has attained its best culture, and until the intellect has had time to digest its accumulations. With feeling and sentiment it is different. These are often warmest, most buoyant, and influential in one's early ministry. Parker's feelings never could be extinguished; they surged up all through his life in his most powerful sermons against every form of injustice and wrong; but it is interesting to see them in their early exuberance. The historic Theodore Parker, distinguished as a leader in social, moral, and theological reform, is a controversialist. When summoned by what he interpreted as the voice of duty, he entered the conflict with great power. He was led by the intensity of his feeling to say sharp and bitter things, which served to alienate some of his Unitarian brethren who might not have been alienated by his doctrines. His sermons became far less conventional; they were more intellectual, more scholastic, adorned with the pictures woven by a glowing imagination. We miss the tranquillity of the studious happy life in the country parsonage, surrounded by genial and loving parishioners, to whom he tenderly and faithfully ministered. Very significant and pathetic is his entry in the index of his sermons, after No. 413, in 1846. "Here sorrowfully I end my connection with the parish in West Roxbury. Alas! me."

If there were space, it would be interesting to quote from some of the richer of Parker's discourses. The spirit of his ministry there is well expressed in the title of one of the best of his sermons (No. 208), preached in 1840, on "The Application of Religion to Life." This was the key-note of his ministry; but in a still earlier sermon on "Spiritual Indifference," I find a passage which shows well Parker's mental attitude toward all forms of sectarianism:

> "Every sect doubtless has its errors, but each has its truths likewise. Some error seems necessary to man, but some truth is no less indispensable. No sect can stand a moment upon error alone. God grant that the time may soon come when some new manifestation of Christianity may take place that shall cast into the shade all present sects, all former developments of religious sentiment, and stir men's hearts as they have never yet been moved; teach them wisdom which is pure and peaceable, give that peace and tranquillity and true blessedness which transcends all other bliss."

It is comparatively easy even from Parker's earlier sermons to conclude that the source of his strength lay in his moral and intellectual power. A few days ago a gentleman of wide repute as a thinker, writer, and preacher, and also a friend of and sympathizer with Theodore Parker, dropped into my study. When asked as to Parker's characteristics as a preacher, his interest at once kindled. "There was nothing," he said, "especially interesting, either in his manner or his person. In person he was plain—his face rather homely, though his eyes were remarkably steady and clear, very blue, and penetrating. But he covered them with glasses, so that the audience lost something of their eloquence. The force of the man lay in his intensity of conviction, which informed him so completely that he magnetized his hearers. His power was purely moral, not physical. His voice was full and harsh; there was no music or play to it, no cadence; but the stream of his feeling had an enormous power; it fairly transfigured the preacher, and carried the people away. The single-mindedness of the man and the directness of his purpose interested people, the old and the young alike. I have known young men who did not feel any special interest in religious things, and who never went to church, yet fall completely under the spell of Parker. When he was off his high moral plane he was a little bit stagey, but when he came before the public he forgot everything of that kind, and was carried away by his torrent of feeling. He was a singularly devout man. I was in his study one day, and he spoke of a man who had been to see him who had no faith in prayer. 'Well,' said Parker, 'I have seen a good many people like him, and I always want to ask them to kneel down with me and pray.' The level of his prayers was sober and rather commonplace; but they carried the people away just as his sermons did, by their intensity of emotion. His prayers indeed were of the same kind as his sermons, and were informed by the same spirit. The prayer was a little piece of the sermon, as it were, turned in the direction of the Infinite. He was full of wit; he could not hold it in; it was constantly bubbling up, and he would put things sometimes in a very funny way, always subordinating them to the general purpose. Then the humanity of the man was extraordinary. All sorts of people came to him, and he poured himself out and gave them inspiration. He was a kind of father confessor. His tenderness and interest extended to the lower animals. That is a well-authenticated story about the dog that came in Music Hall one Sunday when he was praying, and barked. The interruption did not seem to annoy him, but he wove it impressively into his prayer, and said: 'We thank Thee, O Father, for the beasts that call upon Thee.' There was a curious mingling of the human and the superhuman in the man."

WIT IN THE PULPIT.*

BY REV. H. R. HAWEIS.

From *The Contemporary Review*, London, May, 1891.

Nothing can supersede the power of the living voice in the pulpit.

All this talk about books, newspapers, magazines, and education generally, taking the place of sermons, is idle. The face-to-face element is indispensable, the magnetic control of personality is never out of date. Remember, it was the "*Word* made *flesh*" that prevailed.

Preaching is only one form of the survival of the fittest. If it could have been killed, it would have been killed by the thousands of imbecile sermons preached throughout Christendom every Sunday. Think of what this divinely appointed ordinance has all the year round to contend with in England alone. The newly fledged B.A. who, with the graceful assurance of youth, explains to you the origin of evil in half an hour; the blind guide who so jauntily refutes his shallow infidel and slays his man of straw; the chartered inquisitor who conducts the incorrigible sinner with such gusto to his irrevocable doom; the beardless Oxonian in colored stole, with his hair parted in the middle and a slight but mortified stoop, who asks you to believe in himself and be saved; the ignorant Boanerges, the inaudible stammerer, the tedious Bible thumber, the idiot who could not get sixpence a day in any other profession, the dull and unsympathetic scholar or the fool of the family—what a depressing picture gallery! Yet every one of these will have his following; when the appetite is real, anything it seems will do to stay the craving; and Livingstone's men in the wilds of Africa fell not more ravenously on a stray root or a dry bone than do poor famished souls on the mouldy hay of dogma and the bran mash of empty verbiage which is commonly meted out to them in church and chapel. Nothing is clearer than this: the pulpit is as much a social and religious necessity as it ever was. Its functions may vary; its sphere may be extended or restricted; but its dominion is unshaken. No doubt at one time the pulpit largely supplied the place of the School Board and the news sheet in addition to the functions of the actor, as even now in Italy, or the duties of the police, as at present in Ireland. At the time of the Reformation the Bible represented popular literature and the pulpit popular instruction. But neither Bible nor pulpit is necessarily superseded, because each may now, owing to the growth of literature and the spread of education, resume its peculiar sphere, the one as instructor in righteousness, the other as the herald of salvation.

Never was there a greater appetite for pulpit teaching than there is at the present moment. What are the facts? In spite of our defective system of training in the Church of England, yet here and there a preacher occasionally emerges; whenever he appears, he is sure to attract crowds. Think of Liddon at St. Paul's, Archdeacon Farrar at St. Margaret's or Westminster Abbey, Knox Little, Basil Wilberforce, Archbishop Magee, the greatest orator on a bench of bishops which can boast of the eloquence of Moorhouse, Bishop of Manchester, Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, and Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough. It is no doubt curiously true that the High Church party at first underrated preaching, but this was only because they had no good preachers to boast of.

Newman was not so much a preacher as a personality; those who had the key to him like Mr. Gladstone, found the spell of his utterance unearthly and irresistible; but he taught for years at Birmingham in comparative obscurity.

Pusey had a sort of fascination for me when I was a boy on account of a certain far-off rhapsody of manner; but many found him monotonous and dull.

Henry Gresley was listened to attentively at St. Paul's, Brighton, in those days, simply because all the others were so very poor.

Keble the poet never attracted as a preacher, but as soon as the High Church got Luke Rivington, Body, Liddon, they changed their tone, and organized interminable preaching functions for their favorite orators, and High Church depreciation of the pulpit at once ceased.

In Germany the pulpit has always kept itself in touch with the people, not by its advanced doctrinal character so much as by its attention to local color, and its interest in politics and social movements in season and out of season.

Within the last few years the vitality of preaching in Italy has been evidenced by the extraordinary and romantic career of Father Agostino da Montefeltro. While in Paris, all through the Third Empire, the voices of Lacordaire, Ravignan, Félix, Hyacynthe, and at the present moment Le Père Monsabre, have attracted enormous crowds of men to the Conferences at Nôtre Dame, significantly enough at the very moment when Père Didon's "Life of Christ" is rivalling the popularity of Daudet's satires and Zola's offensive realisms.

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* Among books consulted I may mention Dean Ramsay's "Pulpit Table-Talk," Prebendary Jackson's "Curiosities of the Pulpit," Canon (T. O. W.) Haweis' "Sketches of the Reformation," "Percy Anecdotes," vol. xvi. (Integrity), &c.

In London, Mr. Spurgeon continues the phenomenal feat, now performed for upward of thirty years, of attracting a congregation of six thousand people twice every Sunday.

In New York, the interest attached to pulpit utterances compels the Monday newspapers to insert long notices of the best sermons preached Sunday by Sunday.

In the face of such facts, what becomes of the parrot cry raised by some lively essayists that the pulpit has lost its hold over the people? I think I might paraphrase the common question and answer: "Is life worth living?" "That depends upon the liver," with "Is the pulpit worth keeping?" "That depends upon the preacher."

Now two facts stare us in the face. The first is, that there is an innate appetite in all religious communities for sermons; the second is, that there is a great dearth of wholesome and stimulating sermon food; and that while there is an abundant supply as to quantity, in many cases the hungry sheep look up and are not fed on account of the quality.

Why are there so few good preachers?

There are various reasons. Want of conviction, want of training, want of freedom; but the greatest of these is want of freedom. Without conviction, no one has any business to preach at all; without capacity, he may honestly try to preach, but he is sure to fail; without training, he is heavily handicapped (and how little training of any kind does the English Church provide for her clergy!). But freedom and spontaneity in the pulpit is what we most miss. Here is a man who will be sweet and kind to our children, chat sensibly with our wives, and discuss with us the questions of the day with acumen and good sense; an excellent man of business, too, and a scholar withal; reads books, perhaps has a specialty in science or art; but when he gets up into the pulpit he pitches his voice on one high note, and with the ceremonial nasal twang, familiar to us, begins his rapid and lifeless utterance;—"Our holy mother the Church this day commands us to crown our heads with sacred chaplets in honor of the blessed St. James—it has been taught by the holy father, St. Augustine, etc.;" or, if he be a Low Churchman, he ascends the pulpit, and after giving out his text begins to tell you everything it cannot possibly mean; then quotes other texts like it to prove that it can only mean just what every one knew it meant before he began; or, if the text is a hard one, he labors to show that it would be presumptuous for us to expect to understand it at all; and then follow the usual platitudes about the virtue of believing what sounds improbable or seems impossible.

Talk of this kind we know, and he knows very well, is not expected nor would it be tolerated by any one out of church; the clergyman himself does not attempt to palm off upon his parishioners the kind of nonsense which he thinks good enough for the pulpit when he goes his daily rounds. Hodge's atmosphere is too much for him, and he would feel discredited by twaddling about the Athanasian Creed on his own hearthrug to the local doctor, as he is not ashamed to do in the pulpit.

Yes, the great defect of current preaching, especially in the country, is want of life and freedom. Men must leave off saying things they don't believe to people who don't believe them. They must not delude themselves with the notion that others can be interested by what has no interest, perhaps even no meaning, for them, or made alive by what in their mouths is not living doctrine, but mere dead dogma.

The worst of it is, that as time goes on a school of pulpit dulness is formed throughout the land. People expect the sermons to be dull; some even go to hear sermons in order to go to sleep. They resent anything unusual; they are sensitive only to what makes a demand on their attention, or has a tendency to excite thought. Thought is an unwelcome intruder. The deep slumber of a decided opinion must not be disturbed. This terrible respectability, which puts on the cloak of reverence and decorum, is truly appalling to a spiritually awakened mind. The forlorn words of the prophet ring in our ears: "The people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?" The end, thank God, never comes. A shaking of the dry bones comes instead, and this brings me to the main point of my article.

Every great religious revival has been marked by an outburst, sometimes a very startling outburst, of pulpit freedom and spontaneity, not only great plainness of speech, but, as in our Lord's case, great fertility of resource; anecdote, satire, local allusions, and personal applications have abounded. Indeed, every department of life was laid under contribution in turn by Christ, the Divine Teacher. The least possible use was made by Him of what had been up to that time the whole subject-matter of sermons—the texts and Bible-lore of the period—viz., Moses and the prophets. When alluded to it was for the sake of contrast, restatement, and sometimes flat contradiction. "Moses said this, but I say something quite different;" in other words, "Moses' instruction on this or that point is out of date." That is the kind of freedom we want. How indiscriminate must have seemed Jesus Christ's spontaneity! What a sensation he must have made by his pungent allusions to "Herod, that jackal," or to the superiority of loose women and swindlers over the religious hypocrites of the period; or to the children's noisy games in the market-place, in which their very cries and watchwords were reproduced; or to the absurdity of lighting a candle and putting it under a cover! We want these homely figures, calculated no doubt at times to excite a smile, we want to bring the pulpit near to daily life. Jesus was prodigal of common-place allusions, and the servant need not aspire to be above his Lord. "I tell you what it is, gentlemen," said Wilberforce, the late Bishop of Oxford, turning round at a dull missionary meeting, and addressing a number of clergy seated in a solemn row on the platform, "the Church of England is being choked with its dignity. What you want is to take off your neckties and shake the starch out of them;" and he pretended to shake in the air an imaginary stiff neckcloth, such as was at that time commonly worn by the clergy.

Every great religious revival, every living period of the Church, has been marked by a great outburst of spontaneity in the pulpit. Wit and humor have been freely used by all great preachers who happened to be gifted with these rare gifts. The notion that the preacher should be invariably what is called *dignified* and *solemn* is a modern notion, and belongs to a dead Church. The corresponding idea, that all expression of feeling on the part of the congregation is indecent and irreverent, is also essentially modern, artificial, or characteristic of apathy and lifelessness in the listeners.

When people broke out into applause at the preaching of St. Chrysostom, it is true that he checked them, but simply because he perceived that the applause was rather in praise of himself than in evidence of contrition or of enthusiasm for righteousness. The Père Félix in Paris used to check admiring murmurs at Nôtre Dame for the same reason; he never rebuked the expression of deep religious feeling, or the sympathetic response to a stroke of humor.

No one who has attended Mr. Spurgeon's ministrations could have failed to notice the groans and murmurs of deep sympathy which follow many of his more delicate and tender religious utterances, nor could any one with a heart attuned to prayer wish to silence them.

At the Reformation, when doctrine was fire, and hearts were electrically sensitive alike for approval and disapproval, preachers constantly allude to the expression of congregational emotion. "How they grunt and groan at the preaching of the Gospel," said Dr. James in a sermon at Hampton Court, alluding to the behavior of Romanists who were forced to frequent the Reformed Church services. Burton in 1589 notices, on the other side, the irritable behavior of Protestants in churches where they suspected a leaning toward Rome. "Some," he says, "are scraping with their feet, superstitiously conceited, when they hear but the name of Jesus mentioned. Many show the whole congregation their backs by departing out of church."

At Paul's Cross the noise was sometimes so great that the preacher's voice could hardly be heard, while malcontents, whom Drant called "chattering choughs," "used to throw bills into the preaching place," which occasionally hit the preacher's person, and gave him just cause for complaint.

There was one kind of interruption—viz., *incessant coughing*—of which preachers do not seem to have been more tolerant then than now; but a witty orator knew how to deal with it, and one great Bishop at least spared neither wit nor invective in his own self-defence. "I have now preached three Lents," cries Bishop Latimer to what seems to have been a rather unruly congregation; "The first time I preached *restitution.* Restitution (quoth some), what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution; (then say I) if thou wilt not make restitution thou shalt go to the devil for it." He then proceeds to tell how one and another, being moved by his words, had made the king restitution £20, and next Lent £120 more, and here we may suppose the coughing began louder than ever; the preacher, sticking to his point, continued, "If every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would *cough* the king £20,000. Alack! alack! make restitution—for God's sake make restitution; you will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing."

Under Wesley's preaching, the emotion

of the congregation was wont to reach agony point, and men and women fell down in convulsions. Under Irving's eloquence they broke out in tongues, and the phenomena of the apostolic age were reproduced. When Chalmers preached, it was not uncommon for people to rise in their seats and lean toward the preacher as though drawn magnetically. Some of us may remember the strange silence which fell on the dense congregation which Henry Melville was in the habit of addressing in his best days, about 1845 to 1850, and the sudden rustle of silks and sighing all over the church as he paused at the end of each climax, having wound up the excitement while his voice scaled higher and higher till it almost cracked. I do not remember vocal comments, but the sensation was profound and startling enough.

When Chalmers preached for Rowland Hill, that popular and irresistible man placed himself as auditor in the front gallery opposite him, and as a loud murmur of approval ran through the congregation at the close of an eloquent period, Rowland Hill, unable to contain himself, thumped heavily on the book-board before him, and cried aloud, "Well done, well done, Chalmers!" It is hard to realize that any one in that excited and devout assembly felt such a living echo of their own thoughts and feelings irreverent or out of place under the circumstances.

But it may be urged that deep emotion is one thing, and buffoonery and laughter in church is quite another. Buffoonery is always out of place in church, so is laughter *for the sake of laughter*; but all laughter is not trivial or irreverent; nothing could be more tragic, for instance, than the laughter of the tragedienne Rachel, or some of the hysterical climaxes of Madame Ristori; but, quite apart from such extreme and exceptional cases, the whole question of smiling or laughing in church, in response to or in sympathy with what is said or done in the pulpit, suggests the serious—I had almost said the burning—question, What is the function of wit and humor in the pulpit? Ought it to be tolerated there? Has it any legitimate *uses* at all? For we know that it is open to much abuse, and is apt to degenerate into jesting which is not convenient.

Ever since Mr. Spurgeon in England, and Ward Beecher in America, boldly claimed the electric currents of humor and the rapier thrusts of wit for the service of God, the question of wit and humor in the pulpit has been hotly debated at intervals in most religious circles, chiefly, however, by people unblessed with a sense of either. "I wonder, Mr. Spurgeon," said an old respected minister to that incomparable orator, "that you allow yourself such freedom, and discredit your sacred calling by making so many jokes in the pulpit." "Ah!" replied Spurgeon, "you would not wonder at all if you knew how many more I kept to myself." That exactly meets the point. Spurgeon's humor is part of the man; it is his natural equipment. He gives himself to God and his people. All his wealth of illustration, all his experience, all his flashes of inspiration, all his intense perception of contrasts—he pushes his advantages, he hems the sinner in, he assails him with the shafts of irony, he pierces him with the darts of wit, he subdues, paralyzes, and so leads him away a captive for God, often after electrifying him with an irresistible atmosphere of humor.

Ward Beecher says somewhere: "What a blessed reconciling, all subjugating power is humor! Once make a man laugh and he will listen to you, and let you do what you like with him." This I know is quite incomprehensible to some excellent people.

When poor Artemus Ward lectured at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, there were always present a certain number of persons who could see nothing in his jokes, and looked as if they wanted their money back, while all around them were convulsed with laughter. These are the sort of people who will be sure to criticise this article—they will not be able to see the drift of it, they will not approve of its *tendency*. Well, Artemus Ward "knew that man"—he had a special sentence for him in his printed programme. "Mr. Artemus Ward will call on the citizens at their residences and explain any jokes in his narrative which they may not understand."

No doubt it will be said, all this is very funny, but is it fit for church? No one ever said that a comic lecture was fit for church. The question is, whether there is any legitimate sphere for wit and humor in the pulpit? And that is a question which has been answered over and over again in the affirmative by the profession and practice of some of the greatest preachers that ever lived.

"I am surprised, Dr. South," said the Bishop, "that you allow yourself to indulge so freely in wit when you preach."

"Ah," said the ready divine, "your lordship was never tempted in that way; God never gave your lordship wit."

No doubt there have been a great many

fine preachers without much sense of wit or humor, but we do not remember a single case of a preacher who was also a humorist considering it worth while or even lawful to withhold so tremendous an additional force from the service of religion in his arduous and many-sided pulpit struggles with the world, the flesh, and the devil. It would not be difficult to find sturdy defenders of pulpit humor even in the ranks of the gravest and most sententious of the clergy.

The great and solemn Dr. Barrow, in one of his most ponderous and powerful orations, says of wit: "It raiseth admiration as signifying a humble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention; it seemeth to argue a rare quickness of parts that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable, and dexterously accommodate them to the purpose before him. It procureth delight by gratifying curiosity with its rareness, and by seasoning matters otherwise distasteful or insipid with an unusual and thence grateful savor."

Porson used to say that "wit was the best sense in the world." I have described wit and humor in my lectures at the Royal Institution thus: "Humor is the electric atmosphere—wit is the flash. A situation provides the atmospheric *humor*, and with the culminating point comes the *flash*." The situation of people crowding into church on a week-day to get out of the rain was distinctly humorous—there was the shock of incongruity, which is indispensable to all humor; but when Rowland Hill espied them and said, "I have heard of people making a cloak of their religion, but I have never before seen them make an umbrella of it," then the electricity of the situation culminated in a *flash*.

It stands almost to reason that any pulpit orator who has such a weapon at his disposal, will be sure, sooner or later, to use it; especially as frequent experience will convince him that wit properly used is moral, recreative, and stimulating in a high degree, and, moreover, that people who do not blush at what is sinful can often be made to feel ashamed of what is ridiculous.

But, as every preacher knows, the first thing to do is to get people to listen at all. "Sermons," it is said, "are so dull." So strongly did Sydney Smith feel this, that when asked what he considered to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, he promptly if rather profanely answered: "In a sermon, sir, sin against the Holy Ghost is undoubtedly dulness." The devices used by even eminent preachers to prevent people going to sleep, or to arouse them, would fill a volume. Dr. South, preaching before Charles II., and perceiving that several of the worldly Court circle were about napping, stopped and called loudly to Lord Lauderdale by name: "My lord, my lord, I am sorry to interrupt your repose, but I must beg of you not to snore quite so loud, lest you awaken his Majesty." But perhaps for dry and pungent humor and keen satire, Dean Swift's famous sermon "On Sleeping in Church," in which he takes the Eutychus episode in Acts for his text, has never been equalled. "I have chosen," so he begins his sermon, "these words with design if possible to disturb some part of this audience of half an hour's sleep, for the convenience and exercise thereof this place at this season of the day is *very much celebrated*." He thus improves the text: "The preachers now in the world, however much they may exceed St. Paul in the art of setting men to sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the power of working miracles; therefore hearers are become more cautious, so as to choose more safe and convenient stations and positions for their repose, without hazard of their persons, and upon the whole matter choose rather to trust their destruction to a miracle than their safety."

It is commonly supposed by those that sit in the pews that the preacher gets it all his own way, and that he has the people at his mercy; were they to change places with him they would be soon undeceived.

The preacher is really in a singularly defenceless position; if he be an orator, his temperament is nervous, and his brain is so sensitive that he feels all the currents of wandering thoughts, of opposition as well as of lively sympathy, that flit to and fro like electric brain-waves between him and his audience. His ear catches the faintest sound, he hears whispering, scraping, coughing, the rustling of a fan. The wandering eye, the flourish of a handkerchief—a thousand things, unperceived by others or by himself in his ordinary state, are grasped with intolerable vividness; he is for the time, in fact, highly sensitized and mediumistic: it is a battle between his magnetism and the magnetism of the crowd—he wrestles with the mass to bring it under control, he must be master and win, or he must be routed and fail miserably. The pulpit is a moral pillory or a throne.

Any one person in the congregation can set himself to insult or worry the preacher, and unless the disturber promptly finds his match in the pulpit the preacher is humiliated and defeated. Active insolence is worse than passive sleep, and none but preachers know how often it has to be dealt with or let alone in despair. It is at such crises that witty satire is the preacher's invaluable ally.

Robinson, a famous dissenting minister of Cambridge, had frequently to face that most difficult audience, an audience of undergraduates, his chapel being frequented often by University men, sometimes hostile. He observed on one occasion a little knot of men who had evidently come in out of malice prepense to interrupt and annoy him. He wound his discourse round quite naturally to a subtle point in natural science, and fixing his eye on the jibing intruders, remarked gravely, "It has been long a disputed question among philosophers whether there is such a thing as a vacuum in Nature; but the difficulty has at last been solved, it having been ascertained that there is a vacuum in the head of every undergraduate who disturbs a worshipping assembly in a dissenting meeting-house."

Mr. Spurgeon has always been perfectly appalling in his readiness to deal with insolence in the house of God. The finest case on record is perhaps one in which three young fellows came in and settled themselves conspicuously in the gallery with their *hats on.* In vain the officials requested them to uncover. Of course Mr. Spurgeon's eye was soon upon them, and leading his discourse round to the respect which all Christians are bound to show for the feelings of others, "My friends," he said, "the other day I went into a Jewish synagogue, and I naturally uncovered my head; but on looking round I perceived that all the rest wore their hats; and so, not wishing to offend against what I supposed to be their reverent practice, though contrary to my own, I conformed to Jewish use and put on my hat. *I will now ask those three young Jews* up in the gallery to show the same deference to our Christian practice in the house of God as I was prepared to show them when I visited their synagogue, and *take off their hats.*" He would indeed be a pedant and a prig who could refuse a sympathetic smile of approval, even in the sanctuary, to a rebuke so genial, so witty, and so just!

Seasonable wit in the pulpit, in the estimation of most preachers able to wield it, has always ranked high as a remedy for wandering thoughts. The Neapolitan and French preachers may have, perhaps, carried their sallies too far in this direction, but we must remember that something must be forgiven to zealous men who have to contend with excitable but fickle crowds.

Gabriel Barlette, wishing to illustrate the wool-gathering mind in church, on one occasion set himself to say the Paternoster in the middle of his sermon thus: "*Pater noster qui es in Cœlis* (I say, lad, saddle the horse, I'm going to town to-day); *Sanctificetur nomen tuum* (Catherine, put the pot on the fire); *fiat voluntas tua* (Take care! the cat's at the cheese); *panem nostrum quotidianum* (Mind the white horse has his feed of oats!)" Irreverent, and out of place, you will probably exclaim; yet it would be difficult more aptly to render or more soundly rebuke the kind of thing which goes on in the brains of many listeners who even so interlard the preacher's words or their own prayers with snatches of alien thought.

The use of dramatic action has sometimes been carried to a ludicrous excess, but also with effective results in the way of riveting attention. "What's that thee says, Paul, 'I *can do all things*'? I'll bet thee half-a-crown o' that." So the preacher took out half-a-crown, and put it on the Bible. "However," he continued, "let's see what the Apostle has to say for himself." So he read on, "*through Christ that strengtheneth me.*" "Oh!" says he, "if that's the terms of the bet, I'm off!" and he put the half-crown back into his pocket. Profane jester! will you say; but what if the sermon which followed on the power of Christian grace was listened to with breathless attention, and perhaps never forgotten—who will condemn the witty sally which won for it acceptance?

Whitefield, one hot summer's day, was preaching on the duty yet difficulties of self-denial, and the necessity of entering by the narrow gate, when he perceived the attention of the people to be wandering, and he suddenly left off, and began trying to catch a gnat that buzzed pertinaciously about his face. "You think it quite easy to enter the strait gate, and secure salvation. Oh! just as easy as it is for me to catch this gnat" (grasping at the insect again and again). Then, after a pause, he opened his hand and said solemnly, "*But I have missed it.*"

A cunning choice of texts has always been a favorite device with quaint preachers. Of two rival candidates for a lectureship on trial the one preached in the morning on the "*Adam, where art thou?*" His rival, in the evening, capped the text with, "*Lo, here am I,*" and his ready wit won him the lectureship.

Rowland Hill's text when ladies wore their *topknots* ridiculously high has almost become a matter of history, "topknot come down," *i.e.*, "Let him that is on the house-TOP NOT *come down.*" But nothing but the exceeding quaintness of the preacher could possibly excuse such a liberty with the sense and sound of the sacred text.

I do not for a moment defend the vulgarities into which men of original minds and an overpowering sense of humor have sometimes been betrayed when placed in difficult situations. The learned author of "Sketches of the Reformation" relates, quoting from Bishop Latimer, how a celebrated preacher named Hubberdin, riding by a fair, where he found riotous dancing and singing, set the church-bell a-tolling, and the riotous crew, flocking in to see what it was all about, found Hubberdin up in the pulpit a-singing loudly, first in the person of Augustine, then Ambrose, and so on to Hierome, Gregory, and Chrysostom. "All," he said, "were in perfect harmony and singing the same tune. Now," he continued, "good people, ye shall see them dance together likewise in perfect harmony, all in a round ring—all together with up! up! Hubberdin! Now dance, Christ! Now dance, Peter and Paul! Now dance, Augustine, etc.; and so," adds Fox the chronicler, "the old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamped and took on I cannot tell, but crash goes the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, where altogether he brake not his neck, but he so brake his leg that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the same." This should surely be revenge enough in the eyes of all censorious persons on the poor preacher who danced not wisely, but too well! Yet Hubberdin drew his congregation away from the fair under circumstances which were too much for Bishop Latimer, who, with all his wit and wisdom, was baffled on a similar occasion, for he too once came to a church on a popular holiday, and would have preached, but the key was lost, and after he at last got in, "One of the parish came to me and says, 'Sir, this is Robin Hood's day; the parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood, I pray you let them rest.'" Unlike old Hubberdin, the good Bishop adds, "So I was fain to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been regarded though I were not; but it would not serve; it was fain to give place to Robin Hood."

There are few pulpits that have not at some time or other been invaded by preachers who have startled their hearers with quaint similes and sallies of what they deemed seasonable wit. Even the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, has rung with the wit of Richard Taverner, who once opened his sermon thus: "Arriving at St. Mary's Mount, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation!" The dignified Paley, preaching in the same pulpit to a select audience which numbered Pitt, then Prime Minister, and a host of eager place-hunters, hungry for the loaves and fishes of preferment, could not resist an irresistibly facetious fling at his audience, and after giving out his text: "*There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two small fishes,*" he looked round the church and added with a twinkle of keen satire, "*but what are they among so many?*" A smart application or a brisk repartee in the pulpit seems to have found their apologists in all ages. Burton, in a sermon at Norwich, faced boldly the cant sometimes flung at the superior clergy for enjoying large incomes: "Why, say some of these men, can you not live as the Apostles lived? Why, say I again, let them lay down their goods at the Apostles' feet, and then let them ask that question." The following application is perhaps a little too sudden and searching for the taste of to-day. "He," said the preacher of a charity sermon, "he that giveth unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord. Now, my friends, if you are content with your security, down with the cash!"

Rowland Hill was not only more urgent but more severe on stingy givers, for he said of the rich merchants who came to church that he would "as lief hang them all up by their necks till their coins dropped out of their pockets, since there was no other means of shaking them out."

But it is perhaps in the person of good Bishop Latimer that we feel most reconciled to the employment of wit and humor in the pulpit. He was certainly one of the most godly, sympathetic, and fearless Fathers of the Reformation, while in a position to claim that deep love and reverence due to one who sealed the truth of his reformed Gospel message with his blood. If wit and humor could ever be consecrated to the glory of God and the good of man, it must surely be the wit and humor that fell from the lips of a Christian evangelist and martyr. "His peculiar temperament," writes the author of the "Sketches of the Reformation," "prevented him from hesitating to produce any anecdote to point a moral." Lashing the ignorance of the people who would hear instruction again and again and yet not know the difference between Scripture and the catalogue of sins enumerated by Romish divines, Latimer says :

> "I'll tell you now a pretty story of a friar to refresh you withal : A limitour of the Gray Friars preached many times and had but one sermon, which was on the Ten Commandments, so he was called Friar John Ten Commandments, whereupon his servant told him thereof, and advised him to preach of some other matter. 'Belike,' says the Friar, 'thou knowest the Ten Commandments well, seeing thou hast heard them so many times.' 'Yes,' says the servant, 'I warrant you.' 'Let me hear them,' saith the master. So the servant began, '*Pride, Covetousness, Lechery,* &c.,' and so numbered the deadly sins, all the time supposing these to be verily and indeed the Ten Commandments !"

Bishop Latimer, like most other popular preachers, was often grossly ridiculed and misrepresented ; he cites an amusing instance of this in his third sermon preached before the young King Edward VI. :

> "A certain man the other day was asked whether he was at the sermon at Paul's Cross ; he said he was there, and being asked what news : 'Marry,' quoth he, 'wonderful news ; we were there clean absolved—my mule and all had full absolution.' Ye may see by this," continued the witty Bishop, "that he was such an one as rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I daresay the mule never slandered the preacher. Ah ! unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass upon his back. *I was there at the sermon myself.* Now, saith this gentleman, the mule was absolved, whereas the preacher absolved only such as were sorry and did relent. Belike, then, the mule did repent her stumbling ; his mule was wiser than he a great deal—*tanquam equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus,* saith the Scripture—like unto horses and mules that have no understanding. Yet if it were true that the mule repented of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop his mouth or else give him to open it to speak better and more to His glory !"

It is difficult to believe that the Court assembly kept their countenances throughout the whole of this pungent sally, which I have considerably abbreviated ; for when Latimer got on a good scent he played with his prey and was as one loath to leave it alone, just as a cat that has lighted on a mouse will dally with it and turn it about with manifold and subtle mouthing and pawing.

We owe to this freedom of anecdote so common with the great Reformation preachers many interesting glimpses of the time. Archbishop Whitgift, at Paul's Cross, waxed amusingly satirical at the expense of those who were always in search of sensational preachers and new doctrines :

> "If a man commend the magistrates or confirm rites and orders established, he shall scarcely be heard with patience, but if he nip at superiors and reprove them in anything never so untruly, and inveigh against laws and orders established, oh ! they flock to him like bees—esteeming him as a god, and extol him up to heaven ! . . . . He must either be new come or new found, or his auditory will not stick to tell him in these days they could have found as much themselves, and that if you can acquaint them with no other things they had as lief hear their own cow low. Tell them where they may hear a godly bishop. Tush ! they know what these are—a grave divine. Tush ! they know what these are—a temporizing formularizing written doctrine such as when a man learns a text he may guess himself what the sermon will be ; but a trim young man that will not quote the Fathers (and good reason, for his horse never ate a bottle of hay at the Universities), and one that will not stick to revile them that be in authority—oh ! for God's sake, where teacheth he ? To him they will run without their dinners, sit waiting by his church till the doors be opened, climb at the windows, fill the churchyards, let him want nothing so long as he is *new,* though within two years they will leave him on a lee land and never heed him more."

History repeats itself ; and I hear some of my nineteenth-century readers exclaim again : "*I know that man !*"

It has sometimes been thought indelicate or egotistical for a preacher to recite episodes in his own life in illustration of his theme ; but had this been Latimer's opinion, we should have lost at least one of the most exquisite little historical vignettes which even that prolific age of anecdote can boast of. Speaking of the simple, brave manners which were fast going out among the yeomanry in consequence of the impoverishment of their class by rack-renters, and the big lords, who robbed the soil, but spent their money not in the country they owned, but in the towns which they demoralized, Latimer, preaching before the king, relates :

> "My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse. I can remember that I buckled on his harness when we went to Blackheath field. He kept me at school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound and twenty nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and the fear of God. He kept hospitality for his good neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor, and all this did he of the said farm ; when he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound a year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."

This is, after all, the sturdy preaching of facts and figures, which moves sensible men, and its entire unconventionality and simple force require no apology or justification. When I listen to the stilted and artificial utterances that I am occasionally condemned to hear when I go out of town on Sunday, I am often reminded of Garrick's advice to a young preacher, and I would it might be more often followed :

> "My dear young friend, you know how you would feel and speak in a matter concerning a friend who was in imminent danger of his life, and with what energetic pathos of diction you would enforce the observance of that which you really thought would be for his profit. You could not think of playing the orator, studying your emphasis, cadences, gestures ; *you would be yourself*, and the interesting nature of your subject in freeing your heart would furnish you with the most natural tone of voice, the most fitting language, and the most suitable gestures. What you would be thus in the parlour, be in the pulpit, and you will not fail to please, to affect, and to profit. Adieu, my dear friend."

Nor could I find any better words wherewith to close my remarks on life, spontaneity, wit and humor in the pulpit. "*Be yourself*," said the great actor ; only what comes from the heart can ever go to the heart. It is far more what you *are* than what you *say* in the pulpit which affects your hearers : what a responsibility, what a solemn function to impart *yourself*—you cannot help it, you must do it if you are a preacher at all, and not a mere puppet. Wit, humor, anecdote, everything has to take a back seat. Let them all alone to come or go, so only you labor to be what you seem. In other words, exchange self-consciousness for sincerity. Be always receptive, always aspiring, always acquiring, always sympathizing, always working, always praying. You need not fear to preach if you do not dare to deceive. In the pulpit above all things, even though you should be a master of wit and humor, "*be yourself*," or you are nothing.

INSPIRATION AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.*

BY REV. PROFESSOR DAVISON, M.A., RICHMOND.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), May, 1891.

How far is the doctrine of Inspiration and the Divine authority of Holy Scripture affected by modern Biblical Criticism ? Are the ascertained results, not the theories and hypotheses, of a valid, not of a fanciful and speculative criticism, such as to make it necessary in any degree to modify traditional views of the Bible as the Word of God ? And if so, how far, within what limits, according to what principles, is such modification to be admitted ?

That there is ground for such an inquiry cannot, I think, be denied. A revolution is taking place in the history of theology, and the Bible cannot but be affected by it. Not only are men's views and opinion changing, but their very standpoint is so rapidly being altered that men with twenty-five or fifty years between them hardly understand one another's language or mental attitude. The advance of scientific knowledge, of historical, geographical, archæological discovery ; the establishment of the science of textual criticism ; the labor and concentrated attention bestowed upon biblical literature—these and other causes have almost metamorphosed Bible study, so that the commentators of half a century ago have become in some respects antiquated, and problems press upon the reverent student of to-day of which our fathers knew and might be content to know little or nothing. Two facts only I name to establish the proposition that there is ground for inquiry : The publication of the biblical articles in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* and the fact that *Lux Mundi* is in its eleventh edition, mainly because of the essay on Inspiration.

If it be answered, as well it may, that all these things do not concern the simple Christian who reverently reads his Bible to find the way to heaven, and that ministers will do well to make that the main factor in their consideration of this matter, the reply at once must be, Perfectly true : it cannot be too strongly insisted on. That is the first truth in this investigation of ours concerning the Bible, and it will be the last ; about that there is no controversy. But it must be added that in this, as in all else, the minister must lead his people, and to this end must have his own ideas clear on a number of questions he does not bring directly before them ; that, further, a large proportion of his most intelligent hearers keenly feel a number of the difficulties I have hinted at, and if the minister does not know precisely where he stands in this matter, he will not be a leader at all, or only the blind leader of the blind, both falling into the ditch. There is abundant proof to-day that leadership is needed ; men are crying out for it, and many ministers are only regretting their inability to give it as they would.

You do not expect me to lay down any dogma or formulary on this subject. There is none such. In the undivided Church of the early centuries, the Anglican Church, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, there is a notable absence of definition as to the exact doctrine of Inspiration, as if the Church had been guided by the Spirit of God to abstain from formulating theories which might prove to be untenable. Neither do you expect from me a personal confession of faith which could be of no importance to any one but myself, useful here only as a mark for subsequent speakers to practise shooting at. But I understand that I am asked to offer some suggestions as to the present state of opinion upon a subject as to which even such a writer as Professor Banks states that additional light and leading are not only "desirable" but "necessary." Respectfully, therefore, I ask that my desultory remarks shall be judged as only of the nature of suggestions from one who has pondered, according to opportunity, this most important, most difficult, and, just now, burning question.

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* A Paper read at the London Wesleyan Ministers' Meeting, 16th March, 1891.

The present position, then, seems to be something like this: An ecclesiastical doctrine of Inspiration, of greater or less antiquity, has been in possession of the field among orthodox evangelical Churches, according to which the Bible has been viewed as a compact whole, from end to end the words of God, every part of it Divine in the same sense, infallible in every detail, inspired in every word, accepted as the sole authority on all questions, established in its place as the ultimate arbiter on the evidence of miracles and prophecy, acknowledged as such almost without question by all teachers and members of these Churches. Now, there is an uneasy feeling that this elaborate structure is more or less undermined. It stands erect, apparently uninjured, but there has been much digging and investigation going on at the foundations beneath, so much sapping and mining on the part of what is known as criticism, that it appears as if at any moment a collapse might come and the authority of the sacred Scriptures be shaken to its very base. "What are we to say?" I have been asked again and again by ministers and intelligent laymen, What is the worth and strength of this criticism, and how is the doctrine of Inspiration affected by it?

Is there any inconsistency between an unhesitating belief in the Inspiration of Scripture, so that it may be reverenced as the Divine Word, an authoritative revelation, the ultimate arbiter of faith and practice, and a reasonable and valid biblical criticism, searching into all possible questions concerning the Books of the Bible? I am strongly persuaded there is no such inconsistency, but much depends on the way in which the subject of Inspiration is approached. Now, I should answer, the doctrine of Inspiration is the very last thing we come to in a time of searching inquiry and unsettlement of foundations. It is not wise to begin with that, and make the authority of the Book the basal tenet of faith. All are agreed that the Bible is Divine and human, pervaded by the influence of the Divine Spirit as is no other volume or volumes, yet human literature, composed and handed down under the conditions of ordinary literature. The theory of Inspiration concerns the precise relation between these, the character and degree of influence exercised by the Divine Spirit over the minds of human writers. We must not begin with that—we cannot. We cannot if we would, and we should not if we could. The question whether the Bible is or contains the Word of God; whether Inspiration be verbal, plenary, dynamic, may be very important: though, so far as I have watched such controversies, they seem too often to degenerate into mere strifes of words.

Far better begin with that which gives to this collection of books its unity, its character, its vitality, its authority, viz., the fact that it contains the record of the Revelation of the Living God—a series of revelations rather, culminating in the one consummate manifestation of God the Father in His Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. A long and multifarious record is given us in these books unfolding God's nature, His dealings with man, all within certain limits and for certain ends, but mainly for man's practical guidance and personal salvation; this revelation claiming to be itself supernatural, unique, complete, and all-sufficient for those purposes for which it was given. Inspiration is the name given to the special influence exercised by the Spirit of God in the preparation of that record, and it is clear that it is possible to adopt

1. Too low a view of that influence, not sufficiently recognizing the sacredness of the substance.
2. Too high a view, which in its anxiety to preserve that sacredness propounds an untenable doctrine that defeats its own end.

But if we want to get at a satisfactory doctrine, we must not begin with that subject or at that end. It is not well to say "Inspiration *must* imply this or that." Butler has shown how dangerous it is to argue thus, how prone man is to degrade the Divine by endeavoring to exalt it according to his own ideas. We must argue not deductively and *à priori*, but *à posteriori* and inductively. Some may be afraid of so doing lest old landmarks should be lightly removed. On this subject let me quote Dr. Pope: "The Bible is a Divine-human collection of books, the precise relation of human and Divine in which is a problem which has engaged much attention, and has not yet been, though it may be, adequately solved. The Holy Ghost never defines inspiration as applied to the whole body of Scripture; we have to construct our theory from the facts, and our theory must face those undisputable facts as it finds them" (*Comp. Theol.* i. 175, 191).

But in these days we cannot begin so. Criticism is at work, and must neither be ignored nor defied. How foolish, how wrong to do either! Criticism means examination; will not the Bible bear examination? Suspicion of criticism may be godly jealousy, but it may mean mere prejudice, an unwillingness to face facts. What we have to be jealous of is a criticism with tacit assumptions concerning the supernatural—criticism only in name, because it hides in its premises the statements which it afterward triumphantly produces in its conclusions. There must be the greatest care as to the assumptions of this criticism, its methods, its canons, its hypotheses. An unsound criticism must be met, not by denunciation, but by sound and sober criticism. What is the reason why so much criticism is rationalistic, so that the very name bears with some an ill savor? I fear largely because Rationalism has done so much more minute and thorough work of investigation, and orthodox commentators, while anxious about edification, have not pursued Bible inquiries with the thoroughness or scientific precision which is necessary to-day, if work is to be useful and lasting.

Behind, then, the question of Inspiration, or the kind of Divine influence exerted, come several previous questions:—

1. Are these books genuine, what they profess to be, written by the men whose names they bear?
2. Are they authentic, the stories in them to be believed, or myths, legends, unverifiable traditions?
3. If both, are the writers trustworthy in the details of their narratives, accurate in method, or loose and careless, though honest?
4. Are all the books in the collection deserving of a place here? Why are there so many? Why not more? Are these different from the rest?
5. Then, if all are genuine, all authentic, all trustworthy in minute details, and determined by a satisfactory canon, then we may ask at length, What is the relation between the Divine and the human elements in their composition, so far as that can be determined?

It is by raising these questions that the inquiry of our day has seriously affected the structure of belief in Inspiration, and a large number of difficulties that men have in mind when they vaguely say, "I don't know what to believe about Inspiration," emerge at a much earlier stage, and must be dealt with on other grounds. I may add that many of them emerge at an altogether later stage, and belong properly to the right interpretation of Scripture. These are difficulties caused by mistranslation, misunderstanding of the true scope of the narrative, misunderstanding of the relation between Scripture and physical science and the like—all topics which concern the correct interpretation of a Book which more than any other needs to be used with care.

It is, of course, impossible in five minutes to describe the present attitude of scholarly criticism to the books of the Bible, nor is it necessary to do so. It may, however, be well to sum up the results of the minute and exhaustive investigation and reinvestigation given to the sacred books of late, by saying that it has spread all along the line and with somewhat varying results. In some cases there has been triumphant vindication both of the genuineness and authority of a given book, admitted by hostile critics; in others, the traditional authority has been shown to be untenable, without affecting the substance or value of the book itself; in many cases a measure of doubt still remains, or critics are divided into two or more camps, each preserving its own views. The discussion of the Pentateuch question has more or less clearly demonstrated its composite character, and enabled us to trace the documents which have been interwoven into its structure, while the attempt to bring down the body of the legislation to a period after the Exile remains a speculative theory, full of difficulties and incredibilities, though at present strongly in favor among many scholars of repute. Throughout the Old Testament signs of editorial care, of compilation, have been brought to light. In the Psalms we possess a series of collections, the dates of which it is somewhat difficult to trace, the attempt to bring these down to a late date being involved in the Pentateuchal theory just spoken of. The writings of the prophets are not so largely assailed by criticism, though the Isaianic authorship of the latter part of the book which goes by his name is now given up by the best scholars. Zechariah is thought by many to be composite in structure, and the controversy concerning the date of Daniel is by no means ended. In the New Testament the received dates of the composition of the three Synoptic Gospels is on the whole established, though students are still busy with the problem of the construction of these narratives, how they came to take the form they have, and what is their true relation to each other; while the attack on the genuineness, and therefore on the authority of the Fourth Gospel, has been triumphantly repelled, as shown in the last volume of Bampton Lectures. There are four unquestioned Epistles of St. Paul, and the arguments in favor of the genuineness of the rest have never been answered. The Pauline authorship of Hebrews, like the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes, is now by most abandoned.

All this is highly controversial matter. The above are not statements of my own opinions, and they would be attacked on both sides by those who think that too much weight has been given to current criticism, and by those who think that not enough weight has been given to it. But it is no object of mine to take up any position on any of these debated topics; I only wish to show what is the actual history of recent discussion, and how the question of Inspiration must be affected while these controversies are going on. It is natural for devout students of Scripture to become somewhat impatient. There are those who would meet all these inquiries as impious. They are completely equipped with a theory of Inspiration, that the whole Bible may be proved apart from these examinations to be Divine from end to end, and that the authority of the Word of God should silence such inquiries and give us peace again. Such persons fail to see (1) that this is impossible. It is the authority of the Book which is in question, and which must be re-established upon a basis good against the unbeliever, as well as for the believer. (2) That none of the inquiries need affect the simple faith of one who reads his Bible for edification, while they are of the highest importance for those whose work it is fully to understand and intelligibly to teach from this Book as the rule of faith and practice. (3) That out of these investigations and controversies, more or less disturbing at the moment, as out of many more battles besides, good will come, if the Church of Christ be faithful. It is that we may learn more concerning the Book of books, understand it better, have larger views of God's Word and ways, that this has been permitted. But to gain this we must be content to wait awhile, begin with the premises of the argument, not with its conclusions, make the pyramid rest upon its base, not upon its apex. The Inspiration of Scripture—*i.e.*, the everywhere operating influence of the Divine Spirit throughout these books, which are many yet one—is indubitable, undoubted; the precise relation between the Divine and human elements is much more difficult to define, and that topic must be postponed till some others have been satisfactorily settled.

But where rests the authority of Scripture, if we do not begin with its Inspiration and infallibility? We cannot accept the view that it depends on the authority of the Church; still less on the Coleridgean doctrine that the Bible is true because it "finds me," commends itself directly to my heart and conscience. True, the doctrine of the Bible is connected both with the doctrine of the Church and the doctrine of conscience, but no satisfactory basis of authority is to be found in either of these. If we cannot appeal to the Bible as a standard, it may well be said, Where are we?

The answer is, the Bible is a standard, though not to be appealed to like the Koran, as a message from end to end sent direct from heaven. Its authority rests ultimately not upon the Book as a composition, but upon the revelation recorded in it. In establishing its authority, we must go to the Lord Jesus Christ—make the doctrine of Scripture Christo-centric. True, we can only reach Him through the record, but we can do that, without any elaborate theory as to what Scripture as a whole is. St. Mark's Gospel and the four unquestioned Epistles of St. Paul are more than enough to bring us into His presence and to enable us to answer the question, What think ye of Christ? As to the question, Do you believe in Christ because you believe in the Scripture, or do you believe in the Scripture because you believe in Christ, the Christian may say, "I cannot well separate the two;" but if I am pressed for a logical answer, it must be the second. I believe in Jesus Christ, God's Son our Lord, in the revelation there made of the Divine, and from that starting-point I find Christ stretching forth His arms on either side to establish the authority of Holy Scripture. Backward to the Old Testament to which he constantly appeals as the authority for the Jew, and within certain limits for all men, as the Scriptures which in so many ways testified of Himself, the chief value of which to-day consists in the way they lead up to Him. Forward to the New Testament as He sends forth His Apostles with the message commissioned by Himself, giving them authority to proclaim that which was afterward recorded by those whose qualifications and credentials can be freely examined and have been satisfactorily established again and again.

I shall not stay to work out this argument, but ask you to bear in mind how much it contains when establishing the substantial authority of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. *For those who believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, there is an irremovable basis for the doctrine of Holy Scripture as a sufficient, complete, infallible guide in things pertaining to God, the sole authoritative rule of faith and practice.* When we pass from this to a close consideration of the *form* of the book or books, the precise way in which it has pleased God that this record should be made and come down to us, and the exact degree of influence exercised by His Spirit on the minds of the writers, the true relation of the history, the science, the theology of their own times, it is quite clear that large questions are opened up. If we begin with preconceived ideas of what the Revelation from God must be, many will be disappointed. It is quite clear, for example :—

1. Our Bible is a translation. We cannot imitate the Church of Rome, which, according to the Council of Trent, virtually takes the Vulgate as infallible.
2. It is not altogether easy to reach an accurate text. Both in the Old and New Testaments, a minute, scientific investigation, not yet ended, is to determine this.
3. When we have obtained this, the form in which the revelation has come down to us, the form of the books and narratives, what seem gaps on the one hand and repetitions on the other, shows that here we have a human literature, embodying a Divine message not to be discerned at a glance, but which *makes* us think, compare, examine, weigh, judge.
4. In the simplest passages, the history of interpretation shows how many meanings may be attached to them, so that the infallible Book requires an infallible interpreter, if we are to have an infallible guide as Rome understands it. A Protestant who understands the meaning of his own creed should be an ardent and reverent student of the Bible, but not a Bibliolater.
5. The way in which the New Testament writers use the Old Testament shows the complexity of the whole subject. Reverence and appeal to authority are everywhere manifest, but also a measure of freedom for which we are hardly prepared, and an evident desire to dwell on the substantial meaning rather than the form of the record, the spirit rather than the letter of the Word.

When we examine the books more closely, the same need of intelligent discrimination appears at every turn.

(*a*) He who holds that these books are indeed the Word of God is compelled to examine into their form and structure, the distinction between poetry, history, and prophecy ; to inquire in what sense, to what degree, God may be said to speak, *e.g.*, in the Book of Job, in the speculations of Ecclesiastes, in the visions of the Apocalypse, —he is compelled by the very variety of form and complexity of the questions raised to think and to distinguish, if he would understand and rightly receive the Divine message.

(*b*) The nature of Inspiration is raised by the acknowledged fact of the *progressive* character of the Divine Revelation herein contained. The unity of the Bible is not mechanical, but organic—represented by the growth and development of the plant, not by the erection of a monolith. The Law is a παιδαγωγός to lead us to Christ, and the stages of development can be ascertained, and must be intelligently distinguished. The Book of Genesis and the Book of Chronicles have their places in the history of the kingdom of God, but before we can understand the nature of the guidance given to the writers we must have some insight into the character of the place they occupy.

(*c*) The meaning of the Canon raises the same considerations. Why are there these books and no others in the inspired Canon ; why not Ecclesiasticus as well as Ecclesiastes, Hermas as well as the Apocalypse ; why not dispense with Esther or the Epistle of Jude ? The answer would be a long one, but investigation shows how the Jews at the end of the Old Dispensation and the Christian Church at the beginning of the New were marvellously guided in the choice of books whose subject, character, or authorship fitted them for a place in the Revelation of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. An "Inspiration of selection" was vouchsafed both to the writers and to the compilers of the sacred Canon of Scripture.

It is needless to say that the view of this Book as a revelation, based on the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, implies the general accuracy and trustworthiness of the writers. There can be no room in a true theory of Inspiration for forgeries, "cooking" of narratives, pious frauds, inventions, myths, the rewriting of history or prophecy to suit the times. This is not to say that the literary habits of all generations are the same; that we take up the Books of Samuel as if reading Macaulay or Carlyle, or Freeman, judge by the same views of history, expect to find the same methods or aims. This is not to say that Ecclesiastes must have been written by Solomon because it contains his name, or that the terms "Moses" and "David" are never used with latitude and freedom for that which David and Moses did not actually write. But it does imply that frauds, however "pious," are utterly out of place in the Revelation of the All-Holy, in any part of the testimony concerning Him who is a faithful and True Witness. Simplicity, ignorance, primitive habits of thought and speech, may be expected, where such are in place; but if the Bible contains "cunningly-devised fables," though it may be an interesting collection of documents for historians or antiquarians, its authority as a sacred record and as a rule of faith is gone.

Biblical criticism may even point out the existence of much which we should not have expected in Scripture which yet does not interfere with its sacredness or authority. Analysis has been very busy of late years, many think far too busy. Yet it has its place, and synthesis will follow in due course. If, *e.g.*, we are taught to see two or three narratives, where formerly we saw only one; two or three hands at work on a single book, more of what we should call editorial supervision, of compilation, than we should have associated with the sacred documents, we need not be startled or disturbed. When we stand close to a Raphael or a Turner with a hand-glass, we perceive only rough daubs of paint. We may so stand that we can see nothing else, but the masterpiece remains for all that. Many of the critics' conclusions on these points are the merest dreams of a restless literary imagination, some are wildly speculative, some are demonstrably false, not to say self-contradictory. But if some of them that have to do with processes of composition, details of authorship, prove to be true, neither the authority nor the Inspiration of Scripture is necessarily interfered with.

It will be expected that such a record will be preserved free from error. It must imply freedom from such error as would interfere with the object for which the Revelation was given, else it fails to be a Divine Revelation. But will it not mean freedom from all error, absolute infallibility in every detail? We should answer, We must wait to see whether it be so, not begin with the absolute certitude that it is so of necessity, and refuse to give credence to it at all, unless it has been thus preserved from the slightest mistake. For the Bible as a series of records touches on a thousand subjects, and it is a large question how it may please God to deal with human writers as they deal with an immense variety of topics besides the one for which especially they were commissioned to write. Take, for example,

Physical Science. Is it to be expected that the sacred writers should anticipate the conclusions of modern times? Most will answer, No; the record would have been unintelligible to their contemporaries. Arguments have been drawn from Scripture against the views of Galileo, of Lyell, of Darwin, it being assumed in each case that whatever seemed to contradict the language of Scripture must be false. Therefore the sun moves round the earth, the universe was created in six days, of twenty-four hours each, evolution in any shape is impossible! It is surely wiser to understand the scope and meaning of Revelation before we assume that it was ever intended to teach physical science. On the other hand, there is a marvellous agreement between the outline of Genesis i. and modern scientific discovery, so that a distinguished scientific teacher has said one would only need to alter a word or two in the Bible account of Creation to harmonize it completely with the latest conclusions of physical science.

The discrepancies of Scripture have been much exaggerated, both as regards their number and importance. Genesis i. and ii. are clearly two narratives, not necessarily discrepant. In the Synoptic Gospels the very variations are evidence of independence; if the narratives had absolutely coincided they would have lost much of their weight. If the accounts of the blind men of Jericho, of Peter and the cock-crowing, of the Synoptics and John as to the day of Christ's death, appear to be discrepant and hard to reconcile, we must remember how often this happens in contemporary narrative till the explanation is known ; how scanty is the record and our knowledge of the facts. Still, the perpetual recurrence of difficulties of detail in minor matters should prevent us from dogmatizing as to the impossibility of mistake in any single particular.

On questions of history the authority of these books varies according to circumstances. Some are contemporary records, some very early and valuable, others later ; all may be shown to be trustworthy. But it would be dangerous to set up a theory of the impossibility of mistake in detail, so that the authority of the Scripture as a whole would be gone, if any such were pointed out. This has been a fruitful cause of scepticism. Especially we should not do so without the clearest evidence from Scripture itself that the writers claimed this absolute and unerring knowledge. We need not then be disturbed by the evidence of clay cylinders, which may very easily be wrong in dates, but which may, on the other hand, be right.

This is not, of course, to say that we are lightly to assume the existence of error. In hundreds of instances the Scripture has been proved correct where for long this has been doubted or strenuously denied. So far from disparaging the accuracy of Scripture in trifles, the more careful and minute our study, the greater will be our marvel at the fidelity of these records in the minor as well as the more important matters with which they deal. Sixty-six books, by so many authors, covering a period of 2000 years, searched through and through by keenest eyes, and pierced by sharpest weapons of criticism, what books like those of Scripture could so have stood the test? The words of the Lord are pure words : "As silver tried in the furnace of earth, purified seven times." Yet if in the vessel grains of sand or morsels of lead should be found, they do not lessen the value of the mass of pure, white, shining silver, of precious, refined gold. It is a distorted vision that will look upon the specks of alloy till it cannot see the massive, pure metal ; it is a mistaken fidelity to suppose that because the sacred treasure is pure gold, therefore the earthen vessel which contains it is itself of gold throughout. The vessel must hold the treasure safely and well ; "Heaven soon sets right all other matters."

No attempt has been made here to lay down a theory of Inspiration. I have tried to show the lines on which to rest a faith in the plenary inspiration of Scripture as a trustworthy, adequate, and unerring record of God's revelation of Himself to men, without our being afraid of the fullest inquiry, of any results of sound and valid criticism. Especially does it seem at present important to keep well before us the great end and aim of all Revelation, "That we might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Then questions of form, of detail, of vehicle will fall into their own subordinate place. We lose nothing by keeping before us with a single eye the great ends for which the Bible was written—even the Old Testament Scriptures, *δυνάμενα σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν,* "able to make wise unto salvation" through faith in Christ Jesus. We may lose much by being too eager about the means which we think necessary for securing those ends. Jewish Rabbis were praised for making "a hedge round the Law," but that ended in their paying chief attention to the hedge, and neglecting the spirit of the law it was meant to protect. In forming a theory of Inspiration we cannot be wrong in putting the first things first, and keeping the secondary things second. This will preserve us from many mistakes, and it will keep us from being impatient of inquiries which are as wholesome as they are inevitable, while it enables us to await with calm confidence the answers to some questions for which we may have to wait for some time to come. Thus in spite of the little clouds of dust raised by battles of critics here and there, the chariot of God rolls on its course. "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness," and "through patience and comfort of the Scriptures" we shall embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of eternal life which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

BY PROFESSOR SAYCE, LL.D., AUTHOR OF "FRESH LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS."

From *The Sunday at Home* (London), May, 1891.

VIII.*—THE RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE religion of Assyria and Babylonia was substantially the same. In both countries it was derived in the first instance from the beliefs of the early Accadian or Sumerian population. Every object and force of nature was supposed to possess a "spirit" or "life," corresponding to the "spirit" or "life" of man. It was because they were thus endowed with a spirit of their own that the stars journeyed through the sky, that the arrows sped through the air, or that the fire consumed the victim. Even the earth and the heaven were possessed of "spirits" of their own through which they were able to act. All nature, in fact, was alive, but the life was like that of the individual man and manifested itself in the same way. To the primitive inhabitant of Chaldea, life and motion were synonymous terms.

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* Previous sections in the December (1890) and April and May (1891) numbers.

Gradually the spirits became separated in thought from the objects or forces to which they belonged. The whole world became filled with demons, supernatural agencies whose power and scope of action were as limited as that of the objects of nature out of which they had been formed. Like the objects of nature too, they were in no sense moral agents. The same spirit or demon could be at once harmful and beneficent. The fire that slays also warms and supports mankind. At the same time the demons were more usually harmful than beneficent, because in an early condition of society man has not yet learned to subdue nature to his own use and benefit. Evil rather than good seems to him to predominate in the world.

The aid of the sorcerer was invoked to ward off the attacks of hostile demons or to compel them to become the friends of man. It was only the sorcerer, the medicine-man as he would be called in America, who was imagined to know the magic spells and incantations by means of which the multitudinous spirits that surrounded the Accadian could be driven away. Disease was believed to be due to possession by an "evil spirit," and its cure was sought in various magical ceremonies and words.

In course of time, however, certain of the spirits, whose action was regarded as more uniformly beneficent than the reverse, and who represented the larger units of nature, came to assume a sort of supremacy over the rest. The spirit of the earth or underworld, the spirit of the water, the spirit of the sky, began to rank above the spirits of the individual objects that are to be found in the earth, or water, or sky. Certain of the spirits of the old Accadian creed thus began to pass into gods.

The change was assisted by the existence of totemism in ancient Babylonia. Certain animals—or rather the "spirits" of these animals—were regarded as peculiarly sacred; their flesh was forbidden to be eaten, and tribes and individuals called themselves after their names. There were tribes and individuals, for instance, of the name of "dog," to whom the dog was specially an object of veneration. These sacred animals came to be associated with the higher spirits who were tending to become gods.

With the transformation of some of the spirits or demons into gods went the transformation of the sorcerer into a priest. He did not, indeed, cease to be a sorcerer; his chief duty was still to attract or repel the spirits by charms and incantations which he and other members of his class alone knew; but he now added to this duty the further duty of performing a fixed ritual and of offering prayer and praise to the new gods.

In this early epoch of history Babylonia contained two centres of religion and culture. One of these was Nipur, now Niffer, in the interior of the country, the other was Eridu, now Abu-Shahrein, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Nipur was the seat of the worship of Mul-lil "the lord of the ghost-world," who had originally been the spirit of the earth, and it continued to be the chief home of Babylonian sorcery. Eridu, on the contrary, was influenced by a foreign culture which had probably come from Egypt. It was from Eridu that a purer and more exalted form of faith emanated than that which was practised at Nipur; its god, who had primarily been the spirit of the water, gathered about him attributes more worthy to be called divine; and his son Merodach became the "culture hero" of Chaldea, the god who had introduced, as it was believed, the elements of civilization among his people, and was continually occupied in looking after their good. Babylon, it would appear, was a colony of Eridu; at all events Merodach of Eridu became the patron-deity of Babylon.

By conquest or peaceful colonization, or a mixture of both, the Semitic tribes of northern Arabia entered Babylonia and established their dominion there. They adopted the civilization of their Accadian predecessors, at the same time modifying and improving it. But their conception of religion was totally different from that of the older inhabitants of the land. To the Semite the primary object of worship was the supreme Baal or "Lord," who manifested himself in the sun. By the side of Baal stood his wife and son, since the divine family was likened to the human family. In the Semitic household the wife was but the shadow and slave of the husband, in contrast to the Accadian household where the woman was almost on a footing of equality with the man, and the wife of Baal accordingly assumed the same subordinate position in the divine family that was occupied by the wife of his worshipper. The Semitic goddess was thus essentially different from the Accadian goddess, where she had developed out of an earlier "spirit," as the Accadian goddess was in all respects the equal of the god.

The meeting of two systems of religious belief, so unlike one another, one of which was closely bound up with the older culture and literature of the country, could not have been other than a shock. But in course of time a union took place between them. A compromise was effected, and that official system of religion arose which lasted through the whole remaining history of Babylonia. It was carried to Assyria by the Semitic colonists, who founded there the Assyrian kingdom, though in Assyria its character was more genuinely Semitic than in Babylonia in consequence of the purer Semitic blood of the Assyrian people.

In official Babylonian religion the older Accadian gods had been recognized, and placed at the head of the hierarchy of heaven, the multitudinous spirits of the ancient cult becoming the three hundred spirits of heaven, and the six hundred spirits of earth, who formed the "hosts" of the supreme deities and acted as their ministers. Wherever it was possible the older gods assumed a solar character; not only Merodach of Babylon, but even Mul-lil of Nipur, became a Baal. The worship of the "older Bel," however, Mul lil of Nipur, faded more and more out of sight, and after Babylon had become the capital of the country (about B.C. 2280) it was practically superseded by that of the younger Bel, Merodach of Babylon. The Bel or Baal addressed in the later inscriptions always means Merodach.

Under Semitic influence the Accadian goddesses either became the colorless companions of the gods, or else were changed into male divinities. One goddess only resisted the general tendency; this was Istar, or Ashtoreth, originally the spirit of the evening star. Her worship at Erech was too firmly fixed to be uprooted, and she remained to the last an independent goddess who took equal rank with a god. Her cult was even carried by the Semites to foreign lands along with the Babylonian civilization with which she was associated. But in Arabia and Moab she was transformed into a god; in Canaan she was assimilated to the other goddesses in the Semitic pantheon; she lost her independent position, and added to her name the final *th,* which denotes the feminine gender. It was only in Babylonia and Assyria, in the country of her origin, that her primitive character remained unchanged.

Another result of the Semitic occupation of Chaldea was the compilation of sacred books. The ancient Accadian magical charms and hymns to the gods were translated into Semitic Babylonian, and published in two great works. The hymns became a sacred book, and the Accadian, in which they were written, a sacred language. Any mistake in the recitation of them came to be considered an impiety, which might bring down upon it the anger of the gods. New hymns were composed, chiefly in honor of the Sun-god, but though they were written by Semitic priests, the language of them was Accadian. Accadian, in fact, now assumed the same place in the religious services of the temples that Latin has in the Roman Catholic Church, or Coptic in the Coptic Church. It was only the rubric of the Liturgy which was permitted to be in Semitic Babylonian; the hymns and most of the prayers were in the extinct language of Sumer and Accad.

But the mass of the people, at all events in the country, could not have been much affected by the official system of religion. They brought their sacrifices to the temples, they attended the services that were held in them, they paid their tithes to the priests, but they also retained a large part of their old beliefs and superstitions. The sorcerer still practised his arts among them, like the wise woman in the remote parts of our own island. The countless spirits of the old Accadian creed still existed in the popular belief, though they had become demons, mostly of a malevolent character. In fact, a large part of the life of the Babylonian was occupied in devising charms and amulets, or uttering spells which should keep at a distance from him the evil spirits. They might enter into him through the water he drank, or the food he ate, if due precautions were not taken that the water was pure, and the food clean. It was at night, and during the hours of darkness that the evil spirits were specially dangerous; nightmare was a demon that sought to strangle its victim, and vampires were ever on the watch to suck his blood. Among the means employed for warding off these dreaded visitants were magical threads twisted seven times round the limbs, to which phylacteries were bound consisting of "sentences from a holy book."

At the head of the evil spirits of the night was Lilat, the wife of Lilu, a name which the Semites had borrowed from the old Accadian *lil*, "a ghost." In Hebrew, Lilat became Lilith, who occupies a prominent place in Talmudic legend, and is once mentioned in the Old Testament (Isaiah xxxiv. 14) among the creatures of popular Babylonian mythology whom the prophet cites in illustration of the approaching desolation of Chaldea.

But besides the malevolent spirits which peopled the air and the under-world, there were also good spirits, who acted as the ministers of the gods, who "bowed themselves" in the courts of heaven, and formed the "hosts" of which Bel, the supreme god of Babylon, and Assur, the supreme god of Assyria, were entitled the "Lords." Among them were the *sedi*, or guardian spirits, who were symbolized by the huge winged bulls at the entrance to an Assyrian palace. Here they were supposed to protect the house from the assaults of evil. We learn, from Deut. xxxii. 17, that the Israelites also fell away to the worship of these *sedi* or *shedim* (translated "devils" in the Authorized Version) and offered sacrifices to them. Along with the *sedi* were associated the *kirubi*, or "cherubs," who are sometimes depicted in the Assyrian sculptures as standing or kneeling on either side of the tree of life. They are winged, with the heads of eagles, or more rarely of men.

IX.

The heaven of popular Babylonian belief was not "the land of the silver sky," to which Assyrian poets declared that the souls of the great and good would ascend, nor even that highest of the heavens, far above the firmament, which is referred to in the Chaldean account of the Deluge. It was, like the Greek Olympos, the summit of a mountain, hidden in perpetual cloud, called sometimes "the mountain of the East," sometimes "the mountain of the world," and often identified with Mount Rowandiz, east of Assyria. This was the mountain to which the Babylonian king is described in Isaiah xiv. 13 as saying in his heart that he would ascend and exalt his "throne above the stars of God." It was imagined that the apex of the firmament rested, like that of an extinguisher, upon the peak of the mountain, the stars which hung as lamps from the firmament being below it.

The world of the dead, it was believed, lay under the ground. Here the spirits of the dead flitted in gloom and darkness, like bats, with dust alone for their food. Here, too, the shades of the ancient heroes sat on their thrones, rising only to welcome the spirit of a Babylonian king who should come to join them. In the midst of this dark land of forgetfulness, which was barred in by seven gates, sat the rulers of Hades, on a golden throne, beneath which bubbled up the waters of life. It was only through the aid of Merodach, "the pitiful god who raises the dead to life," that any could drink of the waters and rise once more to the world of light.

It is difficult to say how far these popular beliefs were shared in by the educated. In later times, at all events, purer and more spiritual ideas prevailed among the upper classes, and found their expression in literature. A school even arose at Erech which endeavored to resolve the manifold deities of the Pantheon into one supreme God, and in Assyria, Asshur tended more and more to become "God of gods" and "Lord of lords." How nearly, for instance, do the words of Nebuchadnezzar approach the language of monotheism in two of the prayers which he has bequeathed to us. Here is one:

"To Merodach, my lord, I prayed: I began to him my petition: the word of my heart sought him, and I said: 'O prince, that art from everlasting, lord of all that exists, for the king whom thou lovest, whom thou callest by name, as it seems good unto thee, thou guidest his name aright, thou watchest over him in the path of righteousness! I, the prince who obeys thee, am the work of thy hands; thou hast created me and hast entrusted to me the sovereignty over multitudes of men, according to thy goodness, O lord, which thou hast made to pass over them all. Let me love thy supreme lordship, let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart, and give what seemeth good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life.'"

Centuries before Nebuchadnezzar, however, language almost equally lofty had been used of the Moon-god in a hymn which had been composed before the age of Abraham in the city of his birth, Ur of the Chaldees. Here are some of the lines of the hymn:

Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind! . . .
First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it! . . .
In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground.

The temples of Assyria and Babylonia resembled that of Jerusalem in general appearance, excepting only that a tower was attached to them, from the top of which astronomical observations could be made. The temple itself stood within a large court, and the public library was established in one of its chambers. The court was surrounded with the rooms in which the priests lived, and in it was a "sea" or large basin of water for purificatory purposes, supported, like that of Solomon, on the heads of bronze bulls. At the extreme end of the temple was the "Holy of holies," which took its name from the curtain that concealed it from the eyes of the profane. Here, according to Nebuchadnezzar, was "the holy seat, the place of the gods who determine destiny, the spot where they assemble together, the shrine of fate, wherein on the festival of first-fruits at the beginning of the year, on the 8th and the 11th days, the divine king of heaven and earth, the lord of the heavens (Bel Merodach) seats himself while the gods of heaven and earth listen to him in fear and stand bowing down before him." Here, too, was the image of the god, and the golden table of offerings in front of it.

The shrine further contained a coffer in which two written tables of stone were placed. Those found by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, in a chapel near Nineveh, record the victories of the king and the account of the erection of the building. In front of the coffer, or ark, was an altar approached by steps. At times, instead of a temple or chapel, a "beth-el," or "house of God," was built which originally consisted of a stone consecrated by a libation of oil and supposed to have thus been turned into a habitation of the deity.

The temples were served by a large body of priests. At the head of them was the high priest, whose office could be held by the king, and in Assyria was usually held by him. Besides the supreme high priest, or pontiff, as we might term him, there were also subordinate high priests, reminding us of the "high priests" of the Jewish Sanhedrim. The lower ranks of the hierarchy consisted of "the anointers," whose duty it was to cleanse the vessels of the temple, the priests of the goddess Islar, and the "elders." Connected with the temple, but separate from the regular priesthood, were the "prophets" and their servants, at the head of whom was "the chief of the prophets." The prophet predicted the future, and was consulted on most matters of state. He accompanied an army on the march, and as, like the Roman augur, he claimed to know the will of heaven, its action depended upon his decision. The general ventured to engage in battle only when the prophet promised him victory. When the Assyrian king had suppressed a revolt in the Babylonian cities, he tells us that "by the command of the prophets," he "purified their shrines and cleansed their chief places of prayer. Their angry gods and wrathful goddesses he soothed with supplications and penitential psalms. He restored and established in peace their daily sacrifices, which they had discontinued, as they had been in former days."

The offerings to the gods were divided into sacrifices of animals, such as oxen, sheep, goats, and doves, and offerings of meal, dates, oil and wine. The animals were slaughtered by a servant who does not seem to have belonged to the priestly caste, and certain portions of them only, such as the caul of the heart, the chine and the legs were offered to the gods. One of the Babylonian temples received as a yearly gift from Nabonidos about six bushels of dates.

In addition to the "daily sacrifice" there were constant services in the temples both by day and at night. On the great festivals of the year there were, moreover, services of a special character. Each temple, furthermore, had its commemoration festival, and from time to time extraordinary days of thanksgiving or humiliation were ordained. Thus when the Assyrian empire was in danger from an invasion of Scythians from the north, Esar-haddon prescribed a fast with particular prayers and ceremonies that should last for "a hundred days and a hundred nights." The "new moons" also were observed with special solemnity, and, like the Israelites, the Babylonians and Assyrians kept a *sabattu* or "sabbath," which a Babylonian writer describes as "a day of rest for the heart." It was observed on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th day of each month, and on it all kinds of work were disallowed. No food was to be cooked, no new garments put on, no medicine taken. The king was forbidden to ride in his chariot, and even the prophet was forbidden to prophesy. In the night a "free-will offering" was made to the gods.

The temples and priests were supported by the contributions of the people, which were partly obligatory and partly voluntary. The most important among them were the "tithes" paid upon all produce. The tithes were contributed by all classes of the population, from the king to the peasant, and lists exist which record the amounts severally due from the tenants of an estate. The tithes were paid for the most part in corn ; thus we find a Babylonian paying about eleven bushels of corn to the temple of the Sun-god as the " tithe" required from him for the year. The " tithes" paid to the same temple by Nabonidos just after his accession amounted to as much as six manehs of gold, or £840. Nabonidos, however, had just usurped the throne, and he may therefore have wished to gain the favor of the priests by an unusually large gift.

Voluntary gifts were common, and were often made in pursuance of a vow or in gratitude for recovery from sickness. Among such gifts various articles of dress were included with which the images of the gods were adorned. Both the gods and their ministers were distinguished by their vestments, and special vestments were required to be worn on the various festivals of the year.

It might indeed have been said of the Babylonians that in all things they were " too superstitious." Their lives were passed in perpetual fear of the multitudinous demons by which they believed themselves to be surrounded, or in a constant round of religious services. The priest was supreme in the state. The king received his power from Bel, who was in theory the true ruler of the community, and his highest title was that of " pontiff."

It was different in Assyria. Here the military element was dominant, and the king, as general of the army, exercised his tyranny over priests and laity alike. Not but that the Assyrians also were deeply imbued with the religious spirit. Asshur, their chief deity, was like the Assyrian monarch " king of kings" and " lord of lords." It was he who gave victory to his worshippers, and took vengeance on their foes ; in his name they subdued " the unbelieving," and compelled them to acknowledge the supremacy of Asshur. Asshur, in fact, was a national god, who brooked no rivalry or companionship, not even that of a wife. But he was stern and unforgiving, unlike Bel Merodach of Babylon, " the merciful one who sends help to those that trust in him."

Both deities reflected the character of the populations who adored them. Their attributes were human, untouched by the Light that cometh from above. When we compare the noblest gods of Assyria and Babylonia with the God revealed to a kindred people, inferior in numbers and political power, in wealth and culture, we may see as in a glass the unfathomable gulf which divides them. There was much in Babylonian religion that commands our respect, there was much that shows how there were men on the banks of the Euphrates who were seeking " the Lord, if happily they might feel after Him and find Him," but it lacked the one thing needful, the revelation of Himself that was made alone to the chosen people of Israel.

SPIRITUALISM.

BY G. H. PEMBER, M.A.

From *The British Weekly* (Non-conformist), London, April 9, 1891.

IV.—The Fundamental Doctrine.

(*Continued from May number.*)

And this brings us to a second question. Is the idea even true ? For if it is not, its beauty is merely that of the mirage which leads the traveller further and further into the waterless desert ; its comfort is no more than that of a pleasant dream, which, as it vanishes, sheds a deeper gloom upon the cold gray dawn of woe. Now upon this point the Bible is quite as decided as it is upon the first. The rich man in Hades, much as he desires it, cannot communicate with his brethren upon earth ; moreover, Abraham tells him that were such communication possible, it would be utterly useless. When Paul would comfort the mourning Thessalonians, he does not, like Keble, speak of the departed as still present, though invisible, but holds out no hope of further intercourse with them until the Lord descends from heaven. And similarly, in the Old Testament, Job likens death to a journey from which he will not return ; while David says of his dead son, " I shall go to him, but he shall not return unto me."

If, then, we believe the Bible, the fundamental doctrine of Spiritualism is untrue, and the attempt to practise it renders a man an abomination to the Lord.

As to its effect upon the human race, probably neither Keble nor " General" Booth ever reflected that in past times this same doctrine was the marsh-meteor which led men, not merely into that cult of saint and martyr which from the first has characterized a corrupt Christianity, but also into the far earlier and almost universal worship of the spirits of ancestors and of famous heroes, which is still so conspicuous in China, India, and many other parts of the world. For Spiritualism is the bud which will quickly develop into the full-blown flower of Paganism, the gods, demons, and heroes of which are all enfolded within its calyx. I have just met with a curious illustration of the similarity of the two systems. A correspondent of *The Queen,* who has recently visited the grave of Bunyan at Bunhill Fields, concludes his description of the tomb as follows : "At the foot of the tomb had been placed a very incongruous tribute to the memory of the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress.' A wreath of artificial flowers, that resembled nothing in nature, lay covered by a glass shade, and, partly buried among them, was a card with a written dedication, of which the following alone was visible : 'Anniversary of his death, August 31st, 1890, by A. R. V. and a few Spiritualist friends, as a token of grateful thanks for his spirit-control and guidance.'"

But before we leave this subject it may be well to look once more at the verses from the *Lyra Innocentium* quoted above ; for it is instructive to notice how Keble, having once left the path of revelation for a sentimental fancy, wanders on into other errors. Besides the mistaken assumption that communion with the dead is possible and lawful, he either supposes the deceased girl to have become an angel immediately after death, or draws no distinction between angels and spirits. Both of these fallacies obtain among Spiritualists, and both of them are directly contrary to Scripture. For it is only after we have attained to the resurrection from the dead, or the first resurrection, that we can become equal to the angels (Luke xx. 35, 36). Spiritualists would, however, get over this difficulty by affirming that the resurrection takes place at death, and that there is no resumption of the body. They are thus at variance with the whole teaching of the New Testament, and land themselves in the error of Hymenæus and Philetus, saying that the resurrection is past already.

Again, in the Scriptures there is a very decided distinction between angels and spirits (Acts xxiii. 8, 9). For the latter are disembodied, while the former are clothed with such bodies as the Lord will presently give to His people (compare Luke xxiv. 39, Phil. iii. 21, and Luke xx. 36). Hence angels can accommodate themselves to some of the ways of men, such as eating and drinking (Gen. xviii. 8), which spirits cannot do. On the other hand, spirits or demons—for the words are synonyms when evil spirits are meant—are eager to seize upon human or even bestial bodies, since they possess none of their own ; while the fallen angels of Satan are never said to express such a desire, because they have no similar need.

Lastly, if we follow the New Testament, no good spirit, save the One Spirit of God, ever returns to men or influences them ; but the air is teeming with spirits of evil. Evidently, therefore, the spirits of the blessed dead are altogether withdrawn from the world until the coming of Christ, when God will bring them back with Him ; indeed, unless this were the case, it would be difficult to see how they could find the rest and undisturbed communion with the Lord during the intermediate state which is promised to those who have labored for and suffered with Him in the earth-life. Hence Keble's idea of "loving spirits" waiting "to bless the tomb" of the departed is a vain and misleading fancy. If spirits be there at all, they must be spirits of evil ; for these alone are at large within the precincts of our world. And as to angels, they do indeed convey the spirit of the dead saint to its destination (Luke xvi. 22), but have no present concern with the body or its tomb. This is clearly proved even by the two Scriptural exceptions to the rule—the contention of Michael for the body of Moses, and the presence of angels at the tomb of the Lord. Both of these were cases of abnormal interference with him that hath the power of death. For as regards the latter, God had promised that His Holy One should not see corruption. And it is probable that the body of Moses was also to be preserved for the Transfiguration, and for the future appearance of himself and Elijah as God's witnesses to Israel, just before "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Mal. iv. 5). Then, after their testimony has been delivered, both these men of God will see corruption (Rev. ix. 7-11) ; for the Lord Jesus must be the Firstborn of the dead.

But—to resume our subject—it may be objected, If you deny the possibility of communion with the dead, how is such denial to be reconciled with your assertion that the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism cannot be disputed ? Very easily ; it is clear that other spirits must personate those of the departed ; and since the Bible informs us that the air is peopled with the spiritual hosts of wickedness—that is, with demons, which are able to hold intercourse with men and influence them, these are doubtless the agents which produce the phenomena. The husband who thinks he is listening to the shade of a beloved spouse, the parents who hang with delight on words supposed to come from some lost treasure of their hearts, the conceited fool who imagines that he attracts to himself the spirit of a departed hero, or philosopher, or poet, and retains him as a guard and guide —all these, if the veil could be withdrawn, would find themselves shuddering with ineffable horror at the presence of malignant demons of the air. And since Spiritualists invoke these aerial beings, whom they fondly imagine to be deceased relations and friends, and ask their counsel and aid, in what degree do they differ from the heathen of whom Paul says that the things which they sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons ?

PROFESSOR BRIGGS'S INAUGURAL.

An Examination of the Biblical Theology of Professor Charles A. Briggs, D.D.

BY REV. W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D.

From *The New York Observer*, May 7, 1891.

The inaugural discourse of Rev. Professor Briggs on his induction to the chair of Biblical Theology in Union Seminary, contains the outlines of a system of theology. It lays down positions on most of the theological topics. It discusses the authority of the Bible, the Church, and the Reason ; the authenticity and infallibility of the Bible ; miracles and prophecy ; the nature and attributes of God ; the original righteousness, and original sin of man ; redemption in this life, and in the next ; the doctrine of the Messiah ; and the ethics of the Old Testament. These heads are all specified in the discourse, and with explications are combined together as constituting the scheme that will be taught in the new professorship. Before delivering his discourse, the author publicly promised that he would not " teach or inculcate anything which should appear to him to be subversive of the system of doctrines contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith." In the conclusion of his discourse he declares : " I have not departed in any respect from the orthodox teaching of the Christian Church as set forth in its official creeds" (p. 62). The author is undoubtedly sincere in his belief that the system which he has set forth is in harmony with the Reformed or Calvinistic theology. We believe that he is sincerely in error ; that this system of Biblical theology is utterly antagonistic to the Westminster Confession ; and that if adopted and endorsed by the Presbyterian Church, the systematic theology which has hitherto been taught in all its theological seminaries must be renounced. Two such contradictory systems cannot be taught in one and the same Church. We proceed to give the proof of our position.

1. Professor Briggs's Biblical theology is antagonistic to the Westminster Creed, in respect to the authority and inspiration of the Bible. The Confession teaches that the authority of Scripture is supreme over that of the Church and the Reason. " The Supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture" (Conf. i. 10). The discourse teaches that all three are co-ordinate with each other, and attributes divine authority to them all alike. The doctrine is formulated in this general proposition : " There are historically three great fountains of divine authority, the Bible, the Church, and the Reason" (p. 24). The three fountains are then examined individually.

The Church is placed first in the order. " The Church is a seat of divine authority" (p. 26). " The majority of Christians, from the Apostolic age, have found God through the Church" (p. 25). " What shall we say of a modern like Newman, who could not reach certainty through the Bible or the Reason, but who did find divine authority in the institutions of the Church ? Shall we deny it because it may be beyond our experience ?" (p. 25). In these passages of the discourse the authority of the Church is denominated " divine," and it is represented as doing for Newman, and the class to which he belonged, what the other two " fountains of divine authority," the Bible and the Reason, were unable to do ; namely, as enabling them to " find God," and " reach certainty" concerning him. This places the Church upon a co-equal position with the Scriptures, as a divinely authoritative teacher in things pertaining to God and religion.

The Reason is then considered as the second of the fountains of divine authority. " Another means used by God to make himself known is the forms of the Reason. Here, in the Holy of Holies of human nature, God presents himself to them that seek him" (p. 26). " There are a few men who are able to rise by reflection into the higher consciousness of God. These few are of the mystic type of religion ; the men who have been the prophets of mankind.

Some of them have been the leaders of thought in modern times in Great Britain Germany and America. We ought not to be surprised that they should depreciate the Bible and the Church as merely external modes of finding God. It may be that these modern thinkers have a divine calling to withdraw men from priestcraft, ceremonialism, and dead orthodoxy, and concentrate their attention on the essentials of the Christian religion" (p. 27). The class meant are the Rationalists. Professor Briggs mentions Martineau as the representative of those who find the fountain of divine authority in the Reason, and an excellent representative he is. "Martineau," he says, "could not find divine authority in the Church or the Bible, but he did find God enthroned in his own soul" (p. 27). Martineau adopted the Unitarian creed, and whatever doctrines he may have found in his individual consciousness, he did not find there the cardinal doctrines of revealed religion, namely, the Trinity and the incarnation, apostasy and redemption. These he rejected and opposed with all the earnestness and eloquence of an uncommonly gifted mind. And this thinker, Professor Briggs informs us, had "a divine calling," on the authority of the Reason, "to withdraw men from dead orthodoxy, and concentrate their attention on the essentials of the Christian religion!"

Respecting the Rationalists generally, that intellectual, educated and formidable class in all the ages, who have waged war upon evangelical religion, the author remarks as follows: "There are those who would refuse these Rationalists a place in the company of the faithful. But they forget that the essential thing is to find God and divine certainty, and if these men have found God without the mediation of Church and Bible, then Church and Bible are means, not ends" (p. 27). "There is much virtue in 'if,'" says Touchstone. But although Professor Briggs employs it here, as he employs "if" and "it may be" in very many places in his discourse, we are confident that he means to have us understand that these Rationalists did, and do, "find God without either the Church or the Bible," since he asserts it of Martineau without an "if" (p. 27). "I rejoice," he says, "at the age of rationalism, with its wonderful achievements in philosophy. I look upon it as preparing men to use their reason in the last great age of the world. Criticism will go on with its destruction of errors, and its verification of truth and fact. The increased powers of the human soul will enable men to search out those higher mysteries of Biblical theology that no theologian has yet mastered, and those mysteries that are wrapt up in the institutions of the Church, to all who really know them" (p. 66).

These extracts abundantly show that the discourse represents the Bible, the Church, and the Reason as co-ordinate and co-equal authorities for mankind in obtaining a knowledge of God. No one of them is supreme in reference to the others. All are equally necessary. The Bible is better adapted to one class of men; the Church to another; and the Reason to another. Some men find the truth which their souls need in Protestant Christianity, like Spurgeon; others find it in Romish Christianity, like Newman; and others find it in Rationalism, like Martineau. "May we not conclude," asks the author, "that these three representative Christians have each in his own way found God and rested on divine authority?" According to this, the Calvinistic creed of the Reformation, the Papal creed of the Council of Trent, and the Unitarian creed of Socinus have the same "divine authority," and human salvation may be founded upon each and all of them alike. Whoever contends that this is the doctrine of the Westminster Standards is "past surgery."

The Bible comes last, and we must add least, in the series of "the three great fountains of divine authority." For in respect to the authority of Scripture, the discourse is much briefer than on either of the two preceding sources of authority. There is no affirmation, as in the Westminster Creed, of the supremacy of revelation over the Church and the Reason; and no assertion of its infallibility. The only statement under this head is, that "Protestant Christianity builds its faith on the divine authority contained in the Scriptures," with the additional remark that "it too often depreciates the Church and the Reason" (p. 28). This total silence upon the points of supremacy and infallibility is in agreement with the fundamental position of Professor Briggs, that the Bible is only one of three co-ordinate sources of authority. He cannot assert the supremacy of any one of them, because co-ordination excludes supremacy, and he is not ready to attribute infallibility to the Church and the Reason.

But while the positive statements are so meagre concerning the nature of the authority of the Bible, the negative statements are large and full. In the form of an attack upon Bibliolatry or superstitious reverence for the Bible; upon verbal inspiration; and upon the authenticity and inerrancy of Scripture, the author presents a theory of inspiration contrary to that contained in the Westminster Standards, as well as held by all evangelical denominations. The discourse is highly polemic upon these points, and some of them we must glance at rapidly.

Whether there is danger in this day of free-thinking of too much reverence for the Bible, we shall not stop to discuss. Under the head of verbal inspiration, the writer takes the position that inspiration is confined to the thought or in his phrase " concept" in the mind, and has nothing to do with its expression in language; and consequently that the thought as inspired by the Holy Spirit may be correct, while its expression by " the holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" may be erroneous. How upon this theory the Church or any one else can know what *is* the thought or concept in the inspired mind before it is expressed in language, and so be able to say that it is inspired and correct, we are left to our Yankee privilege of guessing. But in conformity with this theory of inspired thought and uninspired language or expression, Professor Briggs asserts that there are " errors in the Scriptures which no one has been able to explain away" (p. 35). He adds that " these errors are in the circumstantials, not in the essentials of the Bible" (p. 35). What these circumstantials are, he does not say. But in a time like this, when the historical narratives of the Old Testament are declared to be mythical, and no more credible than the legendary history of Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, it would have been a service to truth and the Church had he distinctly claimed inspiration for the historical parts of the Old Testament, and spoken as clear and bold a word for Hengstenberg as he has for Kuenen (p. 38).

But the most deadly thrust which Professor Briggs gives the doctrine of infallible inspiration, is in his denial of the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures. He mentions it as an error, that " many theologians have insisted that we must prove that the Scriptures were written by or under the superintendence of prophets and apostles" (p. 32); and asserts that " the great body of the Old Testament was written by authors whose names or connection with their writings are lost in oblivion" (p. 33). This severs the Bible entirely from that particular circle of well-known persons who were called of God by name, and inspired by him to receive and record his supernatural communications. The Confession, as well as all the creeds of Christendom, teaches that the Scriptures were composed by or under the superintendence of the prophets of the old dispensation and the apostles of the new, and that these persons and these *only* were " the holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The discourse denies that the prophets and apostles were the authors of the Scripture Canon, in saying that it is an error " to insist upon the proof of this" (p. 33). One of the principal endeavors of Christian apologetics from Eusebius down, has been to commit this " error;" namely, to present the proof that the books of the Old and New Testaments were composed by the college of prophets and apostles. And the reason of this constant aim and office of all the learning of evangelical as opposed to rationalistic criticism is: First, because the books themselves claim to be the composition of these particular persons to the exclusion of all other extraneous persons, known or unknown; and second, because there were no other inspired persons but the prophets and apostles. If, as Professor Briggs asserts, the Bible cannot be proved to be written by the prophets and apostles, it cannot be proved to be inspired at all; because it cannot be proved that there were ever any human beings whatever, excepting these prophets and apostles, that were " moved by the Holy Ghost." Inspiration is not an indiscriminate gift of God, like air and water, to anybody and everybody, in any age and every age. It is an extraordinary and rare gift to only a few persons chosen out of the common mass for the purpose of divine communications to mankind. The origin of an inspired book must therefore be brought within this inspired circle, or nowhere. Professor Briggs must be utterly unconscious of what he is doing, when he denies the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures. The maintenance of this tenet in apologetics is vital, and has always been so considered.* In disconnecting as he does the Pentateuch from Moses as its responsible and inspired author, and connecting it with an unknown editor or editors a thousand or more years later than Moses, he has destroyed its inspiration, because an unknown man cannot be proved to be a "holy man of God who spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost." There is no testimony or tradition either for him or against him. In algebra, the value of the unknown x can be determined, but there is no assignable value to an unknown inspired man. The denial that the Pentateuch is what our Lord called it, "the book of Moses" (Mark xii. 26 ; Luke xxiv. 27 ; John vii. 19, 22, 23), has the same effect upon its inspiration which the denial that the four Gospels were composed by the four Evangelists has upon the inspiration of the only source the world has for the life of its Divine Redeemer. There were no infallibly inspired persons upon earth between A.D. 33 and A.D. 100, excepting the company of the Twelve Apostles * chosen by our Lord to be the founders of his Church, and, if we may venture so to say, his literary executors to write his life for the Church in all time ; and if the four Gospels were not composed by them, or those who were under their superintendence, they are neither inspired nor infallible. No other persons but these were either authorized or qualified to prepare the memoirs of his marvellous origin and generation, and of his merciful and sorrowful life on earth (Luke xxiv. 49 ; John xiv. 26 ; xv. 26, 27). The inspiration of the Bible stands or falls with its authenticity and genuineness. If its authorship is forged and spurious ; if it is falsely attributed to the prophets and apostles, and is not their work, it was not written by "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

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* There is a general consensus in Christian apologetics respecting the authorship of most of the canonical books mentioned in the Confession of Faith (i. 2). Its contention is, that they were composed by the persons to whom from the first they have been ascribed by both Jewish and Christian tradition. Respecting the authorship of a few of these books, there is a difference of opinion among Christian apologetes. But the authorship in these instances is still kept within the inspired circle of prophets and apostles, and the endeavor is always made to give the name of the prophet or apostle. It is assumed that if it could be proved that a particular book is not written by or under the guidance of a prophet or apostle, it is not inspired. The authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is an example of this. Rationalistic criticism dissents from this consensus of Christian apologetics.

The Union chair of Biblical Theology bears the eminent name of Edward Robinson, and Professor Briggs asserts that his Bibliology agrees with that of the pupil of Moses Stuart. Not a scintilla of proof can be adduced that either of these two Semitic scholars denied the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, or adopted the fragmentary theory of Astruc and Semler, that the Scriptures are the compositions of unknown editors and compilers, and not of the prophets and apostles. The work of Stuart on the Canon is in the line of the historical apologetics. Robinson's "Harmony of the Gospels," while founded upon the classical work of Newcome, by reason of the independent investigations of one of the most thorough, judicious and exact of Biblical scholars, is second to none in demonstrating the substantial agreement of the four Gospels, and supporting the historical view that they are the product of the authors to whom, for nearly two millenniums, they have been ascribed. The recent neglect of the subject of the Gospel Harmony, and still more the assertion of the "higher criticism" that it is impossible to harmonize the Gospels because of their errors and self-contradictions, find no support in the life and labors of Edward Robinson.

2. Miracles and Prophecy follow next in this scheme of a Biblical Theology.

Respecting miracles, the author asserts that "the theories of miracles that have been taught in the Christian Church are human inventions, for which the Scriptures and the Church have no responsibility whatever" (p. 36). Here, as usual, he disparages the interpretation of Scripture by the theologians, as it is presented in their treatises and systems. After remarking that "the Biblical writers do not lay so much stress upon miracles as modern apologists," and that "the divine features of Biblical miracles have been obscured by the apologists who have unduly emphasized their material forms," he declares that "the miracles of the Bible were the work of God, either by direct divine energy, or mediately, through holy men energized to perform them." This last is the orthodoxy of the apologists and dogmaticians. But the orthodoxy is immediately eviscerated by the succeeding statement, that "if it were possible to resolve all the miracles of the Old Testament into extraordinary acts of Divine Providence using the forces and forms of nature in accordance with the laws of nature ; and if we could explain all the miracles of Jesus, his unique authority over man and over nature, from his use of mind-cure, or hypnotism, or any other occult power—still, I claim that nothing essential would be lost from the miracles of the Bible" (p. 37). This explains miracles as Paulus and the earlier Rationalists did, by the operation of the forces and laws of nature, employed by God in his providence, common or uncommon, instead of by the operation of the divine will, in a special instance, in suspending the forces and laws of nature, and producing the effect without them, or against them. Under cover of objecting to Hume's improper definition of a

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* The phrase "Twelve Apostles" is sometimes used technically in the New Testament to denote the apostolical circle. St. Paul claims to be one of the "Twelve Apostles," and asserts that as such he received revelations from God (Gal. i. 1, 11–20 ; 1 Cor. xv. 3 ; 2 Cor. xii. 1–7). In this case, "the Twelve" were thirteen. In 1 Cor. xv. 5, St. Paul denominates eleven of the Apostles "the Twelve," because he is speaking of the particular class of inspired agents of the Redeemer. (Compare Matt. xxviii. 16 ; Mark xvi. 14). A committee of "the Twelve" would therefore be "the Twelve." The four Gospels were composed by the "Twelve Apostles," if they were composed by or under the superintendence of four of their number appointed to act for the body or college.

miracle as the "violation," instead of "suspension," of the laws of nature, Professor Briggs combats the real *supernaturalism* of the miracle as the power of temporarily suspending the operation of natural laws; and it is not strange, consequently, that he asserts that nothing essential to the miracles of our Lord would be lost if they were proved to be only the effects of hypnotism, mind-cure, and like occult forces of nature. This would make them to be the effect of the forces and laws of nature, known or occult, instead of the divine volition, in a particular instance, acting above these forces and laws, and entirely independent of them. That this is not the doctrine of miracles that was held by the Westminster divines, it is needless to add.

Upon the subject of predictive prophecy, the discourse is in direct collision with the Presbyterian creed. The latter teaches that all the predictions in Scripture, without exception, have been or will be literally fulfilled; even down to such minute particulars as the Messiah's betrayal by his own friend, and for thirty pieces of silver; as that he should cry out from thirst, that not a bone of him should be broken, and that he should be entombed in a rich man's sepulchre. Professor Briggs mentions as a barrier to the true understanding of the Bible "the interpretation put upon predictive prophecy, making it a sort of history before the time, and looking anxiously for the fulfilment of the details of Biblical prediction" (p. 38). He quotes with his own endorsement the authority of the sceptical Kuenen, who, he says, "has shown that if we insist upon the fulfilment of the details of the predictive prophecy of the Old Testament, many of these predictions have been reversed by history" (p. 38). He then adds upon his own authority the startling declaration, that "the great body of the Messianic prediction has not only never been fulfilled, but cannot now be fulfilled, for the reason that its own time [for fulfilment] has passed forever" (p. 38). In support of this view of predictive prophecy, he cites as an instance of a divine prediction and a divine decree that were not fulfilled, the case of Jonah. "See Jonah," he says, "going to Nineveh with a prediction that in forty days Nineveh will be destroyed, and then going to a safe place outside of the city, waiting with impatience for the grand sight, the destruction of the metropolis of the world. But Nineveh repents, and God recalls his decree, and the city is spared. The prophet is so distressed and humiliated at the failure of his prediction, that he longs for death. Doubtless God has not fulfilled his prediction. He has recalled it" (p. 38). If this is an example of the exegesis which the new Biblical theology is to provide, we doubt if the Church will regard it as superior to the old and common interpretation. The commission of Jonah was an instance of a divine *menace*, but not of a divine prediction nor of a divine decree. God said to Jonah: "Arise, go to Nineveh that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me" (Jonah i. 2). He commanded him to preach to the Ninevites the doctrine of repentance for sin, accompanied with the threat of perdition if they did not repent, which carried with it the promise of salvation if they did. Our Lord understood the commission of Jonah to be only that of a preacher of repentance (Matt. xii. 41). Professor Briggs has fallen into Jonah's own mistake, of supposing that he was commissioned to announce a prediction of God that Nineveh would be destroyed, and a decree of God to this effect, instead of to make them an offer of mercy and urge them to turn from their sins. That a person sent by God to do a certain work may sometimes be blinded by self-confidence, and leaning to his own understanding, and so misconceive the meaning of the message, is possible. The instance of the "man of God" described in 1 Kings xiii. is in point. Certainly the view of the author, that a divine prediction may fail of fulfilment, and a divine decree may be recalled and not executed, contradicts the Calvinistic creed upon these subjects.

3. The doctrine of God follows in this series of divisions in Biblical theology. There is little advanced under this head. The principal remark is that both "philosophical theism" and "systematic theology" have failed to enunciate the nature of God, as it is presented in the Bible; that "a new doctrine of God is one of the greatest needs of our time;" and that the method adopted in Biblical theology will furnish it. "The attributes of God as set forth in the evolutions of Biblical theology have none of those faults that appear more or less in the best systems of theology" (pp. 46, 47). The extravagance of these statements is apparent, when it is remembered how small is the circle of those critics who are to construct the Biblical theology that is to correct all the errors, and supply all the deficiencies of all the philosophers and theologians of the past.

4. What is said upon the doctrine of man is within a short compass. But it means much, and has a long reach. It rejects the Augustinian anthropology, and adopts the

semi-Pelagian. The Standards declare that "God made man after his own image, endued with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness" (Conf. iv. 2 ; L. C. vii.) The discourse declares that "the Bible presents man in the midst of an original innocency," and that "Jew and Christian alike exaggerate the original innocency." "Protestant theologians," it continues, "have exaggerated the original righteousness in order to magnify the guilt of our first parents. The original man was innocent and sinless, but not possessed of that righteous and moral excellence that comes only by discipline and heavenly training. The temptation was a means of grace" (p. 50). Professor Briggs here denies the Confessional doctrine of concreated and positive holiness in unfallen Adam ; one of the few tenets which every tyro in theology knows constitute the line of demarcation between the Augustinian and semi-Pelagian anthropologies.

This view of original righteousness has for its logical consequence that view of original sin which denies it to be culpable and deserving of eternal death. Dogmatic history shows that those who have held original righteousness to be positive holiness, have uniformly held original sin to be positive wickedness and "enmity against God" (Rom. viii. 7) ; or in the words of the confession (vi. 6), that "it is a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereto, and in its own nature doth bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries spiritual, temporal, and eternal." Those, on the contrary, who have resolved original righteousness into negative innocence without holiness of heart, or a holy inclination, have resolved original sin into an inherited, sensuous corruption that is not culpable or damnable. The author in his discourse does not present a corresponding view of original sin, but whoever teaches a class in a theological seminary that original righteousness was not positive holiness but only negative innocency, whether he draws the logical inference or not respecting the nature of original sin, his students will draw it for him. Some light perhaps is thrown upon the author's opinion concerning the culpability of original sin, by the following remark in another place : "It is a hard doctrine to teach that all mankind are doomed to everlasting damnation for the original sin in which we share with our first parents, no matter what the theory of that participation may be" ("Whither," p. 109).

5. The next subject in the order is that of Redemption, and in the discussion of this great theme the discourse presents what seems to us one of the most revolutionary and dangerous of all the errors contained in it ; namely, that the redemption of sinners is not confined to this life, but goes on in the intermediate state between death and the final judgment. It is prepared for, by the remark that "man was *one* in origin, and cannot be any other than *one* in the plan of God. The processes of redemption ever keep the *race* in mind." [The italics are the author's.] "The Bible tells us of a race origin, a race sin, a race Redeemer, and a race redemption" (p. 50). "Redemption comprehends the whole nature of man, and the entire race" (p. 51). This does not mean the bald doctrine of universal salvation ; for Professor Briggs teaches that some of mankind will be "beyond the reach of redemption by their own act of rejecting it, and by descending into such depths of demoniacal depravity in the middle state, that they will vanish from the sight of the redeemed as altogether and irredeemably evil, and never more disturb the harmonies of the saints" (p. 56). But it means, as we shall show, the doctrine of *restoration*, in distinction from that of universal salvation pure and simple.

In denominating redemption a "race redemption," the author employs phraseology contrary to that of the Westminster Standards. They teach a race fall and a race sin, but not a race recovery and a race redemption. They declare that "all men descending from Adam by ordinary generation sinned in him, and fell with him in the first transgression" (L. C. xxii.) ; but that "only those whom God hath predestinated unto life, he is pleased effectually to call out of the state of sin and death in which they are by nature" (Conf. x. 1). Apostasy is universal, but redemption is individual. We would not make the author an offender for a word, and if his assertion that election is only "the election of love" without the preterition of justice (p. 55), together with his extension of redemption into the middle state, did not forbid it, the phrase "race redemption" might in a very loose and improper sense be explained to signify only the infinite sufficiency of Christ's satisfaction for "the sins of the whole world" (1 John ii. 21). But this is not the meaning intended. By "race redemption" the author means the recovery from sin and death of a large number of the human family who are not recovered in this life, but in the state between death and the resurrection. The following extracts from his discourse and his volume entitled "Whither," to which he refers his readers for his theological views, clearly prove this. "Another fault of Protestant theology," he says, "is its limitation of the process of redemption to this world, and its neglect of those vast periods of time which have elapsed for most men in the middle state" (p. 54). "We look with hope and joy for the continuation of the processes of grace, and the wonders of redemption in the company of the blessed" (p. 54). The principal "processes of grace" are regeneration and sanctification: and these are said to go on in the company of the blessed. "The question," says the author, "we have to determine as Calvinists, is, whether the divine grace is limited in its operation to this world of ours; whether the divine act of regeneration may take place in the middle state or not; whether any part of the order of salvation is carried on there or not, and if any part, what part. We have already seen that the divine grace is not confined to this world, that sanctification by the divine grace must continue in the middle state. But we see no reason why the divine grace may not regenerate all the elect before they leave the world" ("Whither," p. 221). The purpose of this last remark is not obvious. It is not an assertion that all the elect *are* regenerated before they leave the world, but only that it is a possibility, and is of the same dubious nature with the remark that "it may be that there is no hope of regeneration after death" ("Whither," p. 219). But whatever be the author's object in throwing in these remarks respecting the possibility of the regeneration of all the elect in this life, he explicitly declares that it is an unsettled question, which Calvinists still have to determine, "whether the divine act of regeneration may take place in the middle state or not," and then he settles it for them in the affirmative, in his assertion that it is "a fault in Protestant theology to limit redemption to this world." In support of his own view, he quotes the following from Dorner, an able advocate of redemption in the intermediate state: "In regard to those who die unbelieving, to them also their impurity, their discord, and alienation from God is unveiled. If, instead of repenting and being converted, they prefer to continue in evil, then the form of their sin becomes demoniacal, and thus ripens for judgment" ("Whither," p. 211). To this statement the remark is added, that these are "excellent remarks which some may stumble at."

These declarations in the discourse and in "Whither," though some of them are couched in a cautious and querying form, and remind the reader of Lady Macbeth's "letting I dare not wait upon I would, like the poor cat i' the adage," are adapted to teach, and will be understood to teach, that insidious and growing form of universalism which goes under the name of restorationism, namely, that this life is not the only "accepted time and day of salvation," but that Christ's work of redeeming sinners, by regenerating and sanctifying grace, will be extended into the period between death and the resurrection, and that vast numbers of mankind will pass from sin to holiness between death and the final judgment.

That this part of Professor Briggs's Biblical theology is contradictory to the eschatology of the Westminster Standards, it is needless to say. The Confession, like all the Reformed creeds, knows nothing at all of any middle state, in the sense in which Restorationists employ the phrase. Its declaration is that "at death the souls of the righteous are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the last day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none" (Conf. xxxii. 1).

After affirming the extension of the "processes of redemption" into the middle state, the author proceeds to give further support to this position by denying that sanctification from sin is completed in the believer at death, and affirming that it goes on within his soul between death and the last judgment. The logical connection between sanctification of saints in the intermediate state and sanctification of sinners there, is evident. For if the Holy Spirit by sanctifying grace cleanses away indwelling sin in believers after death, it is highly probable that he will also eradicate original sin in unbelievers after death. Regeneration and sanctification are the two principal "processes of redemption," and it is natural to infer that if one of them occurs in the future world the other will also; and that if one is limited to this life the other is also. The motive, therefore, for the denial that sanctification from sin is completed in the believer at death is apparent.

The author makes his denial in the following terms: "There is no authority in the Scriptures, or in the creeds of Christendom, for the doctrine of immediate sanctification at death. Progressive sanctification after death is the doctrine of the Bible and the Church. The bugbear of a judgment immediately after death and the illusion of a magical transformation in the dying hour should be banished from the world" (p. 54). The astonishing assertion that there is no authority for the doctrine of complete sanctification at death in the creeds of Christendom is contradicted by the following declaration of the Confession, which agrees with the evangelical creeds generally: "The souls of [all] men after death immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory" (Conf. xxxii. 1; L. C. lxxxvi.). Respecting what the author denominates "the bugbear of a judgment immediately after death," Scripture teaches that Judas at death "went to his own place" and knew that he did; and that Dives at death was "in torment" because of sin not repented of in this life. In both of these instances, the consciousness of the individual at death was a private judgment to condemnation that will be reaffirmed in the public judgment of the great day. This latter is denominated the "last," the "final" judgment, in distinction from the first or private judgment.

The doctrine of progressive sanctification from sin after death is not the same as that of the development and expansion of the soul after death, as some defenders of Professor Briggs have endeavored to prove. Sanctification from sin implies the existence of sin in the soul, and a struggle with it as in the Christian race and fight; but mental growth and development does not. Every immortal spirit is endlessly passing from one grade of intellectual power to another. The infant soul becomes a child's soul, a youth's soul, a man's soul. But this is not sanctification from sin. The expansion of the mind of the angel Gabriel in the immense ages of the past, has raised him high among "the principalities and powers" of heaven (Col. ii. 10). But such mental development as this, is not sanctification from sin. The author himself precludes this explanation proffered by his friendly advocates, by flatly denying "immediate sanctification at death," and calling it "the illusion of a magical transformation in the dying hour" (p. 54). He does his best to make the Standards teach that some remaining sin is cleansed from the souls of believers in the middle state. The explicit statement of the Larger Catechism (lxxxvi.), that "the members of the invisible church immediately after death are then made perfect in holiness, and received into the highest heavens," he endeavors to evade by making a distinction between "the state immediately after death" and "the moment of time immediately after death." "What is affirmed," he says, "in these statements, is affirmed of the state immediately after death [that is, the middle state], and not of the moment of time immediately after death. The Confession does not affirm that all these blessings [namely, "perfect holiness and communion in glory with Christ"] are enjoyed by the righteous immediately when they die, but in the state immediately after death, and not in the moment of time immediately after death. The Confession does not affirm that all these blessings are enjoyed by the righteous immediately when they die, but in the state immediately after death. These statements apply to the whole period of the middle state, and not to the moment of time that begins it" ("Whither," pp. 207, 208). The object of this four times repeated and emphasized distinction between a "state" and a "moment of time" is plain enough. It is made in order to prove that all sin is not instantaneously cleansed from the believer in the article and moment of death, but is gradually eradicated in the ages of the middle state. The weary and wearing struggle with indwelling sin is not ended at death. Those who "die in the Lord" do not instantaneously, and "henceforth," "rest from their labors" in wrestling with remaining corruption. The race, and the fight, and the groaning because of "the lusting of the flesh against the spirit, and of the spirit against the flesh" (Gal. v. 17), go on between death and the resurrection, and thus progressive sanctification from sin continues down to the day of judgment, when complete sanctification results. It is needless to say that the distinction which the author here invents for the purpose of making the Catechism support the doctrine of a middle state and of sanctification from sin there, is wholly without foundation. The words of the Larger Catechism are: "*Immediately* after death, their souls are made perfect in holiness." And those of the Shorter Catechism are: "The souls of believers are *at* their death made perfect in holiness" (Q. 37).*

This eschatology is in direct contradiction to that adopted and taught from the beginning in the Presbyterian Church. It is the restorationism of the school of Origen in the ancient Church, which was revived by Schleiermacher, the German Origen, and has found a development in the systems of theologians like Nitzsch, Rothe, Müller, Martensen, and Dorner. These men were not Rationalists. They held the cardinal truths of the Trinity and incarnation, of apostasy and redemption ; with more or less modification, however, of the creed statements. Their services in developing these doctrines in certain directions are of great value. Müller's "Treatise on Sin" and Dorner's "History of the Person of Christ" are examples. But the entire school is out of all sympathy with the Reformed or Calvinistic system, so far as concerns the limitation of redemption to this life. It has also a profound antipathy to the Reformed creeds, so far as concerns the doctrine of election and preterition ; and the reason is, that election and preterition confine the salvation of man to this existence. The Calvinistic Churches of the Continent and Great Britain have felt the influence of this antagonism, in the extensive spread of theological opinions that are incompatible with creeds like the Heidelberg Catechism, the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession. The Calvinistic Churches of America are beginning to experience the same influence. The Biblical theology of this discourse will contribute to the prevalence of these anti-Calvinistic views. Most certainly it will not counteract them ; and when two opposing theological creeds are in the arena, the word of our Lord is truer than ever : "He that is not for us is against us."

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* How the author can assert a future redemption, and deny a "second probation," as he does on p. 54, is for him to explain. Perhaps some light is thrown on the contradiction by the fact that he denies that fallen men are on probation here on earth—adopting, as he does, the elder Calvinistic signification of the term. If there is no first "probation" there is no "second probation." See "Whither," p. 217, seq.

It has been a painful duty to examine this system of theology. With its author we have been associated for more than a decade of years in conducting theological instruction. For his intellectual and moral traits we have nothing but respect ; for his versatility and energy nothing but admiration. But the judgment to which we have come is wholly dispassionate. It has nothing personal in it. It is a purely intellectual judgment ; as much so as any mathematical judgment. We are as certain that the author of this Biblical theology is in error, and is teaching error, as we are of anything. This theology and that of the Standards are as contradictory as the Ptolemaic and Copernican astronomies. There is no middle position possible respecting such views. They must either be approved and adopted by the Presbyterian Church ; or they must be condemned and rejected.

THE SWING OF THE ORTHODOX PENDULUM.

BY REV. PROFESSOR HERRICK JOHNSON.

From *The Interior* (Presbyterian), Chicago, April 16, 1891.

EXTREMES are easy. And in the presence of supposed or real peril to that which is held sacred, men do not like to "ponder the path of their feet"—and make sure each footplanting. Manifestly our beloved church is just now voicing a protest with unwonted emphasis. The swing of the orthodox pendulum away from the Higher Criticism is unmistakable. Is it not possible that the momentum may carry us too far? The sound of remonstrance against Professor Briggs's Inaugural Address has been likened to an "anvil chorus." May not the roar of these trip-hammers deafen us to the calmer voice of considerate judgment?

We need not go far to find some occasion for this wide and vehement protest. "The authority of Holy Scripture" which is the theme of the Inaugural Address is a matter of such vital moment to Protestant christendom that he who touches it to impair it in any wise, touches the apple of the church's eye. And the points embraced in the discussion, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, their Authenticity and Inerrancy, Miracles, Prophecies, Election, Extent of Redemption, stand in such relation to the evangelical faith, that even the least seeming departure from the generally accepted view is likely to be regarded with wide solicitude.

Moreover the tone of Dr. Briggs's discussion is needlessly rasping. The dogmatism that he so vigorously denounces nowhere shines more conspicuously than in his own paper. He has his repeated and impatient flings at those whom he terms the "traditional" theologians. That he is exasperatingly self-assertive goes without saying. If he is getting a fire of harsh and hostile criticism, it cannot be denied that he has furnished provoking occasion.

Then again, the cry of alarm is contagious. Confidence is a slow growth. Suspicion spreads rapidly. And notwithstanding eighteen centuries of Christian history, and the boasted immovability of our faith, fear for the foundations is a very easy thing to kindle ; and the favoring breath of a few adroit heresy hunters may make it rage like a prairie fire.

Add to all this the sometimes incomplete, unguarded and extreme way in which Dr. Briggs discusses and dismisses a point, exposing himself thereby to misapprehension, and we are furnished manifest occasion for criticism of the recent Inaugural Address, and we discover in part the secret of the prevalent attack upon it.

But we are frank to say the criticism has taken on a character that amazes us, and it has gone to an extreme of denunciation that is a reproach to our good name. Every observant mind must have been struck with the strange absence of extended quotation from the address in support of the sweeping charges made against it. With here and there a notable exception, there has not been the least effort to site passages in proof. Judgment has been sought upon the case without a hearing. Epithets have been hurled as if they were arguments. Opinions have been attributed to Dr. Briggs that he repudiates.

Here are some of the things publicly said of him in the religious press. He is charged with "monkeying for a fleeting notoriety;" yet every scholar in christendom knows him, he has long worn a degree from the University of Edinboro, a special chair has been created for him in one of our leading theological schools, and in one or two departments of knowledge he has scarcely a peer, and no superior. He is charged with "ribaldry in high place." Webster defines ribaldry as "the talk of a ribald," and a ribald, as "a low, vulgar, brutal, foul-mouthed wretch." Dr. Virgin, a Congregationalist, is responsible for this beautiful characterization. But alas, this and more is quoted approvingly by two or three of our own religious journals. Dr. Briggs's discussions are termed "assaults of the devil, wearing the form of an angel of light." And the same writer talks of "throwing him overboard," and flippantly adds, "Let Union go with him." And the editorial comment on this and the like correspondence is "This expresses, we doubt not, the predominant feeling of the church toward Professor Briggs!" Another of our religious journals charges him with "*deliberately* and industriously sowing the seeds of doubt and scepticism respecting the Word of God," and another calls him "a disguised rationalist." And a widely known minister of our church declares that Dr. Briggs is "*systematically* breaking down the landmarks."

Now what are the readers of these journals to infer from all this? In what kind of mood are they to go to Presbytery or the Assembly, to pass judgment on his views? How are they to believe that this ally of "the devil," this "disguised rationalist," this "deliberate breeder of scepticism respecting the Word of God," distinctly declared in accepting his new chair that "the Bible is the Word of God, and its authority is divine authority that determines the faith and life of men," and that its theology is "*the only* infallible authority." How they will rub their eyes in astonishment to find that this "systematic destroyer of landmarks," "monkeying for a fleeting notoriety," in response to the charge at his inauguration, made grateful reference to his new chair, saying, "In all time to come it will train thousands of students in that Word of God, which is to be the joy of their own hearts and the glad tidings of redemption to the world." Think of it! A man "deliberately sowing the seeds of scepticism concerning the Word of God" while saying that the study of it has made it to him, "the freshest, the newest, the most wonderful of Books," and that "the very life of our Protestant Christianity is built on the divine authority contained in the Scriptures!" Think of it! "A disguised rationalist," contending that the "Scriptures are not true," and that the "Bible is not reliable," and holding a view of the Bible "destructive of the faith," yet saying in this very Inaugural Address he would so open the Bible, "that all my enter in, search it through and through, and find God enthroned in its very centre;" and saying also in his acceptance of the chair, that to the Biblical Theology for which the chair was founded, "the Bible is a mine of untold wealth—all its avenues lead, in one way or another, to the presence of the living God and the divine Saviour."

For shame, fellow Presbyterians of the Reformed and Evangelical faith! Is it not time we called a halt on this sad and reprehensible business of misrepresentation and caricature? It will be a reproach to us if we are swept off our feet by a cry of alarm! The cry of alarm cannot change facts or repress truth. It may stampede a General Assembly, or even the whole church. But such a thing ought not to be possible in this high noon of intelligent and balanced faith. Such things belong to that dead past, where the church mistook her poor, fallible interpretations of Scripture for infallible Scripture, and found out again and again to her sorrow, that she had been substituting eisegesis for exegesis; as when she stamped "the law of gravitation" and "age-long creative days" as "damnable heresies," because they conflicted, not with the infallible Word of God, but with her errant construction of that Word.

The glory of Protestantism is an open Bible, free investigation, liberty of conscience and welcome to truth. Let us not confound things that differ. There are "rationalistic" higher critics, but there are also "evangelical" higher critics. There is a natural history and a supernatural. There is traditional authority and there is divine authority. There is human authenticity, and there is divine authenticity. Suppose in this new field of biblical criticism which is the study of the Bible as literature, we are at last obliged to abandon some traditional views as to authorship and structure. If inspiration be left us, though a theory of it is exploded ; if divine authenticity be left us, though a reputed human author sink out of sight ; if scriptural canonicity be left us, though historicity lessen somewhat its proportions ; if divine authority be left us, though tradition bate a little its confident claim ; *if the infallible Word of the living God be left us*, though God be found through the Church and possibly through "the conscience and the religious feeling"—What matter?

And we dare affirm, that Dr. Briggs holds reverently and trustfully to all these, and to every other *essential* of that evangelical Protestant and Reformed system of doctrine which is the glory and the joy of our beloved Presbyterian Church. Let us take an appeal to the record, and see.

1. He is charged with putting the Bible on a level with the Church and with the Reason, as a source of divine authority. We challenge the proof of it. He says there are three great fountains of divine authority : the Bible, the Church, and the Reason ;—using Reason, let it be remembered, "in a broad sense to embrace the metaphysical categories, the conscience and the religious feeling." But he nowhere says these three are equal. He says that freed from human conceits and follies and obstructions, "they are, they always have been, and they always will be, *harmonious.*" He says, "The Church unites with the Bible in giving us the assurance of God's presence, not only throughout history, Christian as well as Hebrew," but also "in the hour and moment of our use of its institution." He says, "the neglect of the Church as a means of grace, retards the use of the Bible itself as a means of grace." And he says, "God will yet appear in the forms of the Reason, the conscience, the religious feeling ; and give an inward assurance and certainty greater than that in former ages." By the destruction of the Bible ? No ! Independently of the Bible ? No ! But through the Bible, when "the human Reason trained and strained to the uttermost, rises to the heights of its energies, and reaches forth after God and *his Christ*, with absolute devotion and self-renouncing love." He cites the historic fact that "the majority of Christians have found divine authority and certainty through the Church." He says, "there are few" who are able to rise by reflection, into the realm of divine certainty through conscience and the religious consciousness. But he nowhere intimates that either of these sources of authority has been wholly independent of the Bible. And to neither the Church nor the Reason has he ascribed, or would he ascribe, in any sense whatever, *infallibility*, while he takes the new chair with the solemn confession on his lips, "I believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, the *only infallible rule of faith and practice.*" And he says in his letter of acceptance, "the theology of the Bible is the *only infallible* authority." And he says in his Inaugural Address, "The Bible is the book of God, the greatest treasure of the Church ;" and "Protestant Christianity builds its faith and life on the divine authority contained in the Scriptures ;" and "many of those things that once seemed to be probabilities on the basis of speculative theology, have, in the light of God's Word, and in the conviction of divine authority, come to be certainties, the verities of God."

2. He is charged with "ribaldry in high place." The only ground for the charge is that he pierces with the sharp lance of ridicule the "Bibliolatry" that makes a fetich of the mere letter of Scripture ; a superstition that found a voice as we well remember, in deprecating and opposing the recent revision of the Scriptures lest it should be disturbing to the faith—as if the faith did not need to be disturbed that rested on so poor a basis. But Professor Briggs says, the Bible is "entitled to reverent handling for the sake of its holy contents, because it contains the Divine Word of redemption for man, and not for any other reason whatever."

3. He is charged with denying inspiration. But he only denies a certain theory of inspiration. He believes in, avows, and argues for the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures.

4. He is charged with denying the *authenticity* of the Scriptures. Here is what he distinctly says in his Inaugural Address : "The only authenticity we are concerned about in seeking for the divine authority of the Scriptures is *divine* authenticity." And again : "We desire to know whether the Bible *came from God,* and it is not of any

great importance that we should know the names of those worthies chosen by God to mediate his revelation." In his Biblical Study (p. 222) Professor Briggs admits, "If the writing claims to be by a certain author, to doubt it is to doubt the credibility and authority of the writing." But Professor Briggs does not doubt the claim, for he accepts with unhesitating confidence both the credibility and the authority of every book of the Bible. If God thought the human authorship important, he would not have left so many books anonymous. If Biblical criticism now thinks it has proof that the traditional authorship assigned to these anonymous books is purely conjectural, while it still holds to their *divine* authenticity, is the biblical critic to be arraigned, as if he were undermining the Word of God?

5. He is charged with holding to an errant and, therefore, fallible Scripture. Here is the very language of his address: "I shall venture to affirm that, so far as I can see, there are errors in the Scriptures (our present text) that no one has been able to explain away. And the theory that they were not in the original text, is sheer assumption, upon which no mind can rest with certainty." Mark his language, an "assumption," *i.e.*, incapable of proof. And mark the kind of errors. "The Bible has maintained its authority with the best scholars of our time" in the face of these errors. "They are all in the circumstantials and not in the essentials . . . they are found in that section of the Bible that theologians commonly account for from the providential superintendence of the mind of the author as distinguished from divine revelation itself." And then he adds: "It may be that this providential superintendence gives infallible guidance in every particular. . . . It is not important for our purpose that we should decide this question." And in his Biblical Study (p. 242) he says, "From the point of view of biblical criticism we are not prepared to admit errors in the Scriptures in the original autographs until they shall be proven." And further: "It is difficult on the one side to demonstrate an error, as it is on the other side to demonstrate that the Scriptures must be absolutely errorless. It is a question of fact to which all theories and doctrines must yield." What candid mind could ask for more?

6. He is charged with assuming miracles to be violations of the laws of nature, and with believing them impossible. He believes the exact contrary. Here is the very language of his Inaugural Address: "The miracles of the Bible were the work of God either by direct divine energy or mediately through holy men energized to perform them!"

7. He is charged with denying predictive prophecy. Let any man read his "Messianic Prophecy," and blush for the ignorance that makes such a charge. There he quotes (p. 43) the bold statements of Kuenen that Hebrew prediction has been proved false and cannot be regarded as divine, and says, "These charges will not bear serious examination." And again he says (p. 59), "It rather enhances the glory of Hebrew predictive prophecy that it has room for the free play of the conditional factor, without permitting it to modify the determinative and essential factor."

8. He is charged with antagonizing "the confessional doctrines of the inspired Scriptures," because he claims for biblical theology that "here, if anywhere, divine authority is to be found." A beloved colleague declares that, in his judgment, "nothing so essentially revolutionary and contrary to the confessional doctrine of the Inspired Scriptures has been proposed by a teacher in the American Presbyterian Church since its organization!" We are sure this is a misapprehension. We marvel how and where it was obtained. What is biblical theology? Let Dr. Briggs answer. "The comprehensive grasp of the Bible, as a whole, in the unity and variety and sum of its teaching." "The theology of the Bible, pure and simple." "It uses the entire Bible in all its passages, and in every single passage, giving each its place and importance in the unfolding of divine revelation." Not only, therefore, "the four narratives of the Hexateuch," but the whole Hexateuch. And what is the matter with "the four narratives?" If there be four narratives, they are there in the inspired Books—not behind them, but imbedded in them, a part of their essential substance and contents. Now, they are either historic or they are not. They are genuine and authentic, or they are not. They are divinely authoritative, or they are not. If they are, then what is there revolutionary in getting divine authority from them? If they are not, but only the *record* of them is inspired, like the record of Satan's speeches, then where is our Bible?

9. He is charged with denying the doctrine of election, in holding that "the saved are not an elect number." Whereas he says, "The Bible teaches election, but an election of love. Loving only the elect is earthly, human teaching." In the presence of the

Scripture, "God so loved the world," who will deny this? He says, "the Bible does not teach universal salvation," but "the holy arm that worketh salvation does not contract its hand in grasping only a few; it stretches its loving fingers so as to comprehend as many as possible—a *definite number*, but multitudes that no one can number." And Dr. Hodge says (Com. Romans v. 21): "We have reason to believe that the lost shall bear to the saved no greater proportion than the inmates of a prison do to the mass of the community."

10. He is charged with holding to progressive sanctification in the Middle State. If he means *growth in holiness*, we agree with him in holding the same. Only we would carry the process on beyond the resurrection and the judgment, as the redeemed will forever be ascending the heights toward him who is "glorious in holiness." But if he means *purging from sin*, then in our judgment the Confession and the Church, and the Word of God, are against him. But in either case he is no second probationist, for he holds that all the elect are *regenerate* "before they leave this world." And that "there is no hope of regeneration after death." And again in either case he is no universalist, for he holds that there are unredeemed "evidently beyond the reach of redemption by their own act of rejecting it."

Fellow Presbyterians of the Reformed and Evangelical Faith, this man is not "a disguised rationalist," nor "a promulgator of the views of Kuenen," nor "a deliberate sower of the seeds of doubt and scepticism respecting the Word of God." There is nothing in his Inaugural Address that is not in his published books, which have been before the Church for years. "Strike but hear."

ONE BY ONE.

BY REV. C. H. PARKHURST, D.D.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, May 7, 1891.

Our caption evidently squints in the direction of the conundrum so urgently pressed upon Christian attention—How can we Christianize our unreached population? The question is considerably trite, but keeps coming back, and is bound to do so till it is answered, not on paper but in fact. Neither discrepancy of opinion nor evident difficulties to be encountered breaks the cogency of the matter or makes reason for shelving it. These unreached people that are all about us and among us are here to be converted to the Lord, and it is unsanctified asininity to send missionaries to India at great expense when we have plenty of just as choice heathen living at home that can be reached, or at least their conversion attempted, *without* expense.

I have little confidence in the productive value of newspaperial discussion of this question, or even of pulpit dissertation upon it; and if the preparation of this article is in itself a seeming abandonment of my principle, I must be allowed to say that I am not writing at my own instance, and also that I have been doing a little quiet experimenting of my own that may possibly be of interest to some reader who cares enough about this business to quit expatiating upon it and to go to work at it, for this problem is one that is to be solved by deeds, not by phrases. The man who has tried to do something (even if he has failed) is the man to be heard from. Rhetoric is cheap, particularly Evangelical rhetoric. Paper solutions, like paper cities, afford small encouragement for investment. The test of a theory is the work-a-day strain it will bear.

Some experiments at city evangelization that we have tried here in New York have been colossal in their failure. There is some way of doing it; we have proved what are some of the ways of *not* doing it. That is a gain. We have proved, I think, that the plan of house-to-house visitation, indiscriminately conducted, cannot in this city, in the present condition of things, be a success. Trying to excite general interest by means of popular gatherings has not seemed to avail much. It takes a great lot of oxygen to keep enthusiasm at combustion point.

While in certain ways the result of our experimenting has been small, in other ways it has been amply compensating. It has, among other things, given new distinctness and public emphasis to the idea that the proper key to the entire situation is personality individualized—one man who is a Christian winning spiritual mastery over one man who is not. Christ spent the better part of three years and a half in rubbing against twelve men. He hated a crowd. Most of us preachers are never so happy as when we get a crowd. There is a good deal of arithmetic in our ordinary Evangelical estimates. The time is coming, I believe, when the market value of a minister will be calculated on the basis of his expulsive power, rather than on that of his "drawing" power—on the basis, I mean, of his genius for emptying his church into the people rather than for crowding the people into his church.

One reason why we accomplish so little is because we have an ambition to do so much. While we are scheming how we can save a whole town the one man we might have saved dies without hope, and pretty soon after our scheme goes the same way. However much we may contrive, and however elaborate our evangelistic programmes, gospel results will be sure to be postponed till we come to the point of selecting the man that we want to see led to Christ, and then going to work to try to lead him. The only real solution capable of being devised is the one hit upon by Andrew, who "findeth his own brother Simon, and bringeth him to Jesus." A good deal of the discussion that has been indulged in upon the matter is due to the fact that people are philosophical enough to like to talk about it without being Christian enough to go to work and do it. Christ believed in one man; we don't. We are told in Scripture that the repentance of one sinner makes a sensation among the angels. We are more conservative than the angels.

If now I may be allowed a personal reference or two I will go on and say that near the close of last year I went into my pulpit one Sabbath morning, and, after speaking of the relations which properly subsist between the saved and the unsaved, stated that I had with me a detailed account in black and white as to the condition, moral, intellectual and pecuniary, of twelve families, living in the poorer part of the town, that I was anxious to assign to the Christian interest and oversight of as many members of my congregation, and that by the time those twelve were disposed of I engaged to have another invoice ready for assignment. About four times that number have now been allotted, and there seems to be no necessary limit to the practical possibilities of the work. The distinctive feature of the method is that it establishes particular personal relations between individuals that Christianity has elevated and those whom it has not elevated, and it accomplishes this without imposing so much upon the visitor as to burden him (or her), and so prepares the way for the visitor as to avoid both the peril and the unpleasantness incident to visitation that is indiscriminate. In almost every instance a warm mutual interest has already been developed, and each family is passing more and more under the personal tuition and Christian control of the gentleman or lady to whom it has been committed. Our reliance is not upon the purchasing power of money, but upon the transmuting power of personal contact, the prime aim held steadily in view being not to improve the circumstances of the family but to improve the family itself, and let improved condition bring about its own inevitable improvement in environment.

It goes without saying that while work of this kind answers a good many questions it also raises a good many questions, and the visitors had not been long engaged before they began to wish to come together and compare notes, and discuss common matters of difficulty, and "pool" their experiences and perplexities. Scarcely any two of these visitors had had a previous speaking acquaintance, but under the circumstances acquaintanceship was facilitated by the fact that it was for a purpose, and out of the first informal conference there developed itself a definite organization to be known as the Visitation Society of the Madison Square Church. One thing has slowly and naturally led on to another, and presently, under the auspices of this society, were constituted two committees—one having it for its object to secure from the congregation supplies of cast-off clothing upon which any visitor might draw in the interest of her own family (only in case her own resources were not equal to the exigency), and the other committee being in the nature of a bureau of information, and aiming to bring together such members of the congregation as may be in need of any kind of unskilled labor and any unemployed members of the families that are being visited, it being always understood, however, that the bureau is not to be consulted except in those cases where the visitor's resources for obtaining work for her own family are not adequate to the emergency. Thus we conserve the personal quality of the entire process. There is in it no element of the perfunctory. These gentlemen and ladies do not visit as deacons or deaconesses, but simply as Christians—ladies and gentlemen in the Lord. In other words, there are just so many bits of gospel leaven that are being "hid" in the inert dough over on the East Side of town.

This experiment may not prove to be a very large contribution toward the solution of the problem, but it is an attempt, and an attempt of some kind every church in city and in country ought to be making in the definite direction of getting the gospel seed planted in soil that has not yet been evangelically cultivated. If one experiment does not work try another. Failure is the front door to success. An availing method cannot be spun out of a man's inner consciousness. Action is as necessary to thought as thought is to action. A man learns some things in the thick of the fight that he will never get any inkling of even in his closet and on his knees *before* the fight.

The method above described has in it this element at any rate that is certain in the long run to show itself justified. It involves individualized contact; it recognizes gospel as being not a book, nor a system of opinion, but as being divine life lodged in the Christian that is bound to work along an avenue of touch and to spread by a process of contagion. Small-pox will not spread if it is quarantined; gospel will not spread if it is quarantined. We have got to get Christianity out of quarantine! We that are ministers must learn to consider our churches as points of dispersion, not as centres of accumulation. The great problem is not how to save the world, but how to persuade each Christian that it is his business to be the means of saving *some one man* in the world.

MORALS AND MANNERS IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND.

BY REV. SUMNER W. STEVENS.

From *The Standard* (Baptist), Chicago, May 7, 1891.

I HAVE recently been looking over a work in two volumes, "Economic and Social History of New England," by W. B. Weeden, which contains "many a quaint and curious" fact concerning the ways and manners of our fathers, and from this mass of "forgotten lore" which the author has collected, and from other sources, I have collated a few facts with reference to moral and religious life in New England during the colonial period. And knowing, as I do, that *The Standard* reaches many whose early home was in this Northeastern corner of Uncle Sam's domains, or whose fathers migrated thence, I have thought it not unlikely that some at least of this large constituency would derive pleasure from dwelling upon the manner of life of our staid fathers, in those fast and far receding days when the West was a *terra* (or terror) *incognita.* Such are invited to get as much pleasure and profit as they can from my "collation." And if any find it a cold one they must remember that the region along the northern coast of the stormy Atlantic is a bleak and icy one, and the times which they are invited to contemplate were likewise chill and cheerless.

IN THE MEETING-HOUSE.

In (or at) my collation the first course shall be a group of facts clustering about the meeting-house of our fathers. The house in which our ancestors worshipped God according to the dictates of their sad and stern consciences, was a heaven-wide remove in appearance from the splendid temple which Solomon built for the name of the Lord God of Israel. Several months ago I visited in Salem, Mass., the little rude, rough building of unpainted boards and huge, unpolished beams in which Roger Williams once preached. Rugged, surely, were the people who listened to the proclamation of rugged and uncompromising doctrine in yon cold and drear sanctuary! The rude church building just referred to is doubtless a fair sample of the houses in which our fathers worshipped God. The church at Dedham, Mass., built in 1637, was thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, twelve feet high in the stud, and the roof was thatched with straw. And in the records of the church to which I minister it stands stated that the lot of land on which our first meeting-house stood measured 30 × 30 feet. Very small were the church edifices in those old days; but doubtless they were well-filled with a thoughtful, attentive people who crowded the little sanctuary. Too often, now-a-days, the complaint is not that the edifice is too small, but rather that the worshippers are too few. But then, the preacher of the days of yore had one advantage not possessed by those of this later generation. The personal power of attraction possessed by the former was supplemented by the powers of compulsion with which the tithing-man was invested.

In 1661, for example, the court empowered the "seven men" of Ipswich to sell the farm of one of the inhabitants in order that he might be compelled to live nearer the sanctuary, and so have no excuse for absence from church services. Once within the meeting-house the people were seated, not according to choice of convenience, but according to the rigid rules of rank and property. In Dedham the elders assigned the seats and gave to the greatest tax-payer the best one. In other places a formal list was made out, and seats were given in accordance with the adjudged rank of each. In New Haven no seats were assigned to any below a good man or a good wife. The "four backer" seats in the gallery and in the two lower seats at the west door "were appointed to the young men." Here a query arises. Is the preference shown nowadays by so many young men for seats near the church door the manifestation of an hereditary instinct transmitted to them from the days of the fathers? Very nicely did our fathers distinguish between the various shades of rank! In 1669, two men were voted into the first seats, but their wives were assigned the third!

In another New England church a corner pew, lifted high above the stairs and almost to the ceiling, was set apart for the blacks. An early annalist records the intrusion of an unwelcome visitor into a synodal meeting in Cambridge. And we are gravely told how a snake came through the open door and wriggled about among the assembly. The intruder doubtless raised much consternation, until an intrepid man "of much faith," set his foot and staff upon the reptile and despatched it. The artless chronicler thinks that the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in the incident. "The serpent is the devil. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head." If our simple-hearted chronicler is right, he does not record the first or the last visit of Satan at the church in order to promote and produce disturbance and dissolution. Snakes do now sometimes wriggle into our churches, but they are very apt to assume human guise.

Decorum in the house of God was insisted upon by our fathers, and the authority of the minister was re-enforced by the aid of the tithing-man. In howsoever prosy fashion the parson droned out his homily the weary listener must perforce keep awake; none for our sturdy ancestors of the cosy, comfortable naps taken by parishioners in these luxuriant days upon upholstered pews; for if the discomforts of uncushioned seats were not sufficient to keep the drowsy sufferer awake, the unsleeping tithing-man was on hand to stir him up. This merciless official was armed with a long wand, having a knob at one end and a foxtail at the other, and he thwacked or tickled the slumberer according to the state of the sleeper's nervous system. How the honest but somnolescent worthies and their drowsy dames must have hated that disturber of their peace! But on the other hand, what a comfort he must have been to the preacher who hated to have "eleventhly" interrupted by a snore. The tithing-man also rendered substantial comfort to the solemn minister by repressing sternly the mirth of boisterous boys and giggling girls. Would that this nineteenth century might produce an equally effective cure for the levity and indecorum too often observable on the rear seats in church or vestry. In Norwich, Conn., laughing during worship was fined five shillings. An equal fine imposed at the present time would produce quite a revenue in certain quarters and might obviate the necessity of holding fairs in order to raise money for indigent (and indignant) churches.

THE CHURCH AND ITS DISCIPLINE.

Leaving the meeting-house and the assemblies wont to convene therein, we may now group a few facts about the body corporate, the church. In the earlier days of Colonial New England the minister was generally chosen in open town meeting, and taxes were levied for his often too meagre support.

There is, for instance, a record that Worcester in 1724 held a town-meeting to see if in the selection of a minister the "town will concur with the church's choice." In Massachusetts formation of churches was controlled by the general court. One of the greatest evils known to those primitive times in our country's history must have been an unregenerate church-membership. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the franchise was extended only to church-members; hence undoubtedly the church had on its rolls many with whom religion was not a spiritual force but rather a cloak or pretence; temporal and selfish motives rather than eternal and divine doubtless were the impelling forces which brought too many into church-membership.

Instances of church-membership assumed by men actuated by no higher motives—more's the pity!—are not unknown in our own day and generation, but in the complete disentanglement of church and state there is removed from men one temptation to hypocrisy and the spirituality of the church is conserved. But on the other hand, our fathers were more courageous in the matter of church discipline than are we to-day; they dared to use the knife, and the excision of offending members was often swift and sure. There is a simplicity and *naiveté* about the early records of cases of church discipline that is really refreshing. Trivialities, however, sometimes became the occasion for church discipline. For instance, a brother in the church of Newbury refused communion "for no other reason," so the record goes, "but because the pastor wears a wig and the church justifies him in it." The brethren adjudged this conduct too independent, and contrary to that humility which becomes a Christian, and promptly disciplined the contumacious brother.

Apropos of this subject of church discipline, I will adduce an instance related to me the other day by a visiting brother. Not long since he had occasion to examine the old records of a little Baptist church in West Greenwich, R. I., and a number of the recorded cases of discipline afforded him some entertainment. Among other items was an entry to this effect: A sister was brought before the church for pulling the school-master's hair; and before she could be received back into fellowship she must needs publicly confess the offence in the school district where it was committed. We are not surprised that the worthy pedagogue in question objected to having his hair pulled by the irate female; but in these easy-going times we would scarcely consider it necessary to appeal to the church for redress! The same church, years ago, passed a resolution that the man selling his vote should be subject to expulsion. It is a pity such practical piety is not rigidly insisted on to-day. Such insistence would go far toward the purification of our politics, municipal, state and national. Do not the vertebræ of our modern churches need somewhat of stiffening and bracing up in the matter of discipline?

Music and the Minister.

The subject of church music agitated the minds of the fathers as much, if not more, than it vexes the souls of their descendants. The outpouring of one soul sorely tried on the subject and which has come down to us from the elder day may be quoted in illustration. It seems the bass viol had been introduced into the Wareham (Mass.) church. The righteous indignation of honest Captain Joshua Gibbs was aroused, and he would neither listen to it nor make compromise with it, affirming, "The thing is an abomination. Can't we sing in meeting without such a screeching and groaning? My father and grandfather worshipped God in Wareham without a bass viol. I won't abide it."

The minister of these later days sometimes perhaps regrets the authority and reverence of which to so great an extent he has been stripped, and sometimes, it may be, sighs a little for more of the semi-autocratic sway over his parish enjoyed by the colonial clergyman. But the preacher in the days under the king had his thorns in the flesh as well as his numerous successors: *e.g.*, we are told of a certain parson who, in 1723, protested loudly to the church at Durham, N. H., against their receiving into fellowship a certain Colonel Davis and wife who were seeking admission to membership. Said parson was the former pastor of the couple and they seem to have much aggrieved the dominie. In his protest he brings seven counts against the offending twain; four of the counts were against the man and three against the woman. Of these edifying accusations we will stop to quote only one or two, viz.: "2d. crime is his sacrilegious fraud in his being the ringleader of the point peoples' first raise of my salary, retaining sixteen pounds thereof now almost sixteen years." Again, "4th. His late wresting the law of this province in his partial spite against his own legal minister for so innocently playing at nine pins at a house no way licensed for a tavern," etc.

A third group of facts we will now gather under the head of

State Supervision of Morals.

As every one knows, the Sabbath laws of the colonies were exceedingly strict. I have read, however, that the celebrated "blue-laws" of Connecticut were not genuine statutes. John Fiske in his "Beginnings of New England," says: "The famous blue-laws of New Haven, which have been made the theme of so many jests at the expense of our forefathers, never really existed." The story of the Blue Laws was first published in 1781 by the Rev. Samuel Peters, a tory refugee in London, who took delight in horrifying our British cousins with tales of wholesale tarring and feathering done by the patriots of the Revolution. In point of strict veracity Dr. Peters reminds one of Baron Münchausen. The genuine laws of the colony on the subject of Sabbath-keeping were nevertheless strict enough. In Massachusetts the statute of 1653 forbade walking in the streets or going on shipboard on Sundays; and these regulations were not a mere dead letter, but rigidly enforced. Occasionally a tender conscience brought a culprit self-accused of Sabbath-breaking before the court. For instance, the town records of Norwich have an entry to the effect that in 1720 Samuel Sabin complained of himself before a justice that on the previous Sabbath night he went with a neighbor to visit relations; "did no harm, and fears it may be a transgression of ye law" and promises amends. In the same town a party of youths and maidens were arraigned in that they did, on "Lord's day evening, meet and convene together, and walk in the street in company, upon no religious occasion." The state also supervised the morals of the community in other directions. The court when unengrossed with the graver business of state not infrequently devoted itself to the correction of morals. Some one wrote to Governor Winthrop in 1636, "Many in your plantations discover much pride." To restrain any abnormal development of this antecedent of a fall, the Puritan legislators set themselves to the enactment of laws regulating dress and fashion.

We doubtless think this sort of legislation meddlesome; but it was, notwithstanding, better business than that in which our modern legislatures sometimes engage themselves. Tipplers were not always permitted to pursue their devious paths unlooked after. Thus Bridgewater appointed two men to inquire who drink strong drink in the ordinaries. Would it not be a wholesome idea for towns in our own day to elect similar inquirers? These officers would be sure to be unpopular in certain quarters, but doubtless the results of their zealous labors would be salutary to the state. Moreover, a man was not always allowed to misspend his hours according to his own disinclinations; hence it was that in 1698 the selectmen of Woburn admonished John Carter, Jr., "for misspending his time," and warned him that he must improve it better for the future. Alas! who of us all would dare to be the first to cast a stone at the misspender of his time? Few of us remember always that "Time wasted is existence; used is life."

Morals in General.

Turning now from our glance at state supervision of morals, let us view a group of facts bearing on certain curious ideas prevalent in the colonies and involving morals. Smuggling and illicit trading was not universally regarded as reprehensible, and representative merchants like Faneuil of Boston do not seem to have scrupled to ship foreign brandy in false New England rum-casks. Barcelona handkerchiefs were smuggled by these Yankee traders "as coolly as they took snuff in the streets of Boston."

Public sentiment and sense of right has been so educated up to a reprehension of the lottery system that even an infant and impecunious state like North Dakota rejects with scorn a proposal to establish within its borders a gigantic lottery scheme. But the fathers had little horror of the lottery. Indeed it was a very frequent and common thing for them to raise funds by means thereof.

In the Boston *News Letter* of December 27th, 1759, the state of Massachusetts advertised three lotteries. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Liberty's celebrated cradle, was burned down in 1761, and when it was subsequently rebuilt the necessary means were raised by means of a lottery. Indeed so common was the lottery that Mr. Weeden feels himself justified in saying: "Whenever a road or bridge was to be built, street paved, or any uncommon public work undertaken, the tickets flew plenty and fast. Debts were lifted, fire losses liquedated, every kind of public indulgence was granted in the form of this 'snare for the people.'" Another strange phase of the morals of Colonial New England was the countenancing of a traffic in human flesh and blood. The African slave-trade carried on by the early New England merchants is so notorious and well understood that it need not be here dwelt upon at length. We in Newport have in our ancient cemetery a reminder of the fact that its citizens once kept and dealt in slaves, as one corner of the old burying-ground was set apart for slaves, and the inscription upon the humble headstones may still be read by the curious idler. In 1762 the price paid for a prime male slave was 110 gallons of rum. For centuries there seems to have been an unholy alliance between the traffic in rum and the trade in men. Perhaps because both are odious. Just here may be stated a fact probably not generally known, that the name of a British coin much used in commerce derives its name from that unhappy land whence gold and negroes were both carried off, *i.e.*, Guinea.

But the traffic in humanity was not confined to the buying and selling of negroes. It appears that Indians occasionally became subjects of barter; and in illustration is adduced an old item of record viz., Wm. Hilton (1649) "sells to Geo. Carr for one quarter part of a vessel, James, my Indian." Debtors were sold sometimes into a species of slavery, being sold as servants for terms of years. Indeed self-selling for debt was carried so far that Massachusetts was obliged in 1683 to enact a statute to prevent debtors from selling themselves into servitude for one debt in order to avoid other debts. How pitiable the condition of a debtor in an age when such an enactment was deemed necessary! But I have already too long taxed the endurance of my readers, and must relieve their impatience. I will do so by adducing an argument for early rising which has come down to us from that distant day of which we have been thinking. We all recall persuasive arguments in favor of early rising, rehearsed for our benefit by parental lips in our boyhood or girlhood. Our recollection is especially freighted with reference to the lark, and that other early bird which pounced upon the unfortunate worm (and according to later theory serving it right). We also recall that much-quoted verse, "Early to bed," etc., the truth of which later experience has failed to verify. But the argument quoted below has the merit of freshness and of being an example of exegesis in colonial days. It may be found in the works of Jonathan Edwards, and runs thus: "I think Christ has recommended rising early in the morning by his rising from the grave very early."

Newport, R. I.

QUAINT OLD CHURCHES OF NORWAY.

BY HARRIET M. OGDEN NEVIN.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, April 18, 1891.

THE old Norwegian "stave-kirker," or "brushwood churches," stand pre-eminent among the many objects of interest throughout Scandinavia. Less than a dozen of them still remain dotted over the country. They are well worth a journey of many miles to see, as they are absolutely unique, the Russian country churches of the seventeenth century most nearly resembling them. In these latter, however, the beams rest horizontally, making them look like ordinary log-houses; while in the "stave-kirker" the boards stand upright, and so they are called "stave" or "brushwood" churches.

Most of them have undergone some changes of their original form, but, in out-of-the-way districts, only what was absolutely necessary was done to maintain them. Sometimes merely a coat of tar was added to the outside boards. No great expense was gone to, because in many of them service was only performed a few times every year, and their maintenance was dependent on private individuals or on the generosity of the little village.

The exact age of these churches is not known; and, although a local tradition at Borgund makes the church there date from 1073, the style of architecture and the general ornamentation make it most probable that all of them were erected in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The church of Borgund stands in a most picturesque ravine above the wild and foaming waters of the Laera River. It is one of the most curious, as well as the best preserved, of the old churches, and is now owned by the Antiquarian Society of Christiania. It is no longer used, service being held in a new church near by.

Of this fantastic-looking building it is extremely difficult to give an intelligible description. Every part is curious and interesting. The walls are surmounted by a lofty roof, that in this case has been left open to view from within, but in some of the churches has been concealed by a plain ceiling. The quadrangular nave is adjoined by a semi-circular choir. Around the outside of the building is a low arcade, the lower part of which is closed, while the upper is open and supported by small columns. This was probably built as a protection against snow and ice. There are gables everywhere, and the roofs and walls are covered with shingles coated with thick and ancient layers of tar, and surmounted by grotesque-looking dragons' heads. The capitals of the pillars, the frames of doors and windows, and all other suitable places, are carved in elaborate and fantastic designs of entwined dragons with figures and flowers. The main door is very high, the ornamentation on it consisting of two snakes twisted together. The only windows are small round air-holes near the roof, which do not allow even a "dim religious light," and make the interior almost dark.

On the west door are two runic inscriptions that have been translated as follows: "Thorir wrote these lines on St. Olaf's fair," and "This church in the church-ground." Professor Dahl, the eminent authority on Norwegian churches, is of the opinion that formerly most of the churches were covered with carvings, but in the repeated repairs these were replaced by undecorated planks.

The question has been asked whether these decorations, that so often are pagan in character, may not have been taken from some even older structures of the heathen period, and utilized for embellishing Christian churches. If this be true, they are rendered even more interesting and mysterious. As St. Gregory the Great advises St. Augustine of Canterbury: "If the temples of the idols are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God." It is also thought that some of the entwined patterns may have been derived from Ireland; and as the Vikings for a long time ravaged and settled in that country, this may be the case. The same style of carving is found on crosses and tombstones in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in Scandinavia; but only in these churches is it known to exist in its original form in wood.

Inside the old Borgund church is a stone altar and a very old altar-painting. Near by, and in the same enclosure, although entirely separate, stands its "klock-stapel," or belfry. It is of much later origin than the main building, the bell bearing the name of St. Laurentius and the date 1663. Not very far from Borgund used to stand another old "timber church," but it was removed by Frederick William IV. of Prussia to the Giant Mountains in Silesia, and a modern structure was erected in its place. In front of this new church still stands an old stone, on which is the runic inscription, "The sons of Gosa erected this stone to the memory of Gunar."

The "stave-kirker" are not large, Borgund having a nave thirty-nine feet long and a circular apse of fifteen feet; while the largest to be found in Norway, that of Hitterdal, is only eighty-four feet long and fifty-seven feet wide. The description of one of these churches does for all, that of Borgund having been little changed, and is so fantastic as to be almost Chinese in aspect. Another one of the old churches has been taken to Oscarshall, near Christiania, and re-erected there, and has for companion an old Norwegian farmhouse, fitted up with its original furniture. Still another adorns the grounds of the American consul's estate at Fantoft, not far from Bergen. It is all of pine, and quite prettily carved, but very small and very dark, lighted only by the little round windows near the roof. On the inside walls are queer old paintings, and fantastically carved figures are over the pulpit.

The quaint old Norwegian town of Throndhjem is quite a pretty little place, but the great object of interest to tourists is its cathedral, a building well worth a visit. It has repeatedly been partially destroyed by fire, and is now undergoing extensive repairs. The cathedral is built on the site of the burial-place of St. Olaf, who is regarded as the founder of the town. Here a spring burst forth, now called St. Olaf's Well, to mark the original grave of the king. It is an imposing structure, built of a bluish slate, with which the slender white marble pillars and exquisite tracery and carvings contrast most admirably.

In the beautiful octagon at the end of the choir, St. Olaf's shrine formerly stood. The silver reliquary weighed about two hundred pounds, and was placed in a plain wooden case, which was surrounded by a finely carved shrine, inlaid with precious stones. At the time of the Reformation, reliquary and shrine were carried off to Copenhagen, and only the wooden chest left behind. There are many pretty chapels, rich mouldings, and finely carved capitals to the columns; and these, with the pointed arches and ornately decorated windows, make altogether a very handsome interior. In the Chapter House, English church service is regularly held in summer, and service is also held in the transept.

The cathedral has long been the burial-place of the kings of Norway, and by the present Constitution of the country all the monarchs are compelled to go to Throndhjem to be crowned in it. Students act as guides around the building, and will accept no fee, but expect a contribution to the repairing fund.

Adjoining the cathedral is the pretty churchyard, where, every Saturday, it is the Norwegian custom to decorate many of the graves with fresh flowers. The people regard this ancient landmark with the greatest veneration, and pay frequent visits to it.

Riverton, N. J.

PARAGRAPHIC.

The Vatican Copyists.—Autotype machines have just been served out for the first time to some of the copying clerks at the Vatican; but (according to the Continental correspondent of the Glasgow *Herald*) they are only to be used for the roughest kind of proof work which has to be done in a hurry. The Pope dislikes the innovation, for he is anxious—and rightly so—not to break up the admirable school of penmanship which flourishes at the Vatican. There is no such writing in the world as that which is seen on the documents sent out by the Curia. All the copying clerks of the first rank are priests and monks, and many of them real artists in caligraphy. They are allowed to exercise their fancy in the tracing of illuminated capitals and ornamental rubrics or margins; but there must not be a single erasure on a page which has been issued in the Pope's name. A misplaced comma causes a whole page to be rewritten.—*The Catholic Review.*

A pastor who feels that he has been mistreated by his people, yet says in a private letter to the editor, "I know I cannot vindicate myself without seriously dividing this congregation, so I have decided to do all I can to leave them united." That pastor has the true Christian spirit, and, also, the spirit of a true minister of Christ, preferring to suffer wrong in silence rather than kindle a church quarrel. He is wise also and prudent, for a fight over a preacher always hurts the preacher more than anybody else. One of the resolutions with which every young minister should start out is this, "I will, wherever I go, be a peacemaker, and never allow myself or my wrongs or my rights to be the occasion of a church quarrel."—*Cumberland Presbyterian.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration. Two papers by Llewelyn J. Evans and Henry Preserved Smith. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1891. 8vo, paper, pp. iii., 126, 50 cents.

These two papers were prepared by two professors in Lane Theological Seminary as contributions to the discussion of a resolution before the Presbytery of Cincinnati. The resolution, after three sections headed each with a "whereas," reads as follows: "Resolved, that while we recognize the importance of full and free critical study of the Scriptures and kindred subjects, provided it be made in a reverential spirit, and with the purpose of vindicating the true nature of the Scriptures as held by our church, we nevertheless deem such utterances [as those of Dr. Briggs, referred to in the preceding 'whereas'] worthy of the attention of the General Assembly; and furthermore, we petition the General Assembly . . . to take such action as shall, in its judgment, be best adapted to preserve the peace, purity, and prosperity of the church."

From the tone and scope of this resolution it is evident that Professor Evans was right in saying that "the principles which are at stake are to my mind more vital than any personal issue," and that ". . . the time has come for a definite understanding respecting the rights of Christian scholarship in the Biblical departments in our theological seminaries" (p. 4).

The personal attitude of the men in question is of importance to the understanding and appreciation of what they have to say. The one has been a student and teacher of the New Testament for over a quarter of a century, and the other of the Old Testament for over half that time. The one claims to understand both sides in the present discussion, with their motives and apprehensions, and the other has arrived at his present position after having started from the standpoint of the severest and "highest" of high notions and conceptions as to the nature and scope of inspiration. Each is an able and intelligent scholar, and each is thoroughly in love with his subject and filled with a desire for the honor of God and his Bible. No one can read the volume before us without being convinced of these things, or being compelled to assert that they are either wofully deceived as to their own hearts or arrant knaves. These papers are a standing proof of the falsity of the assertion that low spiritual life is an accompaniment of "low" views of inspiration, either antecedently or consequently. But right here a protest must be made against the word "low" in connection with a view of inspiration which gives a book coming close to the throbbing hearts of men, appealing to them as human beings, reasonable creatures, instead of a book which has in it a minimum of the human element, which is like a mere charm, or like a quarry where all of the stone is of equal texture and all equally good and serviceable for building.

Grave complaint is made about a very serious difficulty that is met with in such discussions as the present—viz., the ignorance on the one side of the true position of the other, and also of the preliminaries which must precede all intelligent investigation and inquiry. One who has followed the discussion of the Cincinnati resolution as it has been reported, and as the papers have been reprinted *in extenso* in the daily press, will not have to go outside of these very papers to find sufficient justification for the charge that the ground of much of the complaint against criticism, higher and lower, lies in ignorance of its true aims, its spirit, and its results. This has as much to do with the matter as have dogmatic premises and preconceptions. These last are no doubt responsible for the view-point of many disputants, but the other is chargeable with the absurd accusations and groundless suspicions which have been indulged in the religious as well as the secular press.

Professor Smith has likewise called attention to a third source of misconception which will in part account for the unfamiliarity of the Christian public with the nature of the problems involved. In the ordinary reading of the Bible there is a natural distinction made between the various parts. Some speak directly to the heart, and are of immediate application to the life for its guidance. Other parts are concerned with genealogies, lists of kings and other things which have no connection with spiritual needs. Over these the reader intent on spiritual instruction and nourishment passes as of no moment, but it is just here that the critic stops, though he does not omit the other. Consequently, when there comes a question involving a matter that hinges on a list of names, it may be, there is a degree of unfamiliarity which results in a suspicion that the foundations are being undermined. The real blame in the matter seems, however, rather to attach to those who have caused the belief to go forth that the entire integrity of the Word of God shall have disappeared so soon as a single error shall have been found and established. A further cause of ignorance lies in the fact that biblical theology and kindred subjects are of comparatively recent origin, and that so many of our ministers have sold their Hebrew Bibles, or have put them on a top shelf, and have forgotten their Hebrew grammar.

It would be very conducive to a clearing of the atmosphere of some minds if the attempt were made to formulate the "errors" and the "false teaching" of which complaint is made, after the fashion of the "Auburn Declaration," so that the exact ground of the plaintiff may be as exactly known as is the ground of those against whom vague, indefinite charges are brought. The recommendation of Professor Evans to this effect is worthy of the serious attention of those who, instead of so doing, are trying to shift the responsibility for the matter upon the General Assembly, or who, instead of themselves formulating their charges, have compassed the appointment of a committee to "examine and report."

But the main question discussed in the first paper is inspiration, and the discussion is both destructive in intent and constructive in design. We are presented with some cogent reasoning as to the true character of that theory of inspiration which would refer us back to the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs. The work is done with a keenness of logic, a depth of conviction, a breadth of knowledge, and withal with a beauty of style which leave little to be desired. The actual state of affairs in Biblical science is recognized—vagaries, assured results, probable conclusions, and all. But that the results of biblical scholarship are not all vagaries is evident enough; some are facts, so far as anything can be a fact, and the conclusion is most boldly stated, "If the theories of other days will not bear the pressure of these facts, they must go to the wall. . . . If your definition of inspiration, your definition of the infallibility of the Bible, . . . not the doctrine, but your *definition* of the doctrine, will not stand the test of the established results of criticism, if it will not harmonize with ascertained facts, then so much the worse for the definition" (pp. 8, 9).

The "*Ipsissima-verba*-of-the-original-autograph" theory of inspiration is then examined and characterized, in the first place, as unscientific, not being based, as it should be, upon an examination of all the facts and an induction from the results of such examination. It is an *à priori* assumption, based upon what is claimed *must* have been the action of God. The second objection is that it is irreverent and presumptuous. It might also have been characterized as rationalistic as well. What do we or can we know about inspiration as a divine process other than that which we are able to infer as to what it was from what it did? Besides, those who advocate this view do for the Bible what it does not do for itself. If there is any cause of complaint either way, it would seem to lie against those who thus foist upon God's word something which itself does not claim, which is, therefore, unscriptural, unscientific, irreverent, presumptuous, and baldly rationalistic, while actually illogical as being drawn from improper and insufficient premises. Professor Evans says: "So far are we from being entitled to say beforehand that God *must* make his human auxiliary superhumanly infallible in every possible particular, that the very opposite is alone what analogy justifies us in affirming" (p. 16), and again, "In all humility, therefore, instead of dictating what God must do, let us inquire reverently what God has done, how God has spoken; in what form, really, actually, concretely, practically, the revelation of his will has come to man" (p. 20).

Professor Evans proceeds to contrast systematic theology with biblical theology, and to point out their essential differences. The one is "based on the principle of systematic self-consistency." His tribute to biblical theology is worthy of quotation at length. "Biblical theology is of special importance in thus unfolding to us the compositeness of Bible truth, and in giving us the key to its rich and suggestive variations. It puts us, moreover, in touch with *the man* who speaks to us in the name of God. We feel that in Peter, in John, in James, we have an inspired man, not a divinely manipulated automaton. We come to understand why, in discussing the same subject, Paul says this, and says it thus; James says that, and says it so. . . . This *Novum Organum* of Biblical Theology, calling to its aid Criticism, the Higher and the Lower, puts us in possession of the human personal equation in the inspired word, as we never possessed it before. It reveals to us what Farrar calls 'The Message of the Books;' nay more, the mission of each writer, known and unknown, and helps us to see how even in his idiosyncrasies, even in his limitations, each is fitted for his particular place and task" (p. 25).

The turn that has been given to the discussion is due to the avowal of a certain theory of inspiration which has as a corollary the statement that a single proved error in the record invalidates the whole revelation. There are men to whom the Bible is too dear to allow them to admit any such preposterous result as this. Hence Professor Evans combats the theory with vigor and clearness, holding meanwhile that "it is not, as Professor Briggs says, a pleasant task to point out errors in the Scripture. We do it only as the interests of truth require, because we dare not handle the Word of God deceitfully. Nothing is worth saving that cannot be saved honestly, not even that Book. But we are at an infinite remove from taking these [errors] as the measure of the Bible" (p. 46). The real question as here presented is one between an inspired man who, in his capacity of a man, conveyed the message of God to men, and an inspired proof-reader or compiler. As Professor Smith points out, " . . . the clear distinction which our theologians make between revelation and inspiration is a comparatively modern distinction" (p. 68). The primary place is occupied by the divine revelation, which mercifully comes in to supplement the light of nature, which of itself was not sufficient to salvation. The function of inspiration is closely connected with this, and is "to mediate the revelation; to interpret, to record, to apply it; to put us, to put all generations, under the immediate power of those divine realities . . . " (Evans, p. 54). "It [the Bible] is part of the supernatural divine process of saving a lost world, of rehabilitating a ruined humanity. Inspiration is the formal factor in that process, as Revelation is the material factor. Thus regarded I have no hesitation in saying that the Bible is inspired wholly, inspired through and through. The men are inspired, as Professor Stowe said. The thoughts are inspired, as Professor Briggs says. The words are inspired, as Professor Hodge said" (p. 55).

Professor Evans takes 1 Cor. ii. 6–16 as the best basis on which to build a doctrine of inspiration which he calls "Pneumatic Inspiration," the inspiration of the Spirit of God. His words are to be commended to all searchers after truth. In this department the paper is constructive in the best sense; scarcely anything could be finer or more complete. "Its infallibility is not a microscopic infinitesimal infallibility respecting all particular things in the heavens above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth. It is an infallible *rule of faith—i.e.*, of Christian faith, of Gospel faith, of the faith which is necessary to salvation" (p. 61).

Incident to the "*ipsissima-verba*-of-the-original-autograph" theory there are difficulties and dangers. One of the difficulties in the case is due to the fact that for a considerable part of Scripture there were no original autographs in the strict sense. The materials were taken from earlier books and from a variety of sources. Some of these were the accounts handed along from mouth to mouth, not to mention the Logia of Papias. Of the discourses of Christ we have no *ipsissima verba*, and to ascribe inspiration to the chronicler alone is to postulate merely an inspired proof-reader or scissors-editor (cf. p. 32)! Then again, as the science of textual criticism proceeds, it is evident that the nearer we get to the alleged *ipsissima verba* the harder pressed does the theory become (cf. pp. 37–38), and the more numerous the divergencies to be explained. "Your inerrant autograph is an abstraction. Your inerrant text is an abstraction. . . . If absolute-verbal infallibility was essential to inspiration, does not the loss of that infallibility imply the loss of that inspiration?" (p. 40.) "But the theory that all the errors in the text are surreptitious, that none of them is to be referred to the original autographs, is one which honest criticism finds itself unable to accept" (p. 41). Even Calvin did not hesitate in this matter, but allowed the existence of error which could not be explained away. There is little wonder that Professor Evans is moved to remark in this connection: "He [Calvin] was, in fact, a pioneer of the Higher Criticism, and it is only too evident that if the question of confirming his election to one of our Biblical chairs were to come before us to-day, he would fail of getting a unanimous vote" (p. 45, note).

Professor Smith illustrates some other difficulties from the early history of the Bible and its treatment. The Jew held that all Scripture was important, and even the most insignificant things possessed of their value. Hence if the plain sense seemed unworthy or trivial, a "higher sense" was imported into the passage and made to depend upon processes which are justly called exegetical "legerdemain." How shall those who hold to the "high" theory of inspiration avoid also this still "higher sense"? (cf., p. 72). Or again, "The hypothesis of an inerrant word leads to the demand for an inerrant interpretation" (p. 73). Among the Jews this was recognized in the Oral Law, which was exalted above what was written. In the Church of Rome the church is claimed to hold the position of the infallible interpreter. How can "high" view inspirationists refrain from going over to the bosom of the church, like Newman, or avoid the necessity of supplying such an inerrant interpretation? "The logical result [in the Jewish Church], therefore, of this theory of inerrancy was to substitute for the Scripture the alleged authorized interpretation" (p. 73), for a recent Jewish authority declares, "The decisions of the Scribes are more weighty than those of the Law."

In this notice there is not space to follow Professor Smith through his argument. The difficulties of the theory, as over against the Old Testament, are set forth in general, with some mention also of particular cases and specific incidents. These are to be commended to the attention of all candid men, and it is to be remembered that these statements do not come from a man hostile to the Bible, but from one who loves it and desires for it a position commensurate with its value and worth.

But there are serious dangers which beset the theory of inerrancy according to the doctrine of "*ipsissima-verba*-of-the-original-autographs" inspiration. One of these is that it "reverses the order of the two principles of the Protestant Church." The formative principle of the sufficiency of Scripture as the rule of faith is placed before the vital principle of Justification by Faith. Dr. Hodge actually says (III., p. 67), "The faith of the Christian is the persuasion of the truth of the facts and doctrines recorded in the Scriptures on the testimony of God." This must be upon the ground of what is confidently denominated the "true doctrine of inspiration," by Drs. Hodge and Warfield (*Presbyterian Review*, 1881, p. 236).

Still, again, to insist upon this theory "is to turn the whole science of exegesis into a study of harmonistics," which is indeed a most "fruitless task," especially when it is accompanied by constant juggling with the facts and, in the end, by a net loss in the real value of the basal principles, and all at the expense of scientific and honest procedure.

But there is a still more serious danger. Professor Evans states it admirably. "Let me tell you where the danger lies, as it confronts me in my work from year to year. It lies in putting the Bible in a false position, in claiming for it what it does not claim for itself. It lies in *à priori* assumptions respecting inspiration and infallibility, which are not borne out by the facts. It lies in holding up your iron clad dogma of verbal inspiration and literalistic infallibility against the advances made by an humble, prayerful, reverent investigation and criticism of Scripture as the Word of God (p. 63). "You condemn criticism, which destroys belief in the Scriptures as the Word of God. But beware of including in your condemnation the criticism which helps to make such belief in the Scriptures possible" (p. 64). "It [the Presbyterianism of our country] cannot afford to put the yoke of bondage to an exploded relic of post-Reformation scholasticism on the consciences of our young men, alive as they are to the gains of reverent and careful study of the Book, and sensitive as they cannot fail to be to the humiliation of such bondage. It cannot afford to silence the larger, profounder, more Scriptural restatements of revealed truth made imperative by improved methods of Biblical research" (p. 65).

The necessary limits of this review compel us to refrain from further comment and quotation. Both papers are worthy of careful perusal and thorough consideration. The spirit and tone of each are at once bold and yet without harshness, so that there is no difficulty to tell just where the authors stand.

CHARLES R. GILLETT.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

OUTLINES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM APPLIED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By C. E. HAMMOND, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford; Vicar of Menhenoit, Cornwall. Fifth edition, revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan, 1890. Pp. xii., 164, 16mo, 90 cents.

The fact that a work on a subject so uninteresting to the general reader as textual criticism has within eighteen years passed through five editions speaks strongly for the excellence of the book. Mr. Hammond's book, published originally in 1872, is now on the market in its fifth edition, with the demand, if anything, greater than ever.

There is plenty of room for such a book as the one before us. The ignorance of clergymen generally in regard to what textual criticism is, and especially as to the materials upon which it works and the principles which guide its operations, would be laughable were it not lamentable. It is hardly a subject for congratulation that a doctor of divinity, an officer of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, lately confounded textual criticism with the higher criticism, and referred to Westcott and Hort's text of the New Testament as an example of the results of the latter!

Mr. Hammond's book has grown in size and value since it was first issued. This last edition has used the Prolegomena of Dr. Gregory published in 1890, thus embodying the latest results. In seven chapters with six appendices the subject is covered in a very fair though necessarily somewhat elementary fashion.

In clear manner the origin of the *textus receptus* and its uncritical character are exhibited. The origin, cause, and kinds of variations in the manuscripts are stated and illustrated. The method of designating manuscripts and the value, extent, and condition of the different codices are given in lucid language. The nature and value of the versions in textual criticism are well set forth, and the limitations of the evidence for the text gathered from the works of the Fathers are excellently pointed out.

Perhaps the least satisfactory chapter is that which deals with the division of the manuscripts into groups. The principal classifications are given, and the preferences of the author stated and justified. But the characteristics of the different groups are not as clearly noted as seems desirable.

It would be difficult to formulate, from Mr. Hammond's chapter on the subject, the differences between, say, the Alexandrine and Byzantine text.

The author has stated the principal canons of criticism. We could wish that this part had been treated at greater length.

The examples of the application of textual criticism given are very happy, and illustrate well the difficulties which arise and the methods of solution. Not the least interesting are the examples showing the difference between *authorship* and *canonicity*, and the application of textual criticism to establish both.

In short, the work is an excellent one, and merits the success it has met. It is gotten up in good shape, and its low price puts it within the reach of all who ought to know at least as much of the subject as the book teaches. It heightens the reverence of clergymen for the New Testament by pointing out how abundant are the witnesses to the text, and how watchful has been the providence of God in the preservation of so many codices. Divinity students will be better prepared by perusing it for their studies preliminary to their life-work. And the layman may find here matter which will enable him to appreciate the wealth of material we are furnished with for the study of the sacred text.

George W. Gilmore.

Brooklyn.

The Sermon-Bible. Matthew i.–xxi. New York: Armstrong, 1891. Post 8vo, cloth, $1.50.

This is the fifth of twelve volumes—the Old Testament being complete in four already published. These facts are interesting in the light of the further statement of the prospectus, that the space given in the series, to each book of the Bible, depends on the number of sermons which have been preached from it. I presume that few things could be named in which there is wider range for originality than in the homiletical habit. Therefore one man's criticism of another man's way of making a sermon, or of proposing to a third man to make one, is more or less a profitless matter. If, therefore, any man's inner consciousness on Tuesday morning vibrates responsive to this sentence—I quote the prospectus: "Thus the preacher, having chosen his text, has only to refer to the "Sermon-Bible" to find some of the best outlines and suggestions on it, and full references to all the helps available," to that preacher, I should think, the "Sermon-Bible" might be "indispensable." But to those to whom it is not indispensable, it would always remain an unfathomable mystery why the preacher chose that particular text, or, for that matter, any text, except for that direst of all reasons, that Sunday is certainly coming.

All this is only a roundabout way of saying that, given the method, I should think that the book might meet a need. I should think also that it was calculated to confirm that method and perpetuate that need. The range of reading among modern English and American preachers is certainly very wide. I take it for granted that the book would have been less useful to the great number and the various needs of those for whom it was intended, if the selection had been guided by any more obvious principle. The contents of the book could, in that case, not have been so variegated as they are. The impress of individuality, even of that measure of it which can show itself in selecting, would have been no doubt a contradiction of the encyclopædic character intended for the work. One must not impress his individuality too sharply on a dictionary; but herein lies one of the reasons why the dictionary does not very largely contribute to the originality of those who devote themselves to the perusal of it. All this is again a roundabout way of saying that such a work as this appeals to, and is, I suppose, calculated for men who have few books and small library facilities. But that is just the point of view from which the thing is sad. For, whatever may be true of other things, as to his sermonizing, at any rate, if a man is to have few books, it is of so much the more importance that they should be books, and not the mere pickings of books, in order that out of them he might learn, in his solitude, not to crib, but to think. But I am aware, as I said at the beginning, that I judge the book by a standard which it never set for itself. What I judge, then, is the standard, not the book.

Edward C. Moore.

Providence, R. I.

Christ in the New Testament. By Thomas A. Tidball, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Camden, N. J. With an Introduction by S. D. McConnell, D.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. Pp. 357, $1.50.

This volume comprises a series of lectures delivered before the Church-Woman's Institute of Philadelphia, as part of a plan of a two years' course of study—1887–89—in the departments of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book, Theology, and Church History. One of the most hopeful signs of our times is the formation of the women of the American churches into such societies as this one. They are becoming by no means exceptional, but are everywhere growing in favor.

Dr. Tidball, as the title of his volume indicates, has sought to present the Christology of the New Testament. In doing so he has treated every book except the Apocalypse with a degree of thoroughness and fulness seldom found in so small a compass. It is some imes an advantage that an author is shut up to brevity. A large field with no special limitations as to space may be a temptation to vagueness and needless expansion. The demand for brevity leads one to be concise and pointed in statement. Condensation and pointedness are elements of strength, especially with the people.

The line of discussion pursued shows incidentally the origin, history, authorship, and essential contents of the several gospels and epistles, and then as its main design, makes a cumulative argument for Christ, drawn from the varied yet united testimony which these all offer to his person, doctrine, and character. Each writer, in his own way and for his own purpose, portrays Jesus. The distinctive trait set forth by the synoptics is the practicalness of the Great Teacher, while John in his gospel emphasizes the mystical element. And then to the objection that this mysticism invalidates the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel, as proving it must have been of later origin than the time of John, he brings forward the mysticism of St. Paul as found in his unquestioned epistles, composed before the date of the Fourth Gospel. Thus Paul, the great practician, mediates between the practical Matthew and the mystical John. This is but one example of the ingenious and suggestive turns with which the statements of the author abound. Every question raised is treated with eminent fairness and satisfaction.

I closed the reading of the book with the conviction that Dr. Tidball, while aiming at a high, definite mark—to give the results of painstaking research for the edification of certain devout, inquiring ladies—had unconsciously prepared one of the best hand-books in New Testament studies that can be placed in the hands of the people, far and near. My only adverse criticism of the style of the author is he italicizes too much. Usually it is better to leave the reader to see the emphasis from the force and drift of the argument and the structure of the sentences. H. B. RIDGAWAY.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, EVANSTON, ILL.

STUDIES IN HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By J. MACBRIDE STERRETT, D.D., Professor of Ethics and Apologetics in the Seabury Divinity School. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1890. Pp. xiii., 348, 12mo, $2.00.

We have already noticed the Appendix to this volume, on "Christian Unity in America," which was distributed as a separate pamphlet.

The book itself is a laudable endeavor to make known to the thinking mind of our time Hegel's "Philosophy of Religion." If it be true, as his disciples declare, that, although Hegel's philosophy is not the final word, it has nevertheless, entered into and is modifying all the philosophic and theologic thought of our time, so that no one can escape it, but finds it necessary to accept it, or, with more or less intelligence to reject it, it is desirable that it should be rescued from misunderstanding, and be made to assume a definite form for comprehension. Among other efforts to do this Dr. Sterrett's is one of the most successful, and on that account, if for no other, the work should be gratefully received. Besides, it is attractive from its style and mode of treatment. Although the author thinks in the Hegelian technique, yet this has undergone some modification and transmutation into more popular phraseology. The style is markedly animated, vigorous, and hence attractive. It is instinct with thought; and the inference is constantly drawn that the author's thought has not exhausted itself in expression, but that there is an abundant reserve. Sometimes a mere adjective or adverb is suggestive of mental processes unexpressed, yet which stimulate the reader to think them out for himself. Indeed, what obscurity there is comes from this *rush* of thought. There is frequent and felicitous metaphor, and much poetic illustrative quotation. These two characteristics suggest the opinion that if the author were not a philosopher he would be a poet.

The work, however, is necessarily fragmentary, as is confessed in its title. It is not immediately and avowedly constructive, but rather reproductive, and largely critical. This criticism is very spicy, and the author would be a dangerous adversary in a polemic. Yet there is a constructive system which he has educed from his reading of Hegel, and made his own. The reader's task is to piece its elements together, which is not difficult to do as to the particular topic in hand.

But if, notwithstanding the truth of his method and the value of his results, Hegel's word upon philosophy as a whole is not the final one, as Dr. Sterrett himself acknowledges, and as Dr. Harris has confessed, one is inclined to ask what are the *lacunæ* in his system, what are its weak points, what problems are slurred over, or inadequately treated? Allowing that many or most of the results attained are permanent, the thought required to fill up these *hiatus* will and must necessitate a new synthesis. But one who has not fully mastered all that Hegel has written may easily blunder in declaring what these weak parts are, and one's suspicions may turn out to be wrong. We feel ourselves that before knowing the contents of Hegel's "Philosophy of Nature," it would be premature and rash to make the criticism that is suggested to us. The same may be said of his "Philosophy of Spirit." The contents of neither of these works is alluded to in Dr. Sterrett's book. He confines himself to the one topic, the "Philosophy of Religion." We cannot here give the processes through which the result is reached, but only and briefly that result itself.

In a very interesting and easily understood chapter he shows how the "Science of Religions" leads to a "Philosophy of Religion." Religion is universal, is a constituent of human consciousness, exists in the human spiritual soul as such. All (so-called) false religions have an element of truth, and God has revealed Himself in these. [This would seem to be a necessary corollary from what Christians affirm as to the Divine character. It is strange that the old Apologetics, which denied this, did not see that its procedure was suicidal, that it was undermining the very postulates from which alone Christianity itself was vindicated, as well as contradicting the utterances of the Bible.] Hence Hegel's endeavor to discover, to bring to light and express, the essential ideal of religion. It is the personal relation, struggling after form, and manifesting itself in progressive, partial, and inadequate forms till it should reach the absolute religion, or Christianity. But religion itself is a moment in the entire thought-movement, the immanent reason, or idea, which is realizing itself in all history, and which is the interpretation of the whole scheme of Providence. It is that moment of the same which is realized in human consciousness. Here God and man meet. The key to understand it is the category of reciprocity. The human spirit responds to the revelation of the Divine Spirit even in its lowest form. Its so-called *faith* is implicit knowledge. It is knowledge of the truth of all truths—of God Himself; inadequate, indeed, but still knowledge. And thus God Himself finds what is needful for Himself, the responsive love of His creature. Love must find love, and hence must create the possibility of love. This is the very core and meaning of Hegel's "Philosophy of Religion." But he expresses it in phraseology which is sometimes ambiguous, *e.g.*, "Religion is the knowledge which the Divine Spirit has of Himself." Or, otherwise, ' In religion God finds Himself, completes His self-consciousness." These expressions may very easily be misinterpreted and made to mean that the human spirit is needful for the Divine personality itself. It seems to us that Professor Seth must have so interpreted them, and hence his insistence that justice must be done to human individuality. We do not think that this was Hegel's or Dr. Sterrett's meaning. Otherwise understood they are true. Certainly God Himself is richer for the love of His creatures; and the loving self-consciousness may undergo that amplification which it demands because it *is* love. Thus God *knows* Himself in His outgoings. Thought is the *light*, which cannot be separated from the love, which is the *heat*, and this is the form of all activity. Energy is only explicable as love and thought. Doubtless it was the misinterpretation of such expressions of Hegel which gave rise to the charge of semi-Pantheism, and created the difficulty of reconciling them with the dogma of the Trinity.

Much of the outcome of Hegel's thought upon religion has been reached by other men, and expressed in far other language. But his treatment is most profound, and may on that account become most convincing. Dr. Sterrett's book will help the superficial thinking of our day to sink some steps deeper, and may win adherents to the system advocated. Others will hesitate. They would like to know how certain other elements of knowledge are to be connected with all this, *e.g.*, What place in this scheme is there for the problem of moral evil? How are the moral and religious elements interpenetrated in human consciousness and development? There are theological *lacunæ*, too. What is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and His office in the religious consciousness? Such questions lead us to hope that Dr. Sterrett will give us more "studies" in religion, either his own or further elucidation of Hegel's.

J. Steinfort Kedney.

Faribault, Minn.

Selected Sermons of Schleiermacher. Translated by Mary F. Wilson. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n. d. [1890]. 12mo, cloth, pp. viii., 451, $2.

This volume would be interesting, even if its contents were of indifferent value. The author was one of the most remarkable men Germany has produced. He lived at a time when just such a man as he was called for, and he met the emergency exactly. The eighteenth century, spiritually dull everywhere, was especially so on the Continent. Rationalism, borrowed from the English deists, had gone to extreme lengths, and affected the religious life of the entire nation. Pietism had proved only a temporary diversion, and that in a limited sphere. The nation seemed to be dead to the power of the Gospel, remitting all seriousness either to the peasantry or to women and children. A cold indifferentism pervaded the cultivated classes, and Christianity was regarded more as a system of ethics than a revelation of the grace of God. The pulpit resounded more with the teachings of Epictetus and Tully than with the words of inspiration or the profound discussions of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

It was under these circumstances that Schleiermacher issued his famous *Discourses on Religion*, which, as the biographical sketch prefixed to this volume states, "startled the nation as with the blast of a trumpet," and made a distinct epoch in the religious history of Germany. The book was by no means free from imperfection and contained much which its author afterward withdrew or modified; but its vigorous assertion of the claims of religion as in its essence the dependence of the soul on God, overthrew the cardboard structure of rationalism and startled the adherents of a dead orthodoxy. It gave an impulse to the spiritual life of Germany which has not yet ceased to exist. There have been and are many more consistent and more accurate investigators of religious truth, but to Schleiermacher belongs the credit of breaking the spell which had so long enchained alike the pulpit and the professorial chair.

The sermons which he preached aided the effect of his publications. They were listened to by crowds, and being spoken and not read, and animated by an eloquence born of the occasion, exerted an immense influence. The selection contained in this volume gives a very good idea of their general character. They show none of the extremely artificial analysis and arrangement commonly seen in German discourses of the last generation, but are simple and natural. We do not see the fire of the orator, but rather the cool judgment and wise counsels of a competent teacher. They lack, too, the evangelical warmth one expects in a Protestant pulpit. For instance, the first discourse in this volume, founded upon the closing scenes of the crucifixion (Mark xv. 34–41), sets forth the dying Saviour as our Example in that he sorrowed over unaccomplished deeds, that he died in calmness, and that he died surrounded with loving friends, which are certainly good enough points in themselves, but infinitely below the true bearing of the wondrous scene on the cross. On the other hand, the sermons on marriage and the training of children are full of exquisite good sense, while the one on the necessity of the new birth is sound to the core.

Not having the original at hand we cannot vouch for the fidelity of the translation, but it has as much fluency and ease as an original work, which is the more remarkable as Schleiermacher allowed himself to indulge in very long and involved sentences, as did Neander and many other German scholars. The book will not only satisfy an intelligent curiosity, but in other respects repay the thoughtful reader.

T. W. Chambers.

New York.

Book-Notes, by the Editor.

Among the volumes recently received, for which it has been impossible to find space for extended review, may be mentioned *The Sermon Bible.* St. Matthew xxii. to St. Mark xvi. (New York: Armstrong, 1891, pp. 389, $1.50). On another page is a notice of the volume on Matthew i.–xxi., by a successful pastor of the younger generation. With the sentiments there expressed we are in accord. The extent of the volume may be judged by the fact that it contains abstracts of sermons of comparatively recent date and by eminent preachers, each abstract averaging about a page in length. The book, therefore, contains abstracts of about 389 sermons. The vice of this sort of literature is, that it would engender a race of homiletical cripples if it were not for the further fact that it is beyond the power of one of these helpless creatures to made a sermon on another man's plan which will not be an effective means of emptying the pews. The man who can make a satisfactory sermon on one of these plans can make a better one without.

F. H. Revell (Chicago and New York) has published five neat pamphlets, containing as many sermons or addresses. Two of them are by *Henry Drummond*, so widely known by his "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and are entitled, *Love, the Supreme Gift; the Greatest Thing in the World*, and *The Perfected Life; the Greatest Need of the World.* An opportunity is thus afforded at reasonable rates (20 cents) for those who have never read anything by this man, who has exercised a great influence upon young men in our colleges recently, to make his acquaintance in a delightful way. *The First Thing in the World; or, the Primacy of Faith*, by *A. J. Gordon*, D.D., is a companion piece to Professor Drummond's *Love, the Supreme Gift*, and they should be read together. The others are by the Rev. *B. Fay Mills—Power from on High.* Do we need it? What is it? Can we get it? An address delivered at the Ninth International Christian Endeavor Convention, and by the Rev *George D. Herron—The Message of Jesus to*

Men of Wealth. The latter is an address delivered before the Minnesota Congregational Club. The thesis of the paper is that the Cross of Christ presents the solvent of all the problems of the social and economic life of the day.

Didactic Rhythmical Dissertations on the Book of Heaven, by the Rev. *George Morton* (New York: Alden, 1891, pp. 291), is the title of a volume of blank verse, extremely conservative in its general tone, and in some parts which we have read, quite too attenuated to appear in a dress of prose. A picture of the author adorns the volume. *Rhymes of Childhood,* by *James Whitcomb Riley* (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co., 1891, pp. xii., 186), is an attempt to do honor to "baby talk" in verse. Some of the pieces are very pretty, while others are what they purport to be only through a heavy drain upon the imagination. The author is already known to the reading public through his contributions to the magazines.

From the American Tract Society we have a volume entitled *Social and Religious Life in the Orient.* With numerous illustrations. By *K. H. Basmajian* (pp. 247, $1.). Besides an account of the personal experience of the author and his family, the volume contains considerable information as to the state of missions in Turkey, and especially among the Armenians. The literary character of the book might have been improved if it had been subjected to the criticism of a person who would have made some of the sentences conform more closely to the English idiom.

Fun and Finance. A discussion of modern Church novelties in connection with the subject of Christian giving, by Rev. *Newton Wray,* with an introduction by Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D. (Boston: McDonald, Gill & Co.) This is a philippic against the "Church fair" and similar expedients which are in such common use in many churches as a means to collect the money necessary for the prosecution of the Church's work. The author is not merely destructive in his criticism, but also constructive in that he points out the better way.

American Christian Rulers; or, Religion and Men of Government. Comprising sketches in American history of men of Christian faith and experience, who have had connection with the national and State governments and the judicial departments; embracing colonial, revolutionary, and later periods; alphabetically arranged, with chronological index of early State governors. Compiled by Rev. *Edward J. Giddings* (New York: Bromfield & Co., 8vo, pp. xix., 590), is the extended title of a volume which is thus quite fully described. The list contains 295 names, and extends from John Winthrop to James A. Garfield. The sketches vary in length from a dozen lines to several pages, the longest being necessarily circumscribed. The volume opens up a subject which, while extremely difficult and demanding extensive knowledge and the soundest of judgment, might be treated to the great advantage of readers. We refer to the investigation of the question as to the extent to which Christianity has moulded our legislation and civil history either abstractly or through the advocacy of Christian rulers. In good part this is a subject that would require more or less speculation and inference, especially in the later periods, while the results would depend mainly upon the delicacy of the perception and the accuracy of the judgment of the writer.

Zur Geschichte der Hieroglyphenschrift, von Dr. *W. Pleyte,* Conservator am Niederländischen Reichsmuseum zu Leyden. Nach dem Holländischen von Carl Abel (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1890, pp. 48, 2 mk.). This is an attempt to trace the alphabetic signs of the hieroglyphic writing back to their originals in the open syllable of the early writing. The theory is that each letter got its value from the fact that it was the first sign written or heard in some simple and common word. The simple letters of the alphabet are treated with clearness and success in most cases, especially the consonants as distinguished from the so-called vowels, which really are not vowels any more than Aleph or 'Ayin. These last form the *crux* of any theory, since they have become so changed and altered in their transfer to the Græco Coptic character, that their nature has become entirely lost, and their existence only to be detected by means of certain "rudimentary signs." The account which the author gives in the first sixteen pages, of the nature and methods of the hieroglyphic writing, is very clear and satisfactory, as far as it goes, but it is by no means exhaustive.

Under the title *In Scripture Lands: New Views of Sacred Places,* by *Edward L. Wilson* (8vo, pp. xvi., 386, $3. 50), the Scribners have issued a beautiful volume of travel in the Holy Land, Sinai, and Egypt, which is illustrated with 150 views taken from photographs made by the author. The whole appearance of the volume betokens the care and skill with which the publishers have done their share of the work. A considerable part of the text, and nearly, if not quite all, of the pictures are already familiar to the public through the pages of the *Century* and *Scribner's Magazine.* The story is well and graphically told, and the pictures which adorn the pages are a delight to the eye. We reserve the volume for further notice at a later date, while in the mean time it is to be commended to the attention of those interested in the subject.

QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

CONTENTS PAGES AND DIGESTS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

BAZAN'S RUSSIA. By MRS. M. B. NORTON. *The Andover Review,* April, 1891.

It is increasingly evident that some of the best accounts of nations come from people who have no personal acquaintance with them, and the writer of this review evidently thinks that Madame Bazan, with Spanish grace and native shrewdness, has made a profound contribution to the world's knowledge of a country which hovers on the edge of Europe like an apparition from the Dark Ages. Russia is in the twilight, but the twilight of the dawn, in which primitive institutions are striving for the mastery with the products of our new sociology, resulting in a dualism which is the cause of her moral and political disturbances. These two institutions are the Czar, representing the principle of autocracy, and the Mir, representing the life of the people. It is in the latter that the socialistic leaven works, and develops that Nihilism which is but the seeking on the part of the Russian for natural rights, with no faith in any supernatural, and resolved not on reform, but obliteration of the past, that room may be given for the future.

The closing quotation from the book itself voices the feeling of the author and the reviewer. "Russia is an enigma; let those solve it who can—I could not. The Sphinx called to me; I looked into the depths of her eyes, felt the sweet and bewildering attraction of the unknown. I questioned her, and, like the German poet, I wait, with but moderate hope, for the answer to come to me, borne by voices of the ocean of Time."

Suggestions as to Modifications of the Dogmatic System Taught in the Congregational Schools and Churches at the Present Time.

By the Rev. Frank H. Foster, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Oberlin Theological Seminary. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1891.

The introduction of this suggestive article deals : (1) With the influences that from the time of Jonathan Edwards up to the commencement of the Civil War had been at work, with the result of making the Congregational churches practically a unit in what is known as New School Calvinism ; (2) with those influences since 1860 which have resulted in an era of drift and confusion that causes such sad bewilderment.

The question, then, that faces systematic theology is how to master the situation. This involves a readjustment to meet the new circumstances, the incorporation of new materials, the reapplication of neglected principles and truths.

The writer thus brings forward certain points representing the dominating ideas under which the theological system to be taught in our seminaries at the present day must be constructed.

I. The system must be constructed under the influence of the rehabilitated idea of the church as a supernatural institution, the temple of the indwelling and operative spirit.

Whatever may be true of a progressive revelation of the truth in the New Testament, it is very evident that the apprehension of the truth in the church has been a growth, and often a very slow one. Yet there has always been this growth, and no one can look over the history of any one of the great doctrines without recognizing the existence of the Divine Spirit and influence at work in the church, guiding its thought to a more perfect conception of it. The recognition of that church as a constant divine institution will be a great help to the theologian.

II. The system must be constructed with the constant use of Christian experience as a source of doctrine. Such experience *is* and ever *has been* a source of doctrine, but under the name of "Christian consciousness" has often become a source of much hesitation and perplexity. The recognition of it in its proper place will result in an essential deepening of our theology, bringing out truths that have never been developed, as in the relation of God the Father and the Spirit, as well as of Christ, to the actual daily Christian life. It will also bring out of their obscurity certain old elements of theology which have been long forgotten, but which are needed to-day—*e.g.*, the testimony of the Spirit to the divine origin of the Bible, which is, after all, the great proof, as it is the one that gives that calmness to the mind which is essential in the conduct of any critical work. We are in a critical age. Young men are in genuine doubt and difficulty. The clearing of the air by the removal of the main question to another sphere, while the critical discussion is carried on by itself, is a necessity of the situation, and systematic theology must master it.

III. The system needs carefully to separate between the elements actually contributed to it by reason and those derived from the word of God. Too often the impression has been given that the results attained by the study of nature in the light of revelation were deducible by right reason, without the aid of the Bible. This confusion should be carefully avoided. The idea, for example, of God in Christ is not a philosophical idea, however reasonable it may appear when made known. It belongs distinctly to the sphere of revealed theology.

IV. The system should be conducted on the inductive method. This will call for a new method of treating the whole derivation and proof of the various doctrines. The advantage will be (1) in emphasizing the points of agreement between Christians ; (2) in making it evident that the Christian system has the common consent of a very much larger number than one denomination.

V. We need to add to our system of revealed theology a system of revealed ethics, introducing Christianity into the practical affairs of life. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The Proposition for Federal Union between the two Reformed Churches.

The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1891.

This is a symposium by five prominent members of the two churches : David Van Horne, D.D., of Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Tiffin, O., and the Rev. James I. Good, D.D., of Reading, Pa., representing the Reformed (German) ; and William H. Clark, D.D., of Philadelphia, Pa., John B. Drurv, D.D., and Mancius H. Hutton, D.D., of New Brunswick, N. J., representing the Reformed (Dutch) Church.

The different papers have a wide interest, as bringing out the essential principles of union between churches and denominations, and thus may fairly attract the attention of a wide circle of readers. To give even a summary of them is manifestly beyond our limits, and we must content ourselves with a reference to the points made by the writers.

Dr. Van Horne, taking the position that the movement is a familiar one, claims that the proposition lies between the two extremes of absolute external organic unity and that unity of sentiment which underlies all denominational distinctions. It is more than mere co-operation, less than organic union, but is advantageous: (1) Because it is a move in the right direction; (2) it is conservative, and thus safe ; (3) the two churches are favorably situated for the experiment, inasmuch as they have a common symbol of faith in the Heidelberg Catechism, and are geographically so located that they would suffer no loss by union.

Dr. Good, calling attention to the development of the idea of unity as something broader than mere organic union, holds that in the proposition certain essential principles are very distinctly brought out : (1) Emphasis of points of contact, rather than of difference, thus avoiding the appearance of a mercantile union ; (2) union only so far as is pleasing to each denomination. He then speaks of the different kinds of federated union : (1) A paper union, consisting largely in correspondence, not in personal contact ; (2) a conferential union ; (3) an advisory union ; (4) a co-operative union. This latter, including only points of contact, and extending so far only as is agreeable to each denomination, is practicable for all denominations, and has wide opportunities of most useful development.

Dr. Clark, emphasizing the necessity of a more complete union of the church, finds in this proposition a beginning for such a movement, and sums up the argument in favor of it under the following heads : (1) There is no great doctrinal truth for which either of the Reformed churches stands as distinguished from the other; (2) in church polity and cultus there is no essential difference between them; (3) there are no antagonisms arising from past differences; (4) the difference of nationality disappears in that both have become American; (5) their territories are adjacent, but not identical; (6) both would reach substantial benefits, inasmuch as their development has been on different lines, the Germans growing in the West, and emphasizing home missions; the Dutch growing in the East, and emphasizing foreign missions.

Dr. Drury considers that the discussion has settled several things: (1) The union is greatly desired by an increasing number; (2) much progress has been made in the growth of Christian comity, and the determination of the real barriers to its more perfect expression; (3) the method of simple fusion—organic union—is, under present conditions, impracticable; (4) the great need is a practicable method by which a united front will be presented to the world, the waste of aggressive power checked, and at the same time large individual and local liberty and autonomy be preserved. He thus emphasizes the principle on which the particular union under consideration is proposed, which is the principle of distribution of powers among bodies each of which is supreme in its own sphere. This is the fundamental idea of our Government and of the Presbyterian Church; indeed, is admitted more and more by all the churches. While the plan is yet inchoate and tentative, it is a beginning on right and hopeful lines, and if adopted will lead the churches to grow together rather than apart.

Dr. Hutton considers: (1) That while organic union is, at least for the present, impracticable, coöperation is in accord with the tendency of the age in every department; (2) abstractly, there is no particular difficulty in this case, but there are differences which should be kept in mind. The points of agreement are historical rather than actual at present. While the Dutch interpretation of the Catechism is Calvinistic, the German is Melanchthonian, and other points of doctrinal divergence, difference of language, etc., are noted as important elements, and the divergence in the type of religious life is especially noted, as well as the lack of personal contact which the writer considers a decided hindrance. Still, all that he urges is that action be not hasty in too great advance on the sober second thought.

THE TRUE USE OF THE WORLD: THREE TYPES OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. By Professor EGBERT C. SMYTH. *Andover Review*, May, 1891.

In a long and suggestive article Professor Smyth illustrates the three answers that have been given to the question, What is the true use of the world? by the Greek, the Latin, and the Reformed churches. The first is illustrated by a description of the lives of Basil and his sister, Macrina, through which ran the same dominant note and strain, the vanity of all earthly good, the eternal and ever-satisfying reality of the heavenly life, causing them to leave the street, forsake the world. The second, or Latin idea, included this, but advanced in that it held to a use and control of the world by the recognition of the soul's superiority to it. It was dominated by a stern sense of conscience, and transformed life into a school of training for a moral award at its end. It developed such men as Innocent III. and resulted in the Papacy.

Thus the Greek said: "This world is illusory and vain; rise above it to the real and the eternal." The Roman: "It is a place of discipline; use it for self-conquest." It was left to the Reformer to bring out the complete thought that the true use of the world is, not merely to rise above it, not chiefly to gain its discipline, but to save it. The Christian denies himself for others, gives himself for others, vicariously bears their sins and sorrows, as Christ did, and the outcome of faith is a royal, godlike love to men.

A PRESBYTERIAN'S VIEW OF CONGREGATIONALISM. by Rev. A. HASTINGS ROSS, D.D. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1891), is a review of two books by Rev. W. D. Killen, D.D., President of Assembly's College, Belfast, and Principal of the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Ireland. One of them is "A Treatise on Church Government," and the other, "The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution Traced for the First Three Hundred Years," with a preface by John Hall, D.D., of New York.

After expressing the wish that Dr. Killen had given the sources of his information in regard to Congregationalism, inasmuch as "we are at a loss to know who sat for our portrait," the writer goes on to point out the elements of agreement between Presbyterians and Congregationalists noted by Dr. Killen, and then the points where there is evidently entire failure to comprehend the nature of the Congregational polity. He evidently confounds it with absolute independency, for he says: "Congregationalists deny that Scripture recognizes any such union or confederation of the churches" as is implied in the term "*one* catholic church." He also confounds the Congregational deacons with the Presbyterian ruling elders. Dr. Ross replies to these errors not merely with correction of statement, but with historical argument, rebutting the position taken by the Presbyterian author.

OTHER IMPORTANT ARTICLES.

Ethical Christianity and Biblical Criticism, by Professor *George Harris*. (*Andover Review*, May, 1891), in which the author maintains that the crucial questions of biblical criticism are in relation to the moral and spiritual greatness of Christianity. The authorship of the Pentateuch is far less important than the question whether Paul was right in his conception of the work and person of Christ. It is more important to know whom we believe than what we believe. Differences dwindle when we recognize the sacrifice of Jesus as the heart of the Gospel.

Bible Study in the Scotch Churches, by Rev. *James B. Reynolds*, (*The Old and New Testament Student*, May), giving a statement of the results of the plans of Bible instruction to the young as adopted by the Free and Established churches of Scotland.

Popular Reforms in India, by Sir *W. W. Hunter* (*Our Day*, May), sketching the Indian National Congress, Demand for Representative Government, Social and Domestic Revolutions, Opposition to Child Marriages, Remarriage of Hindu Widows, Hindu Reformers in England.

An African Devil s Business and its Arab Agents, by *Frederic Perry Noble* (*Missionary Review of the World*, May, 1891), reviews the African Arab slave-trade, treating: I. The Field and the Hunters. The Field is the independent Soudan, the former Egyptian Soudan, Central Africa, between the Congo and the Lakes. The Hunters are (1) tribes from the east coast; (2) slavers from the region of

Khartoum ; (3) tribes of native Soudan, stretching from Wadai 2500 miles across the continent ; (4) various tribes in Congo State and along the coast east and west. II. The Methods involve every crime, though commerce is the pretext, so that not a single piece of ivory nowadays is gained lawfully. III. The Results appear to be 2,000,000 slaves, representing a population of 150,000,000 blighted annually. IV. The Remedies : (1) England, by holding Zanzibar and Cairo, and Germany, by holding the land between Zanzibar and the Lakes, can lock the traffic into the interior ; (2) the Congo Free State (as soon as the United States gives its support) can control its own territories ; (3) Cardinal Lavigerie proposes to stop man-hunting with the sword—through the governments, if he can, by a crusade if he must ; (4) the closing of shipping ports must be effected ; (5) the heads of Mohammedan states must be persuaded to discourage the purchase of slaves, as the Sultan of Zanzibar has prohibited slave-selling ; (6) colonization, commerce, and railroads afford Christianity the underhold in this death grapple.

The Divine and Supernatural in Foreign Missions, by Rev. *Edward Storrow*, Brighton, England (*Missionary Review of the World*, June, 1891), calls attention to two features of foreign missions distinctly expressive of the divine presence and blessing : (1) Their origin, history, and progress ; (2) series of incidents in their affairs. Under the second head are specially enumerated : (1) Preservation from perils of the sea ; (2) preservation from wild beasts, etc.; (3) protection from violent men ; (4) provision for temporal wants ; (5) direct answers to prayer ; (6) special divine interposition and guidance. These all are accompanied by illustrations from missionary experience.

All the Human Race from the Same Parentage, by *E. A. Stafford* (the *Canadian Methodist Quarterly*, April, 1891). In this article the author brings forward the argument from the history of races for the unity of origin of the human race, in distinction from the claim that there have been at least four distinct and separate acts of creation. Taking up and recognizing the differences not merely of color but of physical structure, three points are made :

1. The effect of climate, food, and other incidents peculiar to the place of residence of a people for an extended length of time. Instances are given of the change in the European type as illustrated in America, both among whites and blacks ; the effect of the Indian climate on the English, and especially the Portuguese residents.

2. The rapid divergence of distinguishing marks, due to the intermixture of races and the absorption of tribes, as mankind has been dispersed over the earth. Instances are given of the result of mixing the Finnish and Russian types, the different African tribes, and the Creoles of Central America.

3. The well-known fecundity of the progeny of mixed bloods is dwelt upon as a peculiarity of the human species, marking its unity as distinct from all other species, in which the tendency of mixture is the reverse.

The Catholic Clergy and the Liquor Traffic before the New York Legislature, by the Rev. *Thomas McMillan* (*Catholic World*, May, 1891), calls special attention to the active interest that the Catholic clergy manifested in the liquor question, and the firm common-sense position that they took, as contrasted with the course taken by ministers of other denominations. While they were preaching on the "ideal splendor of Prohibition, and elucidating futile distinctions as to Bible wines," the Catholics were meeting the crafty liquor men by open attack and denunciation. A list of the signers of the petition to the Legislature is given, and a number of letters from prominent Catholic clergymen in regard to the subject.

The Present Problem of Inspiration, by Professor *Benjamin B. Warfield*, D.D., Princeton, N. J. (*Homiletic Review*, May, 1891). The author in this article does not think that the Christian doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures has been brought into straits, or that it is necessary "to succor a distressed faith." It is not the established doctrine of inspiration that is brought into distress by the conflict, but the present fashionable school of Old Testament criticism. Not forgetting that the established doctrine of inspiration is, in view of recent biblical study, open to criticism, the first essential is a clear comprehension of what the church doctrine is. The writer claims that "the church has held from the beginning that the Bible is the Word of God in such a sense that its words, though written by men, and bearing indelibly impressed upon them the marks of their human origin, were written, nevertheless, under such an influence of the Holy Ghost as to be also the Word of God, the adequate expression of His mind and will. It has always," he claims, "recognized that this conception of co-authorship implies that the Spirit's superintendence extends to the choice of words (verbal inspiration), and preserves its product from everything inconsistent with a divine authorship (inerrancy)." The evidence for this must rest upon the sources of the doctrine, which also must be biblical, and the really decisive question is, "What does an exact scientific exegesis determine to be the biblical doctrine of inspiration ?"

The reply to this, Professor Warfield thinks, is scarcely open to doubt, inasmuch as the more careful the investigation, the higher appear the claims of the authors of the New Testament. Instances are specially referred to where, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (1 : 6, 7, 8 ; 4 : 4, 7 ; 7 : 21 ; iii. 7 ; 10 : 15), passages where God is not the speaker are cited as Word of God or of the Holy Ghost, but detailed evidence is deemed unnecessary to support a position allowed by common consent.

With regard to the numerous phenomena of Scripture inconsistent with verbal inspiration, the difference is mainly in the point of view. Starting with the biblical doctrine of inspiration, the question is, Do these negative that, and every critical student knows that the process of investigation has been one continuous process of removing difficulties. The ineradicable inability of the whole negative school to distinguish between *difficulties* and *proved errors* is sufficient proof of the value of having the Scripture doctrine as a clew in our hands.

CONTENTS OF THE MAY MAGAZINES.

Harper's Magazine for June 1891. Analysis of contents : Frontispiece, Indian Scout with Lost Troop of Horses illustration for "Some American Riders," from the painting by Frederic Remington ; "Some American Riders," second paper, by Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge, U.S.A., with four illustrations (including frontispiece) from paintings by Frederic Remington—The Frontier Cavalrymen, Indian Scouts, Canadian Mounted Police, The English Cross-country Rider ; "Peter Ibbetson," a novel, Part I , by George du Maurier, with fourteen illustrations from drawings by the author—the first chapters of a strange story of peculiar and absorbing interest, involving many circumstances connected with the mysterious phenomena of dream-life; "Up the River Parana," by Theodore Child, with seven illustrations and a map—the ninth paper in the popular series of articles on South America—The Delta of the Parana, River Scenery, Paraguayan Types and Manners. The Chaco, Remarkable Scenery on the Alto Parana: The Orange Industry, The Return Voyage; "The Closed Gate," a poem, by Louise Chandler Moulton; "The Technique of Rest," by Anna C. Brackett, a practical paper of especial interest and value to busy workers; "No Answer," a poem, by Elizabeth Stoddard; "The Failure of David Berry," by Sarah Orne Jewett, an interesting story of New England village life; "Brothers," a poem, by George Horton; "In the 'Stranger People's Country,'" a novel, Part VI., by Charles Egbert Craddock, illustrated by W. T. Smedley—the conclusion of this powerful and very successful story; "The Royal Châteaux of the Loire." by Louis Frechette, with nine illustrations drawn by C. S. Reinhart, C. Graham, and Hughson Hawley—a picturesque description of the Châteaux of Blois, Chambord, and Amboise, with some account of the interesting historical associations connected with each; "London—After the Romans," by Walter Besant, the first of an entertaining and important series of papers illustrating the life of the people of London from the time of its first occupancy by the Saxons to the beginning of the Victorian era; "Town and Village Government," by Henry Loomis Nelson, a timely and valuable paper on the methods of local government adopted in different sections of the United States, showing the advantages of that system which places the administration of local affairs directly under the control of the popular primary assembly, or town meeting; "Wessex Folk," Part IV., by Thomas Hardy, illustrated by C. Green—the conclusion of Mr. Hardy's series of Dorset Tales; "The Warwickshire Avon," second paper, by A. T. Quiller Couch, with twenty-eight illustrations from drawings by Alfred Parsons—The Scenery in Shakespeare's Country, The Meadows by the Avon, Stratford and its Associations, Anna Hathaway's Cottage, Interesting Historical Reminiscences; "Ladies of Fashion and their Doctors," full-page illustration by George du Maurier; Editor's Easy Chair, by George William Curtis; Editor's Study, by William Dean Howells; Editor's Drawer, conducted by Charles Dudley Warner; Monthly Record of Current Events. (To April 14, 1891.)

The Century for June has these contents: "Portrait of George Mifflin Dallas" (frontispiece); "Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, Virginia" (illustrated), by Mrs. Burton Harrison; "Pensions and Socialism"—Present-Day Papers, by W. M. Sloane; "General Sherman's Last Speech"—The Old Army (illustrated), by General W. T. Sherman; "Sherman," by R. W. Gilder; "Play and Work in the Alps" (illustrated), by Joseph and E. R. Pennell; "In Shadow," by L. Frank Tooker; "A Girl without Sentiment," by Eugene Bradford Ripley; "Ad Astra" (A. C. L. B.), by Edith M. Thomas; "Haroun the Caliph, and Others," by Ferid el din Attar; "The House with the Cross" (illustrated), by Florence Watters Snedeker; "Ad Astris," by Anne C. L. Botta; "Springtime," from a Painting by Ernest L. Major; "The Squirrel Inn," II. (illustrated), by Frank R. Stockton; "A Summer Song," by Clinton Scollard; "The Faith Doctor," V., by Edward Eggleston; "A Miner's Sunday in Coloma" (illustrated), by Charles B. Gillespie; "Anecdotes of the Mines," by Hubert Burgess; "The Cry of Russia," by Laura E. Richards; "At the Court of the Czar," in two Parts, Part II. (illustrated), by George Mifflin Dallas; "Love and the Witches" (illustrated), by Mary E. Wilkins; "Women at an English University" (illustrated), by Eleanor Field; "Note on the Health of Women Students," by Catherine Baldwin; "A Spring Romance," by Hamlin Garland; "Talleyrand Replies to his Accusers," by Talleyrand; "The Starry Host," by Right Rev. J. L. Spalding; "Modern Cheap Money Panaceas;" "Judicial Control of Contested Election Cases;" "Law or Lynching;" "Female Education in Germany," by Countess v. Krockow; "Gettysburg and Waterloo," by Theodore Roosevelt; "Ernest L. Major," by William Lewis Fraser; "De Bugle on de Hill," by Bow Hackley; "Parnassus by Rail," by M. M. Miller; "The March of Company A," by K. P. Osgood; "A Day in June," by C. H. Truax; "Observations," by C. H. Crandall; "To My only Child," by Douglas Sladen; "The Point of View," Drawing by E. W. Kemble.

Scribner's Magazine for June, 1891, has these contents: "Molière" (frontispiece), after a painting by Coypel, engraved by Gustav Kruell; "The Boulevards of Paris," by Francisque Sarcey (the second article of the series on the Great Streets of the World), the illustrations by G. Jeanniot, engraving by Henry Wolf; "Parson Joye's Justice," by Maria Blunt; "Safety on the Atlantic," by William H. Rideing (the third article of the series on Ocean Steamships), drawings by Carlton T. Chapman, Charles Broughton, V. Pérard, M. J. Burns and F. C. Schell, engraving by Peckwell, Heard, Witte, E. H. Del'Orme, E. Clément, Schussler, J. Clément, George Del'Orme and M. J. Whaley; "An Alabama Courtship," part second, by F. J. Stimson—conclusion; "Molière," by Andrew Lang, with a portrait (frontispiece) and fac-similes of title-pages of early editions of his plays; "In Camp," by Charles F. Lummis; "Boys' Clubs," by Evert Jansen Wendell, drawings by Herbert Denman, engraving by Putnam, State, Peckwell and E. Clément; "German Sketches"—I. The Czar's Diamond, II. By the Ill—by Bliss Perry; "Some Photographs of Luminous Objects," by Wallace Goold Levison, with numerous illustrations; "De Mortuis," by Edith M. Thomas; "Vergniaud in the Tumbril," by Louise Imogen Guiney; "The War as we See it Now," by John C. Ropes; "The Point of View"—Mr. Morley and Literature, Legislation and the Quack, An American Renaissance, The Matron in Fiction.

The Atlantic Monthly for June, 1891, has these contents: "Abraham Lincoln," by Carl Schurz; "The House of Martha," XXXIII.-XXXVI., by Frank R. Stockton; "A Widow and Twins," by Bradford Torrey; "Variations on an Old Theme"—I. Iter Supremum, by Arthur Sherburne Hardy; II. The Old Dwelling, by Charles Henry Crandall; "Classical Literature in Translation," by Richard G. Moulton; "Reminiscences of Professor Sophocles," by George Herbert Palmer; "Rowing at Oxford," by S. E. Winbolt; "A Town Mouse and a Country Mouse," by Rose Terry Cooke; "The Last Watch," by Bliss Carman; "What the Southern Negro is doing for Himself," by Samuel J. Barrows; "On the Study of Geography," by Daniel Coit Gilman; "Goethe's Key to Faust" (third paper), The Second Part of Faust, by William P. Andrews; "Vinet and Scherer;" "New England in the Short Story;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

Lippincott's Magazine for June, 1891. Contents: "Gold of Pleasure," by George Parsons Lathrop; "Some Familiar Letters by Horace Greeley"—IV., edited by Joel Benton; "A Literary Pet," by Edgar Fawcett; "Alexandra, Princess of Wales," by Lucy C. Lillie; "Oracles," by Clinton Scollard (poetry): "A By-Way in Fiction," by Agnes Repplier; "Is Alaska Worth Visiting?" by Grace Peckham, M.D.; "Horace, Ode IV., To Sestius," by Caroline Augusta Furness (poetry); "In the Thorvaldsen Museum," by C. H. Herford; "Beneath the Trees," by Charles Morris (poetry); "Sonny," by Mary E. Wilkins; "The College Settlement," by Hester Dorsey Richardson; "Before the Hour," by Florence Earle Coates. (poetry); two recent novels: "Atman," by A. H. W.; "Romance of a Spanish Nun," by Frederic M. Bird; "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

The Cosmopolitan for June has for a frontispiece a portrait of Madame de Pompadour, which pertains to a sketch of a summer spent in the home of that famous woman by Amelie Rives and her guests. Miss Julia Magruder, the writer, was one of those guests, and instantaneous photographs are used to illustrate the scenes of a delightful holiday amid unusual surroundings. A pleasant insight into the attractiveness of Japanese women is given in a paper by Henry T. Finck, illustrated by a large number of photographs of pretty faces. The art article of the month describes the work of Gustave Doré, with engravings of masterpieces of that wonderful artist. Thomas B. Connery, formerly managing editor of the *New York Herald*, gives interesting reminiscences of the first work of Stanley for that journal, and of his neighbor, Thomas A. Edison. S. G. W. Benjamin, ex-Minister to Persia, tells the true story of Noor Mahal, the Light of the Harem, celebrated by Thomas Moore in "Lallah Rookh." This bit of Eastern biography is illustrated from Oriental sources. Three continents furnish material for the June number. The European contributions consist of a description of a Model Municipality, an article well worth the attention of Americans interested in municipal government: the Woolwich Arsenal, which Mr. Pelham-Clinton, through influential relatives, was permitted to have photographed expressly for the Cosmopolitan; and a charming sketch of Beau Brummell and his times, by Miss Esther Singleton, who has taken great pains with it, especially with its interesting illustrations. Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen's story is illustrated by Wenzell, whose work on *Life* has made him so well known the country over. The half million people who write for periodicals will find matter of great interest in an article by Mr. Frank Howard Howe, for some time one of the editors of a New York monthly. Mr. Howe gives his personal experiences of the manuscripts of the "Great Unpublished," and offers much advice that will be found useful. Perhaps the most valuable article of the number is that contributed by Mr. Abner L. Frazer to the literature of the farmers' movement. The Cosmopolitan prize of $200 for the best article on "the needs of the farmer, his hours of labor, and the national legislation necessary to his prosperity," was awarded by the judges to this gentleman. The article itself is brightened by a series of cartoons by the famous-artists, Attwood of Boston and Dan Beard of New York.

Littell's Living Age for May 23d, 1891, has these contents: "Talleyrand's Memoir," *Nineteenth Century;* "Eigh-Days," Part XVII., *Cornhill Magazine;* "Amours de Voyage," *Fortnightly Review;* "On Quiet Rivers in Ceylon," *Cornhill Magazine;* "Henry Schliemann," *Macmillan's Magazine;* "A Learned Lady: Elizabeth Carter," *Blackwood's Magazine;* "An April Folly," *Argosy.* Poetry: "The Dead To-morrow;" "Hands as They are Shook," "Apologia Mea." Miscellany. The yearly subscription price is $8.00. Littell & Co., Boston, are the publishers.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

Boston, May.

Ethical Christianity and Biblical Criticism. Prof. Harris.

On Chinese Ideas of Inspiration. Pres. W. A. P. Martin.

Richard Henry Dana. Mr. Hamilton Andrews Hill.

Religion in Public Schools. Miss Mary H. Leonard.

The Greater Miracle. Rev. Edward C. Moore.

The True Use of the World : Three Types of the Christian Life. Prof. Smyth.

A Missionary Crisis at Home. Rev. D. N. Beach.

Editorial.

The Bishop of Iowa on What the Lambeth Conference meant by "The Historic Episcopate."

The Moral Undertone.

Theological and Religious Intelligence.

A General View of Missions. Second Series. XI. Japan (continued). Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.

German Theological Literature. Rev. Mattoon M. Curtis, M.A.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, May.

Glycerius the Deacon. The Story of a Heresy. Prof. W. M. Ramsay, M.A.

A Survey of the Synoptic Question.

4. New Hypotheses. Rev. Prof. W. Sanday, D.D., Oxford.

The Descent of Christ into Hades. A Correspondence between Prof. Franz Delitzsch and Prof. von Hofmann.

The Aramaic Gospel.

Dr. Resch's Proofs of Translation. Rev. Prof. J. T. Marshall, M.A., Manchester.

Dr. Martineau and the Gospels. Prof. John Massie, M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford.

Brevia. Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Canon of Rochester.

THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

New York, May.

Canon Liddon. Wm. C. Wilkinson, D.D. Tarrytown, N. Y.

Federation of the Churches. James McCosh, D.D., LL.D.

An Ancient Egyptian Bible Commentary. Rev. Camden M. Coburn, Ph.D.

The Present Problem of Inspiration. Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D.

THE HOMILETIC MAGAZINE.

New York, May.

Theological Papers :

The Scripture Doctrine of Faith—Justification. Rev. J. Robinson Gregory.

Expository Papers.

The Miracles of Our Lord. Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A.

Outlines on the First Eight Chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. Rev. C. Clemance, B.A., D.D.

The Church Year. Rev. Edwin Davies, D.D.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD.

New York, June.

Literature of Missions.

The Miracles of Missions. No. XVIII. Editorial.

The Divine and Supernatural in Foreign Missions. Rev. Edward Storrow.

The Missionary Call. A. T. Pierson.

The Pentecost of the Congo. J. R. Miller, D.D.

An African Devil's Business and its Arab Agents. Frederick Perry Noble.

The Mutual Relationship and Laws of the Bantu Languages. Rev. Lewis Grout.

The People of Africa. W. A. Stanton.

Confucius and Christ Compared. Editorial.

A Wonderful Life-Boat. Capt. E. C. Hore, F. R. G. S.

Extracts and Translations from Foreign Periodicals. Rev. C. C. Starbuck.

THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

London, April.

Bishop Westcott on the Hebrews.

Recent Works on the Gospels.

Bishop Lightfoot's St. Clement of Rome.

Perpetua.

Sir Walter Scott.

The Poetry of Mr. Lewis Morris.

Bishop Kingdon on the Incarnation.

The Loss of the Succession in Denmark.

The Marian Persecution.

The Intermediate State.

Darkest England.

THE THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

London, May.

Is Genesis a Compilation ? By C. H. Waller.

The Only Formidable Enemy. By H. C. Clarke.

The Paronomasia in Romans ii. 29. By H. W. Pereira.

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. By Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A.

Inspiration of Scripture. Part II. Doctrine of the Church. By Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

New York and Cincinnati, May.

Marie Regina Cleri. Rev. H. J. Heuser.

Organize the Catholic Young Men. J. F. Loughlin. D.D.

Clerical Studies. J. Hogan.

Letters to a Religious on Art.

Biblical Chronology and Patristic Tradition. Peter C. Yorke.

Cardinal Newman as a Stylist. John Conway.

NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW.

New Haven, May, 1891.

The American Conception of Architecture. Barr Ferree.

Divorce, Sociologically Considered. E. Janes.

A Sketch of Russo-Chinese Intercourse. F. Wells Williams.

Transliteration from the Russian :—What's in a Name ? J. Sumner Smith.

"Was Christ a Buddhist ?" Merwin-Marie Snell.

Evolution and the Realistic Philosophy. Thos. Stoughton Potwin.

The Inductive Method and Religious Truth. Edward. B. Howell.

Prof. Burgess' "Political Science and Constitutional Law." Prof. Edward V. Raynolds.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDENT.

Hartford, May, 1891.

Messianic Prophecy. President W. G. Ballantine, D.D.

Bible Study in the Scotch Churches. Rev. James B. Reynolds.

Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Gabriel in the Quran. William Griffiths.

Outline of an Inductive and Historical Study of Metanoeo and Metameloma. Prof. Ernest D. Burton.

Studies in the Gospel of John. Wm. R. Harper and Geo. S. Goodspeed.

OUR DAY.

Boston, May.

Sunday Newspapers. Rev. Dr. G. S. Chadbourne.

Popular Reforms in India. Sir W. W. Hunter.

A New Government for Indians. T. H. Tibbles.

Dr. Storrs on the Prospects of Missions. Ex-Pres. Cyrus Hamlin.

Boston Hymn : He Sufficeth. Joseph Cook.

Boston Monday Lectures. Sixteenth Year. Joseph Cook.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

New York, May.

The Catholic Clergy and the Liquor-Traffic before the New York Legislature. Rev. Thomas McMillan.

Change. Patrick F. Coleman.

"Educated above their Station ?" B. N. Taylor.

St. Landry's Delinquency. Felix Garnett.

John Boyle O'Reilly. Katherine E. Conway.

"Was Christ a Buddhist ?" Monseigneur C. de Harlez.

A Question of Temperament. John J. À Becket.

The Life of Father Hecker. Rev. Walter Elliott.

Chapter XXIV.—Separation from the Redemptorists.

Arrière Pensée. Maurice Francis Egan.

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

Oberlin, Ohio., April.

A Presbyterian's View of Congregationalism. Rev. C. Hastings Ross, D.D.

Science and Prayer. II. William W. Kingsley.

The Data and Method of Philosophy. Rev. E. H. Merrell, D.D., Ripon College.

Suggestions as to Modifications of the Dogmatic System Taught in the Congregational Schools and Churches, Required at the Present Time. Rev. Frank Hugh Foster, Ph.D.

The Reformed System and the Larger Hope. Rev. J. N. McGiffert.

Recent Discoveries Bearing on the Antiquity of Man. Rev. Prof. G. Frederick Wright,

Notes of Delitzsch on True and False Defence of the Bible. Introduction and Translation by Prof. H. M. Scott, D.D.

The Gospel in the Sermon on the Mount. Rev. Alfred H. Hall.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Philadelphia, April.

John Henry Newman as a Preacher. Rev. Joseph V. Tracey.

Eden and the Cœnaculum. Very Rev. Aug. F. Hewit, D.D., C.S.P.

The Intellectual Life of the Roman Catholic Church. Arthur F. Marshall, B.A. (Oxon.).

Transformism—Lamarck—Darwin. Rev. A. Orban, D.D , S.S.

The Transit of Mercury, May 9th, 1891. Rev. William F. Rigge, S.J.

Professing themselves to be Wise, they become Fools. St. George Mivart, F.R.S., etc.

The Popes and the Temporal Power, 1790–1823. John A. Mooney, LL.D.

Mr. Lecky on Irish Home Rule. Bryan J. Clinch.

Promise of the Second Spring in England. A. M. Grange.

The Eulogia, or Blessed Bread. Ellis Schreiber.

American Catholicity. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thos. S. Preston, D.D., V.G.

Scientific Chronicles. Rev. Thomas J. C. Freeman, S.J.

THE UNITARIAN REVIEW.

Boston, May.

A Priori. J. Frederic Dutton.

Nathan Parker. Andrew P. Peabody.

The Jews of the North End of Boston. Rufus Cyrene MacDonald.

The Problem of Juvenile Literature. J. Bradley Gilman.

The New England Township. Abiel Abbot Livermore.

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[Any of these books may be ordered through the Christian Literature Co.]

Abälard's 1121 zu Soissons verurtheilter Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina. Aufgefunden und erstmals herausgegeben von R. Stölzle. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1891. Pp. xxxvi., 101, 8vo, 2.80 mk.

Abbott, E. A. Philomythus: An Antidote against Credulity. A discussion of Cardinal Newman's essay on ecclesiastical miracles. London: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. 266, 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Adams, H. C., Rev. History of the Jews, from the War with Rome to the Present Time. New York and Chicago: Revell, 1891. Pp. 406, 12mo, cloth, $3.20.

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Bertrand, Ernest, Th. D. Une nouvelle conception de la rédemption. La doctrine de la justification et de la reconciliation dans le système théologique de Ritschl. Montauban: Grainé, 1891. Pp. 505, 8vo.

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CHRONICLE.

April 21. Constitution of new Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at Omaha, Neb., adopted. Articles of incorporation and petition for it presented.

April 26 (Sunday). Dedication of New Brooklyn Tabernacle, Rev. T. De W. Talmage, pastor. Sermon by Rev. Teunis S. Hamlin, D.D., of Washington; Invocation by Rev. Thomas S. Hastings, D.D., President Union Theological Seminary; dedicatory prayer by Rev. Wendell Prime, D.D.

Professor Charles S. Nash, in Hartford Theological Seminary (Congregational), called to chair of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Pacific Theological Seminary (Congregational), Oakland, Cal.

Professor A. C. Zenos, Hartford Theological Seminary, called to chair of Ecclesiastical History, McCormick Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Chicago, Ill.

April 30. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., elected Bishop of Massachusetts, accepts.

May 3. Rev. C. De W. Bridgman, D.D., Pastor of Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York, resigned on account of his views on the eternity of torment, as expressed in a sermon.

May 24. Rev. Dr. Bridgman joins the Episcopal Church, being confirmed by Bishop Potter.

May 11. Appointment of Professor Edward L. Curtis, of McCormick Theological School, as Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature; and of Frank C. Porter, Ph.D., as Professor of Biblical Theology in Yale Divinity School.

May 12. A large number of Presbyteries having memorialized the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to either refuse affirmation of the appointment of Professor Charles A. Briggs to the chair of Biblical Theology, or to order an investigation into the alleged collision between his inaugural address and the Westminster Confession of Faith, the New York Presbytery, after hearing the report of the committee appointed to consider the propriety of instituting an examination, decides in favor of a judicial investigation of Professor Briggs's views. The professors and trustees of the seminary in subsequent papers endorse Dr. Briggs's position.

Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, elected Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary in place of Rev. W. G. T. Shedd, D.D.

OBITUARY.

Conant, Rev. Thomas J., D.D. (Baptist), Brooklyn, N. Y., April 30. Aged 88.

Darling, Rev. Henry, D.D., LL.D. (Presbyterian, President of Hamilton College), Clinton, N. Y., April 20. Aged 68.

Magee, Rev. William Connor, D.D., Archbishop of York—London, England, May 5. Aged 70.

Moen, Philip L. (prominent business man and philanthropist), Worcester, Mass, April 23. Aged 67.

Pratt, Charles (prominent business man and philanthropist), Brooklyn, N. Y., May 3. Aged 60.

Van Dyke, Rev. Henry Jackson, D.D. (Professor-elect of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York), Brooklyn, May 25. Aged 68.

Zabriskie, Rev. Francis Nicoll, D.D. (Reformed Dutch), Princeton, N. J., May 13. Aged 59.

CONVENTIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.

United States.

April 23. International Conference of the Young Women's Christian Association, Scranton, Pa.

April 26. Annual Meeting of the American Tract Society, Washington, D.C.

May 4. Annual Meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society (Baptist), New York.

May 5. The Twenty-sixth Anniversary of the National Temperance Society, New York.

May 6. The Twenty-ninth International Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, at Kansas City, Mo.

May 8. The Thirty-fifth Session (for 45th year) of the Southern Baptist Convention, at Birmingham, Ala.

May 8. The American Baptist Education Society will meet this year with the Southern Baptist Convention at Birmingham, Ala.

May 10. Sixty-third Anniversary American Seamen's Friend Society, Collegiate Reformed Church, Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street, New York.

May 10. Sixty-seventy Anniversary of the American Sunday School Union, at Vernon Avenue Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.

May 12. Triple Memorial Day: 1. In commemoration of the laying of the foundation-stone of the first meeting-house of the Renewed Brethren's Church at Herrnhut, A.D. 1742. 2. In commemoration of the agreement of the members of the congregation at Herrnhut to the first Statutes and Rules of Discipline. Birthday of the Renewed Brethren's Church, A.D. 1727. 3. In commemoration of the passage of the act of the British Parliament, acknowledging the *Unitas Fratrum* as an Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1749.

May 13. Eighteenth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Indianapolis, Ind.

May 13. Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the American Bible Society, New York.

May 18, 19. Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, fourteenth anniversary, at Cincinnati, O.

May 20, 21. American Baptist Home Mission Society, fifty-ninth anniversary, at Cincinnati, O.

May 22, 23. American Baptist Publication Society, sixty-seventh anniversary, at Cincinnati, O.

May 25, 26. American Baptist Missionary Union, seventy-seventh anniversary, at Cincinnati, O.

May 20. Thirty-fifth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, at Lebanon, Pa.

May 20. General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Lebanon, Pa.

May 21. One Hundred and Third General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at Detroit, Mich.

May 21. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Birmingham, Ala.

May 21. General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, at Owensboro, Ky.

May 26. Sixty-sixth Anniversary of the American Unitarian Association, at Tremont Temple, Boston.

May 27. The Thirteenth General Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church, at Cleveland, Ohio.

May 27. The Thirty-Third General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, at Princeton, Ind.

May 27. The Associate Synod of North America, which is in connection with the United Presbyterian Church, at Princeton, Ind., in the church in which the General Assembly is to meet.

May 27. General Conference under the auspices of the Boston Association of Universalists, at Shawmut Church, Boston.

ENGLAND.

April 23—*May* 7. Baptist Anniversaries London Missionary Society, Bible Translating Society, at London.

April 28. Trinitarian Bible Society for the Circulation of Uncorrupted Versions of the Word of God, sixteenth annual meeting, London.

April 30. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, one hundred and ninetieth anniversary, London.

April 30. South American Missionary Society, fortieth annual meeting, London.

May 4. British and Foreign Sailors' Society, seventy-third annual meeting, London.

May 6. Church Missionary Society, ninety-second anniversary, London.

May 6. British and Foreign Bible Society, eighty-seventh anniversary, annual meeting, London.

May 8. The Religious Tract Society, ninety-second anniversary, London.

May 14. London Missionary Society, anniversary, London.

CALENDAR.

June 2–4. The Sixty-fifth Anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society, Saratoga Springs.

June 3d. The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America will meet in its eight-fifth regular session in the Reformed Church of Asbury Park, N. J.

June 4. Special Meeting of General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, Philadelphia, Pa., for the purpose of considering and acting upon the following matters, namely:

1. To receive and take action upon the Report of the Joint Commission on Federal Union of the two Reformed Churches, and to consider any question growing out of said report and requiring the attention of Synod.

2. To consider a communication from a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in regard to the matter of a Consensus Creed for the use of the Reformed churches holding the Presbyterian system.

June 10–17. International Missionary Union, Eighth Annual Meeting, Clifton Springs, N. Y.

July 7. There will be a meeting of Baptist young people in the Second Baptist Church, Chicago, to form a Baptist national organization for young people in Baptist churches; and to adopt measures to extend and develop State and local church societies, with the view to the education of our young people in denominational principles and work.

We invite societies of young people, of whatever name or organization, to send delegates to the convention, and Baptist churches having no young people's society are also invited to send delegates from their young people, for the purpose of forming such national organization. The number of delegates is not limited.

Let every Baptist young people's society and every church where no society exists send a large delegation. This will be a meeting of great interest.

F. L. Wilkins, D.D., Chairman; Rev. O. W. Van Osdel, Secretary; Mr. J. O. Staples, Treasurer of the Executive Committee.

July 9. International Christian Endeavor Convention, Minneapolis, Minn.

July 13. International Congregational Council, London, England.

August 12–16. The Nineteenth Congress of the Young Men's Christian Associations of all countries Amsterdam Holland. Each country will send delegates in the proportion of one delegate to every five local associations.

August 18. Second National Temperance Congress, Prohibition Park, Staten Island, N. Y.

THE
MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. JULY, 1891. No. 4.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY.

BY THE REV. B. B. TYLER, PASTOR CHURCH OF THE DISCIPLES, NEW YORK CITY.

THE moral and religious life of the people of the United States at the close of the eighteenth century was low. Evidence of this fact is abundant. The frontier settlements were made up, in larger part, of unbelieving and immoral people. There was a good element, but it was comparatively weak. The better class of the population was not sufficiently strong to enforce the law. There was much lawlessness and violence in all parts of the South and West. Deism, atheism, and infidelity prevailed almost everywhere to an alarming extent.

There was, even in old Virginia, an almost universal inattention to religion. Little regard was paid to those who were in authority in Church and State. This disregard for men in office is accounted for by the prevalence of a spirit propagated by French soldiers and officers during our war of revolution. The few years at the close of the war have been fittingly characterized as "the critical period in American history." For a number of years after securing their political freedom the American people were on the verge of civil and religious anarchy. Nor is this statement to be limited in its application. Every part of the land was involved. Intemperance was an alarming evil. In 1792 there were consumed an average of two and a half gallons of distilled spirits and wines for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Spirituous liquors of some kind were used regularly by almost all the people—saints and sinners, clergy and laity. Established articles of daily food were whiskey, brandy, and wine. Hospitality was testified by an offer of something to drink. Sots were common of both sexes, various ages, and all conditions.

Duelling was a national vice. The land was red with blood. The use of profane language in ordinary conversation was not regarded as ungentlemanly. The public whipping-post was thought to be a necessity. Human slavery existed everywhere, and its morality was questioned by only a few. The marriage bond was lax. Advertisements of runaway wives were frequent in the public prints. The general moral and religious condition of the American people may be seen in the following declaration of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the year 1798:

"Formidable innovations and convulsions in Europe threaten destruction to morals and religion; scenes of devastation and bloodshed unexampled in the history of modern nations have convulsed the Old World, and our country is threatened with similar calamities. We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general disreliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow-citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and the institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity which, in many instances, tends to atheism itself.

"The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportioned to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound."

A special fund was collected and used for the gratuitous distribution of the writings of Tom Paine. Unbelief practically controlled the institutions of higher education in the United States. In some places the students were more familiarly known by the names of prominent opponents of the Christian religion than by their own. It was confidently predicted that Christianity could not survive two more generations. It was thought that the light of true wisdom had just begun to shine on the human race and that ignorance, fear, and religious superstition must in a short time disappear. Belief was darkness; unbelief was light. It was affirmed that Christianity was a system of fraud enforced upon the people by the priesthood for base purposes. Revelation was destitute of reasonable evidence in its support. Moral obligation was a mere cobweb. Expectations were entertained of a new order of things. The old was ready to vanish away.

In 1795 Socinian ideas drove Jonathan Edwards, Jr., from his church in New Haven, as similar sentiments drove his father from Northampton forty years before. No denomination was altogether exempt from Anti-trinitarian, Arian, Socinian, and Unitarian views. During our colonial history the people were entirely dependent on England for Bibles. No English Bible was printed in America until after the Revolutionary War. Previous to that time the British Government would not permit the Bible in English to be published in her colonies. Bibles were, therefore, expensive and scarce. With the revolt of the colonies it became yet more difficult to obtain the Holy Scriptures. One of the first acts of the American Congress was to purchase an invoice of Bibles.

The preaching almost universally consisted of formal addresses on technical theology. The body of the sermon was made up of speculations, which had no power to produce conviction of sin nor a change of life.

The ministry seemed to aim at nothing else than the enlightenment of the understanding. The fact that human nature is involved in hardness of heart as well as darkness of understanding was overlooked. The ministry spoke much of the "elect of God," of the "predestined to eternal life," of "the foreordained to everlasting death;" but they said little of repentance unto life, of spiritual regeneration, of personal and individual responsibility to God. The heart was left unmoved—the conscience unalarmed. The unconverted did not know, and, of course, did not appreciate their danger. Many of the members of the Church knew nothing of religion as a personal experience.

More than seven thousand, however, had not bowed the knee to Baal, nor worshipped at the shrine of any false God. Realizing the terrible condition of the entire country, the faithful few, here and there, entered into covenants to spend a portion of each month in fasting and prayer.

In some places the third Saturday in each month was a favorite time of meeting to pray for a revival of religion. In other districts one half hour at sunset every Saturday and at sunrise every Sunday were observed by prayer for the same object. This sense of need took possession of the best element in all the principal denominations. As a result, a work of grace was begun which stands unsurpassed in the annals of the Church. The revival, so far as the public ministry was concerned, was, in its origin, Presbyterian-Methodist. Two brothers, in the flesh and in the Lord, named McGee, one a Methodist, the other a Presbyterian, in the latter part of the year 1799 started on a preaching tour from Tennessee into Kentucky. Remarkable effects attended their preaching. Families came from distant points and camped in the woods. The services in a neighborhood continued usually from four to six days. All classes and conditions were profoundly impressed. The spiritual awakening reached alike men and women, old and young, white and black, bond and free, the dissolute and moral.

A mighty spiritual power was working among the people. The interest among Christians was intense. Sectarianism and sectarian peculiarities were apparently forgotten. Denominational usages were neglected. At the communion-table all who loved the Lord Jesus united joyfully in partaking of the Sacred Supper. As the evangelists went on their way preaching the good news of salvation, through the crucified Christ, the tide of spiritual influence rose higher and higher; the feeling became more and more intense.

A report of the good work of the Lord in Tennessee and Southern Kentucky came to the ears of Christian men in the central part of the last-named State.

Barton Warren Stone, a Presbyterian minister living in the far-famed Blue Grass Region, visited the scenes of the great awakening in Logan County, Ky., one of the worst regions, morally, in the State. A much greater work was in progress than he expected to find. Nothing like it had ever been seen in this country. Mr. Stone was satisfied that it was the work of God.

Returning to his home, he placed before his people the principal facts as he had obtained them by seeing and hearing. He was pastor of two churches in Bourbon County, Ky.—Cane Ridge and Concord. At once under his ministry there was an awakening in these churches and in the communities surrounding similar to that which he had witnessed in the southern part of the State. What Mr. Stone saw, and his estimate of the work, with the manner in which it began in the field of his ministerial effort, can best be presented by the following abridged extract from his life :

"Having heard of a remarkable religious excitement in the south of Kentucky and in Tennessee, I went there to attend a camp-meeting. There, on the edge of a prairie in Logan County, Ky., the multitudes came together and continued a number of days and nights. Worship was carried on in some part of the encampment almost without intermission. The scene was new and strange. It baffled description. Many fell down as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless state. After lying thus for hours the gloomy cloud which had covered their faces seemed to disappear, and they would rise shouting deliverance. They would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women, and children declaring the wonderful works of God and the glorious mysteries of the Gospel. Their appeals were solemn and heart penetrating. Under such addresses many others would fall down into the same state from which the speakers had just been delivered. Two or three of my particular acquaintances from a distance were struck down. I sat patiently by one of them, whom I knew to be a careless sinner, for hours, and observed with critical attention everything that passed from the beginning to the end. I noticed the momentary revivings, the humble confessions of sins, the fervent prayer, the ultimate deliverance, the solemn thanks and praise to God, the affectionate exhortation to companions to repent and come to Jesus. The effect was that several sunk down into the same appearance of death. My conviction was complete that it was the work of God. Much did I then see that I considered to be fanaticism, but this should not condemn the work. That cannot be a Satanic work which brings men to humble confession and forsaking of sin.

"The meetings being closed, I returned to my congregations. I reached my appointment at Cane Ridge on Lord's day. Multitudes had collected, anxious to hear the news of the meeting I had attended in Logan. I ascended the pulpit and gave a relation of what I had seen and heard. I then opened my Bible and preached from these words : 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' On the universality of the Gospel and faith as the condition of salvation I principally dwelt, and urged the sinner to believe now and be saved. I labored to remove their objections, nor was it in vain. The congregation was affected with awful solemnity, and many returned home weeping. Having left appointments to preach in the congregation within a few days, I hurried over to Concord to preach at night.

"At our night meeting at Concord two little girls were struck down under the preaching of the Word, and in every respect were exercised as those were in the south of Kentucky, as already described. Their addresses made deep impressions on the congregation. On the next day I returned to Cane Ridge. I soon heard of the good effects of the meeting on the Sunday before. Many were solemnly engaged in seeking salvation, and some had found the Lord and were rejoicing in Him. Among these last was my particular friend, Nathaniel Rogers, a man of influence in the neighborhood. Just as I arrived at the gate my friend came up. He shouted aloud the praises of God. We hurried into each others' embrace, he still praising the Lord aloud. The crowd left the house and hurried to this novel scene. In less than twenty minutes scores had fallen to the ground. Paleness, trembling, and anxiety appeared in all. Some attempted to fly from the scene panic-stricken, but they either fell or returned immediately to the crowd, as unable to get away. In the midst of this exercise an intelligent deist in the neighborhood stepped up to me and said, 'Mr. Stone, I always thought before that you were an honest man, but now I am convinced you are deceiving the people.' I viewed him with pity and mildly spoke a few words to him ; immediately he fell as a dead man and rose no more till he confessed the Saviour. The meeting continued on that spot in the open air till late at night, and many found peace in the Lord.

"The effects of this meeting through the country were like fire in dry stubble driven by a strong wind. All felt its influence more or less.

"Soon after we had a protracted meeting at Concord. The whole country appeared to be in motion to the place, and multitudes of all denominations attended. All seemed to unite heartily in the work. Party spirit shrunk away. To give a true description of this meeting cannot be done, it would border on the marvellous. It continued five days and nights without ceasing. Many, very many will through eternity remember it with thanksgiving and praise." *

The account of this portion of the great revival would be imperfect without the following graphic account from the same source of a memorable meeting at Cane Ridge, Bourbon County, Ky., in August, 1801 :

"The roads were literally crowded with wagons, carriages, horsemen, and footmen moving to the solemn camp. The sight was affecting. It was judged by military men that there were between twenty and thirty thousand collected. Four or five preachers were frequently speaking at the same time in different parts of the encampment without confusion. The Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work, and all appeared cordially united in it. The salvation of sinners seemed to be the great object. All preached free salvation by faith and repentance. A particular description of this meeting would fill a large volume, and then the half would not be told. The numbers converted will be known only in eternity. Many things transpired there which were so much like miracles, that if they were not, they had the same effects as miracles on infidels and unbelievers. This meeting continued six or seven days and nights, and would have continued longer but provisions for such a multitude failed in the neighborhood.

"To this meeting many had come from Ohio and other distant parts, who returned home and diffused the same spirit in their neighborhoods, and the same works followed."

What were some of the good results ?

The moral changes wrought were marked. Infidels became believers, drunkards became temperate, profane men became prayerful.

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* "The Biography of Barton Warren Stone, written by himself, with additions and reflections by John Rogers, Cincinnati, 1847, pp. 34–37.

New churches were organized; old churches were built up.

The tide of revival influence rose higher and higher until, sweeping over the Alleghany Mountains, almost the entire population along the Atlantic coast was profoundly influenced. The unbelief prevailing in the colleges almost entirely disappeared. The low plane of morals in the community at large was abandoned. The public conscience was quickened. The Rev. B. W. Stone, one of the leading promoters of the revival in its earliest stages, was a slave-owner. He gave his slaves their freedom.

The anti-slavery agitation was inaugurated. The temperance reform had its origin in the midst of this awakening. The great Bible and missionary societies were organized during this period. I quote the Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D.:

> "In looking back fifty years and more the great revival of that period strikes me in its thoroughness, in its depths, in its freedom from animal and unhealthy excitement, and its far-reaching influence on subsequent revivals, as having been decidedly in advance of any that had preceded it. It was the opening of a new revival epoch, which has lasted now more than half a century, with but short and partial interruptions, and, blessed be God, the end is not yet. The glorious cause of religion and philanthropy has advanced till it would require a space that cannot be afforded in these sketches, so much as to name the Christian and humane societies which have sprung up all over our land within the last forty years. Exactly how much we at home and the world abroad are indebted for these organizations, so rich in blessings, to the revival of 1800 it is impossible to say, though much every way—more than enough to magnify the grace of God in the instruments He employed, in the immediate fruits of their labors, and the subsequent harvests springing from the good seed which was sown by the men whom God delighted thus to honor. It cannot be denied that modern missions sprung out of this revival. The immediate connection between them, as cause and effect, was remarkably clear in the organization of the first societies, which have since accomplished so much; and the impulse which they gave to the churches to extend the blessings which they were diffusing by forming the later affiliated societies of like aims and character is scarcely less obvious." *

Out of this spiritual revolution came three Christian bodies: The Christian Church or Denomination, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the Disciples of Christ. In what manner and for what purposes did they come into existence?

The character of preaching previous to the revival has been mentioned. The discourses during the season of special interest were quite different. The burden of the preaching now was that God loved the whole world and sent His Son to save men on the simple condition of faith in Him; that the Gospel is the means of salvation; that this means is effectual when believed and obeyed; that while God requires us to believe on His Son He gives sufficient evidence in His Word to produce faith; that sinners are capable of understanding and believing this testimony and of acting upon it. Sinners were urged to believe *now* and receive salvation. They were taught that they looked in vain for the Holy Spirit as a Comforter, while they remained in unbelief and disobedience. God's willingness to save *now* was pressed on the attention of the unsaved. The fact that men are sinners is sufficient reason for coming to the Saviour. The death of the Son of God was for *all* men. No system of theology was preached. Man is a sinner—Jesus is the Saviour, and salvation is by faith in Him. This was all.

This kind of preaching was to the people like a new revelation. The masses appeared to be awakening from the sleep of ages. They seemed to realize for the first time that they were responsible beings. They saw that to refuse to use the means graciously appointed for the salvation of the lost was inexcusable. But there was an element in the Church displeased with the preaching. Some of the doctrines presented in the revival discourses were supposed to be false. It was evident that they did not harmonize with the generally recognized standards of orthodoxy.

The Confession of Faith was neglected. Some murmured. There was a bit of denominational jealousy also. The dissatisfied brethren began to preach boldly their cherished doctrines. The gauntlet was thrown down. The tocsin of war sounded. The weapons of theological conflict were brought out and burnished. Times of distress succeeded the times of joy. The spirit of debate, of course, soon expelled the spirit of love. The salvation of a lost world was no longer the burden of song and prayer and sermon.

There were five Presbyterian clergymen whose discourses were of the character above described. Their names were: Richard McNemar, John Thompson, John Dunlavy, Robert Marshall, and Barton Warren Stone.

The first-named was arraigned before the Springfield (Ohio) Presbytery for preaching anti-Calvinistic doctrines. His case came at last before the synod. It was understood that McNemar's case was a test. If the decision was against him, his companions understood that they were also under the same condemnation. Efforts were made to reclaim the accused brethren. An aged and godly minister in laboring with McNemar urged that every departure from Calvinism was an advance toward atheism! The grades named by him were: From Calvinism to Arminianism, from Arminianism to Pelagianism, from Pelagianism to Deism, from Deism to Atheism!

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* "Christianity in the United States," by D. Dorchester, D.D., pp. 378–379.

McNemar and those associated with him were adjudged to be guilty of heresy.

The deposed ministers at once organized another Springfield Presbytery. They also published a book in which they set forth at length their objections to the Confession of Faith. They condemned all authoritative human creeds and expressed their determination to take the Bible alone as the only rule of faith and practice. They went on preaching and organizing churches as if nothing had happened. They took the name Christian as having been given to believers in the beginning by divine appointment.

Only a year passed when the members of the new Springfield Presbytery came together and decided that there was no authority in their only rule of faith and practice for such an organization. They, therefore, proceeded to frame and adopt what they were pleased to call "the last will and testament of the Springfield Presbytery." As a curiosity in ecclesiastical literature, this document is here presented:

"THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF SPRINGFIELD PRESBYTERY.

"THE PRESBYTERY OF SPRINGFIELD, sitting at Cane Ridge, in the county of Bourbon, being, through a gracious Providence, in more than bodily health, growing in strength and size daily; and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; but knowing that it is appointed for all delegated bodies once to die: and considering that the life of every such body is very uncertain, do make, and ordain this our last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, viz.:

"Imprimis. We WILL, that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the Body of Christ at large; for there is but one body, and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling.

"Item. We WILL, that our name of distinction, with its REVEREND title, be forgotten, that there be but one Lord over God's heritage, and his name one.

"Item. We WILL, that our power of making laws for the government of the church, and executing them by delegated authority, forever cease; that the people may have free course to the Bible, and adopt the LAW OF THE SPIRIT OF LIFE IN CHRIST JESUS.

"Item. We WILL, that candidates for the Gospel ministry henceforth study the Holy Scriptures with fervent prayer, and obtain license from God to preach the simple Gospel, WITH THE HOLY GHOST SENT DOWN FROM HEAVEN, without any mixture of philosophy, vain deceit, tradition of men, or the rudiments of the world. And let none henceforth take THIS HONOR TO HIMSELF, BUT HE THAT IS CALLED OF GOD, AS WAS AARON.

"Item. We WILL, that the church of Christ resume her native right of internal government—try her candidates for the ministry, as to their soundness in the faith, acquaintance with experimental religion, gravity and aptness to teach; and admit no other proof of their authority but Christ speaking in them. We will, that the church of Christ look up to the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest; and that she resume her primitive right of trying those WHO SAY THEY ARE APOSTLES, AND ARE NOT.

"Item. We WILL, that each particular church, as a body, actuated by the same spirit, choose her own preacher, and support him by a free-will offering, without a written call or subscription—admit members—remove offenses; and never henceforth DELEGATE her right of government to any man or set of men whatever.

"Item. We WILL, that the people henceforth take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven; and as many as are offended with other books, which stand in competition with it, may cast them into the fire if they choose; for it is better to enter into life having one book, than having many to be cast into hell.

"Item. We WILL, that preachers and people, cultivate a spirit of mutual forbearance; pray more and dispute less; and while they behold the signs of the times, look up, and confidently expect that redemption draweth nigh.

"Item. We WILL, that our weak brethren, who may have been wishing to make the Presbytery of Springfield their king, and wot not what is now become of it, betake themselves to the Rock of Ages, and follow Jesus for the future.

"Item. We WILL, that the Synod of Kentucky examine every member, who may be SUSPECTED of having departed from the Confession of Faith, and suspend every such suspected heretic immediately; in order that the oppressed may go free, and taste the sweets of Gospel liberty.

"Item. We WILL, that Ja——, the author of two letters lately published in Lexington, be encouraged in his zeal to destroy PARTYISM. We will, moreover, that our past conduct be examined into by all who may have correct information; but let foreigners beware of speaking evil of things which they know not.

"Item. Finally we WILL, that all our SISTER BODIES read their Bibles carefully, that they may see their fate there determined, and prepare for death before it is too late.

SPRINGFIELD PRESBYTERY, } L. S.
June 28th, 1804.

Robert Marshall,
John Dunlavy,
Richard McNemar,
B. W. Stone,
John Thompson,
David Purviance, } Witnesses.

"THE WITNESSES' ADDRESS.

"We, the above named witnesses of the Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery, knowing that there will be many conjectures respecting the causes which have occasioned the dissolution of that body, think proper to testify, that from its first existence it was knit together in love, lived in peace and concord, and died a voluntary and happy death."

Their reasons for dissolving that body were the following :

"With deep concern they viewed the divisions, and party spirit among professing Christians, principally owing to the adoption of human creeds and forms of government. While they were united under the name of a Presbytery, they endeavored to cultivate a spirit of love and unity with all Christians; but found it extremely difficult to suppress the idea that they themselves were a party separate from others. This difficulty increased in proportion to their success in the ministry. Jealousies were excited in the minds of other denominations; and a temptation was laid before those who were connected with the various parties, to view them in the same light. At their last meeting they undertook to prepare for the press a piece entitled 'Observations on Church Government,' in which the world will see the beautiful simplicity of Christian church government, stript of human inventions and lordly traditions. As they proceeded in the investigation of that subject, they soon found that there was neither precept nor example in the New Testament for such confederacies as modern Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, etc. Hence they concluded, that while they continued in the connection in which they then stood, they were off the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, of which Christ himself is the chief corner-stone. However just, therefore, their views of church government might have been, they would have gone out under the name and sanction of a self-constituted body. Therefore, from a principle of love to Christians of every name, the precious cause of Jesus, and dying sinners who are kept from the Lord by the existence of sects and parties in the church, they have cheerfully consented to retire from the din and fury of conflicting parties, sink out of the view of fleshly minds, and die the death. They believe their death will be great gain to the world. But though dead, as above, and stript of their mortal frame, which only served to keep them too near the confines of Egyptian bondage, they yet live and speak in the land of gospel liberty; they blow the trumpet of jubilee, and willingly devote themselves to the help of the Lord against the mighty. They will aid the brethren, by their counsel, when required; assist in ordaining elders, or pastors, seek the divine blessing, unite with all Christians, commune together, and strengthen each others' hands in the work of the Lord.

"We design, by the grace of God, to continue in the exercise of those functions which belong to us as ministers of the gospel, confidently trusting in the Lord, that he will be with us. We candidly acknowledge that in some things we may err, through human infirmity; but he will correct our wanderings, and preserve his church. Let all Christians join with us in crying to God, day and night, to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of his work, and give him no rest till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth. We heartily unite with our Christian brethren of every name, in thanksgiving to God for the display of his goodness in the glorious work he is carrying on in our Western country, which we hope will terminate in the universal spread of the gospel, and the unity of the church." *

The first church organized on the plan of taking the Bible as the only book of faith, and the name Christian as the only family name, was at Cane Ridge, Bourbon County, Ky., in the year 1804.

Congregations similar in character rapidly multiplied. The members entered on the study of the Bible with zeal. It became to them THE BOOK. Soon the question of baptism came up. By degrees a preference was expressed for immersion on a profession of faith. Mr. Stone became a believer in immersion while laboring to convince one of his companions, who seemed to be drifting toward the Baptists, of the unsoundness of the Baptist position.

This novel scheme of church life gained rapid acceptance in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana.

While these events were taking place in this country, certain parties were being prepared on the other side of the Atlantic, who were destined to visibly affect and change, in some important respects, the peculiar current of theological and religious life in process of development. I refer to the Campbells, Thomas and Alexander, father and son. Thomas Campbell was a minister in the Secession branch of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. He was restless under denominational restrictions before he came to the United States, in 1807. His standing in his denomination for orthodoxy was such that immediately after his arrival in the United States he found employment in the Presbyterian Church in the State of Pennsylvania.

About a year later his son Alexander, with the family, sailed for the United States. The vessel on which they embarked suffered shipwreck. The members of the Campbell family were rescued and carried to Scotland. Here they remained one year. Alexander Campbell entered Glasgow University as a student. During his sojourn in Scotland he came in contact with the Haldanes and others of like independent spirit and catholic aims. Under their influence Alexander Campbell became more and more dissatisfied with the intense denominationalism of his time. He compared the condition of the Church of Christ as it then existed, divided into sects and parties, with the Church of Christ as it was before the great apostasy. In 1809, or two years after Thomas Campbell arrived in the United

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* Biography of B. W. Stone, pp. 51-55.

States. Alexander and the family came to New York. They joined the father in Pennsylvania. Thomas Campbell's mind had been at work on a scheme for the reunion of Christians on a simple evangelical basis, and at the time of the arrival of his son Alexander he was reading the proof of what is known as "A Declaration and Address." Father and son were pleased to find themselves in accord in this declaration of principles, lying at the basis of the proposed union movement. They were, it seems, ignorant of what was going on in Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Ohio. They did not think of organizing churches. Their proposition was to organize associations somewhat similar to the Young Men's Christian Associations of the present time. These organizations were simply for co-operation in aggressive, evangelistic Christian work. The first society was organized at Washington, Pa., and was known as "The Christian Association of Washington." The proposition was that Christians of all sects, parties, and names should unite in evangelistic work, taking the Word of God alone as their directory.

After a time the question of baptism came up. The Campbells, having investigated the subject, were immersed on a profession of faith in the Lord Jesus. A number of others were at the same time immersed. They had no thought of identifying themselves with any existing denomination, nor had they any intention of organizing a new denomination. By invitation, however, the company of immersed believers which had now come together united with the Redstone Baptist Association, with the understanding that they would subscribe to no statement of doctrine; that where the spirit led they would go. What they read in the Bible as a part of the Christian faith they would receive; whatever duty was enjoined by the Lord Jesus they would attempt to do. Their reception into this association was neither unanimous nor hearty. The Campbells and their friends were soon found to be a disturbing element, especially on the creed question. When a scheme was discovered by which it was proposed to turn them out of the association, they identified themselves with what was known as the Mahoning Association in Ohio. Here they were more at liberty. By and by a motion was made, and prevailed, to dissolve the Mahoning Association. Against this Alexander Campbell protested. He said that this association was neither exercising nor seeking to exercise authority over the churches, and that there was a necessity for some such means of social and fraternal intercourse, as well as for co-operation in the work of the Master. Meantime Mr. Campbell was gaining a reputation as a scholar, a thinker, a writer, an orator of no mean ability, and a polemic of unusual power. In his journeys, which he made propagating his sentiments, he reached Kentucky, and became acquainted with the movement above described, inaugurated by Mr. Stone and others. Fraternal letters were exchanged. Conferences were held. It was manifest from the beginning that the grand purpose and fundamental principles of Stone and Campbell, with their respective adherents, were substantially the same. A formal union was effected in 1832. This became general in those parts of the country to which Mr. Stone's influence extended. There were some, however, who declined to come into the union. This element, with its descendants, constitutes, in part, what is now known as the "Christian Church"—sometimes the "Christian Denomination." The *combined* elements, with their descendants, constitute the churches that have come to be known as simply and only churches of Christ, under the general designation of Disciples—Disciples of Christ. Any reasonably comprehensive statement as to the origin of the "Christian Church" requires the mention of two other elements. In 1793 there occurred in the Methodist Episcopal Church what is known as the "O'Kelly Secession." The seceders took the name "Christian," accepting the New Testament as their only book of doctrine and discipline. In the year 1800 Dr. Abner Jones, member of a Baptist church, becoming dissatisfied with the creed of his church and with all denominations, and preferring the Bible alone as his "confession of faith," organized a church of twenty-five members in the town of Lyndon, Vt. In a few years he was joined by ministers from the Regular and Free Baptist churches. These movements were incorporated into and became parts of what is now known as the "Christian Denomination."

In many places the congregations of Disciples are popularly known as Christian churches, and they themselves as Christians rather than Disciples.

The influence of master minds is seen at this point. B. W. Stone and his friends maintained that the name Christian was given by divine authority. Alexander Campbell maintained that the name Christian was originally given as a term of reproach. He thought that there was no one name imposed on the people of God by divine authority. He preferred the name Disciple as more in harmony with the spirit of the Christ. The subject of the name was considered by neither party as a matter of importance. It was one of the things on which there was an agreement to disagree. It can be seen, however, that in the regions where Mr. Stone's influence was greatest, the name Christian has the preference, while in those parts of the country where Mr. Campbell's influence was dominant the name Disciple is preferred. The object alike of Disciples and Christians was and is the reunion of Christendom by returning to the religion of Jesus as it existed in the Apostolic age.

As a result of what is called the "Great Revival of 1800" came also the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The origin of this denomination may be described in a few words. The supply of preachers during this intense religious interest was inadequate. At different times a number of exhorters were appointed, and after a trial of their gifts some were licensed to preach. The presbytery did not require of such persons the usual course of classical studies, and also permitted them to except to the doctrine of decrees as expressed in the Confession of Faith. In October, 1802, the Presbytery of Cumberland was formed. The new presbytery met in April, 1803. In 1805 complaints were laid before the synod of irregularity in the matter of ordination on the part of the Presbytery of Cumberland. A committee of ten ministers and six elders was appointed to visit the territory of the disorderly presbytery and investigate the whole matter. The persons who had been irregularly licensed or ordained were asked by the commission to submit to an examination. They refused to do so. The presbytery sanctioned their course. The commission prohibited them from preaching or administering ordinances until they should submit. It was contended that the prohibition was technically powerless. The revival members, as they were called, of the Presbytery of Cumberland memorialized the General Assembly, but in vain. The Assembly sustained the synod and exhorted the recusants to submit. The synod was asked to review this proceeding. The result of the review was a confirmation of all that had been done. The synod dissolved the Cumberland Presbytery. An ineffectual effort was made to bring about reconciliation. In February, 1810, three ministers who had been silenced by the commission organized themselves into a new Cumberland Presbytery. In three years a synod was necessary, with three presbyteries and sixty congregations. Nineteen years after the organization of the Cumberland Presbytery a general assembly was constituted. In 1814 an edition of the Westminster Confession and Catechism was published altered to suit the doctrinal conception of the Cumberland Presbytery. This Confession and these Catechisms reject eternal reprobation, limited atonement, and special grace, teach that the atonement was made for all mankind, and that the operation of the Holy Spirit is coextensive with the atonement. The points of difference in the beginning between the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and Presbyterian churches generally were as to the literary fitness of candidates for the ministry, the Calvinistic doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation, and partial atonement.

The growth of the bodies whose genesis has thus been traced—the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the Christian Denomination, and the Disciples of Christ—has been in every direction steady, and in some directions rapid.

While the chief point of difference between the Cumberland and Transylvania Presbyteries was the scholastic qualification of candidates for the ministry, the Cumberland Presbyterians have been active in establishing and nurturing schools of a high grade. It is claimed that in proportion to numbers and wealth, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church will not suffer in this regard by a comparison with the older Presbyterian bodies. Of the better class of institutions of learning, it will be sufficient to mention in this connection Cumberland University, at Lebanon, Tenn.; Bethel College, at McKenzie, Tenn.; Waynesburg College, at Waynesburg, Pa.; Lincoln University, at Lincoln Ill., and Trinity University, at Tehuacana, Tex. Waynesburg, Lincoln, and Trinity admit young ladies on equal terms with young men. There are also several institutions exclusively for girls owned by or under the patronage of the Church.

The Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed by the amicable separation of negro members from the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and their organization into an independent body. The members of this branch of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church are distributed throughout the States of Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky.

It was maintained at the time of the

separation of the Cumberland Presbytery from the Presbytery of Transylvania, that the doctrine of decrees, as set forth in the Confession of Faith, was inimical to successful evangelistic work. The Protestants ought, in order to be consistent, to give an example of zeal and efficiency in the evangelization of the people. This, it must be conceded, they have done. Ten years after the organization of the Cumberland Presbytery the new church had spread not only in Tennessee and Western Kentucky, but many flourishing congregations existed in Alabama, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. In 1822 their ordained ministers were 46. In 1826 there were 80. In 1827 the number was 114. At the sessions of the synod in 1828 the subject of forming a General Assembly was discussed, and the Cumberland Synod was divided into four. The first General Assembly met in 1829. In 1822, 2718 persons were converted under the influence of the 46 ministers, which then constituted the ministry of the denomination. In 1826, 3305 persons were turned to the Lord through the instrumentality of 80 ministers. In the year 1827 there were 4006 professions. In 1850 there were 500 Cumberland Presbyterian churches, 450 ministers, and 75,000 communicants. In 1870 the number of church organizations was 1600, number of ministers, 1116, number of communicants, 80,000. Ten years later there were 2457 Cumberland Presbyterian churches in the United States, 1386 ministers, 111,863 communicants.

Work has also been undertaken in the foreign field. The income of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church is about $20,000 a year. Twenty missionaries are employed. The number of communicants is 600, number of pupils 300, number of conversions per annum 50. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church may well be characterized as a revival denomination. It has contented itself, in the home field, with working in the rural districts and the newer States. Instead of striving for a wealthy membership by proselyting from the older and stronger denominations, the effort has been, from the beginning, in behalf of the unconverted.

The educational institutions under the control of the American Christian Convention, the General Organization of the Christian Denomination, are Union Christian College, located at Merom, Ind.; Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O.; Starkey College, Eddytown, N. Y.; Elon College, Graham, N. C., and Lincoln College, Lincoln, Neb. They have one theological seminary, the Christian Biblical Institute, at Stamfordville, N. Y. There are also three institutes or preparatory schools of high grade. The Christian Correspondence College has recently been established in connection with the Theological Seminary. Antioch College is managed by the Christian Educational Society, appointed from the Christians, and by a board of trustees in which the Unitarians have control, which *ratifies* the action of the Educational Society. The *Herald of Gospel Liberty* is the organ of the denomination and was established September 1st, 1808. Dayton, O., is the place of publication. The *Christian Sun* is published at Raleigh, N. C., and the *Christian Indicator* at Kokomo, Ind. The denomination publishes at its house in Dayton the usual line of Sunday-school quarterlies, lesson leaves, etc. The Christian Denomination is also engaged in the foreign mission field. Two agents are supported in Japan. The Secretary of the American Christian Convention, the Rev. J. J. Summerbell, in a communication now in my hand, claims for the Christians that they constitute the only brotherhood making Christian character the only test of fellowship, that they are the only people using the name Christian exclusively, that credit is due them as the restorers of the original authority of the Bible without a creed or preacher thrown in to interpret its dogmatic doctrines, that they were the first to give the sister equal rights with her brother in institutions of learning, and in the pulpit in modern times, and that they established the first religious newspaper. In 1889 the Christians aided 26 missionaries who preached 2909 sermons, conducted more than 4000 meetings, were instrumental in the hands of God in the conversion of nearly 1000 souls, and in the organization of 15 new churches. The amount of money expended on the home field in 1889 was $3367, in the foreign field, $3423. The number of communicants is not far from 100,000.

The Disciples of Christ have been characterized from the beginning by evangelistic zeal. In 1850 there were 1898 congregations of Disciples, known simply as Churches of Christ, 848 ministers, and 118,618 communicants. Twenty years later there were 2478 congregations of Disciples, 2200 ministers, and 450,000 communicants. In 1880 the number of church organizations was 5100, the number of ministers was 3782, and the number of communicants 591,821. The number of communicants at the present time is 800,000. The General Christian Missionary Convention is the national organization of the Disciples for evangelistic work in our own land in places not cared for by the State organizations, of which there are thirty-six. The General Convention has expended about $200,000 during the last eight years in doing its special work. The average number of converts in a single year by the agents of the General Convention is 10,000. The Foreign Christian Missionary Society was organized in 1875. The income of the society last year, 1890, was $67,750, and from the beginning about $600,000. Thirty male and twenty-six female missionaries were employed. Twenty-seven native helpers were supported by the funds of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society. The number of communicants in churches under the fostering care of this organization is 3000. There were more than 600 conversions last year. Number of pupils in foreign mission schools, 400. The principal institutions of learning are Bethany College, located at Bethany, W. Va.; Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.; Kentucky University, Lexington, Ky.; Drake University, Des Moines, Ia., and Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. The Disciples are in accord with evangelical Christians in holding to, and advocating the points of doctrine regarded as fundamental in our religion.

As above stated, the origin of the Christian Denomination and Disciples of Christ was a desire to promote union among believers. This the Disciples propose to do by urging a return to the religion of Jesus as it existed at the first in the following particulars: 1. Its creed; 2. Its ordinances; 3. Its life. They claim that the only authoritative creed is a belief in Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ, the Son of the living God. It is claimed that on this creed the Church of Christ in Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Rome was built. This creed was sufficient then; is sufficient now. The ordinances are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is administered only to penitent believers and is an immersion in water. The Lord's Supper is observed in the congregations of Disciples on every first day of the week. They have been active in the publication of books, tracts, sermons, and newspapers setting forth their conception of the Gospel. The leading houses are the Standard Publishing Company, Cincinnati, O., and the Christian Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo. Among the prominent papers may be mentioned the *Christian Standard,* Cincinnati, O.; the *Christian Evangelist,* St. Louis, Mo.; the *Christian Oracle,* Chicago, Ill.; the *Christian Leader,* Cincinnati, O.; the *Missionary Weekly,* Richmond, Va.; the *Apostolic Guide,* Louisville, Ky.; the *Gospel Advocate,* Nashville, Tenn., and the *Truth,* San Francisco, Cal.

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

"PROVE ALL THINGS, HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

(1 Thess. v. 21.)

THE SERMON PREACHED BY REV. C. H. PARKHURST, D.D., IN THE MADISON SQUARE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY, SUNDAY, MAY 24TH, 1891.

(From original ms. supplied by Dr. Parkhurst.)

In accordance with an announcement made a week ago I have undertaken this morning to touch some points suggested by the present condition of disquiet in the Presbyterian Church; it might better be said, the present condition of disquiet in the Church at large; for there subsists among the churches that degree of unity and mutual membership that whatever doctrinal disturbance makes itself felt in one communion is certain sooner or later to repeat itself in every sister-communion. Or it can be stated more accurately still by saying that this mental and doctrinal uneasiness is not a matter of denomination; it is a kind of tempest that the whole atmosphere is charged withal, and therefore sweeps across the entire landscape of the thinking world as a storm rolls across a continent, unchecked by the barriers of mountain and river by which the continent may be intersected, unhindered by the walls, fences, and hedgerows by which all its wide area may be checkered into sections, farms, and garden-plots. It is in the air, not in the denomination; cosmic, not local.

Let it be said at this point that we have no purpose of descending into the small details of the matter in hand. Such treatment would comport neither with the time nor the place. The best way of getting ready to handle questions that are in dispute is to revive our own consciousness of the indisputable grounds upon which alone the settlement of disputed questions can securely rest and permanently abide.

It ought now to be premised as a proper approach to what is before us that the discussion of this morning is not undertaken out of any palpitating anxiety as to how things are going to come out. They are going to come out right. The Lord only knows when, but they are going to come out right. The revered and beloved president of our seminary, in a letter written me just before he left town for the summer on Thursday last, closed with the words, "I exult in the thought that God reigns." There are vast quantities of nerve and staying power in that. As the Prophet Isaiah said, "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." Tumultuousness and perturbation are atheism along its nether edge. That through which we are passing is to be reckoned as a necessary stage in the history of the evolution of divine truth. Storms in the theological world are as much a part of the theological world as tempests, blizzards, and cataclysms are an essential element in the history and growth of the natural world. This is a live world and it is a growing world; and whether growth be the growth of roots among the rocks, or growth of discovery among the facts of the material world, or the growth of idea in the realm of religious truth, growth is bound to produce rupture. If something grows something has got to give way. The unquiet that prevails ought to make us prayerful, but if there were no unquiet there would be still greater need of being prayerful; for then it would look as though history were run down, and all the push out of the spring: as though God were tired, or the Holy Spirit off on a vacation. So much, then, to indicate the tone in which as Christians our thoughts ought to sing themselves out. The Lord reigneth.

And then, too, we have got not only to trust the Lord, but what is a good deal harder, we have got to love our enemies. These people that are antagonizing us and that we are antagonizing in these earnest and almost bitter days are not wicked people; they are not dishonest people, nor tricky, nor ugly, many of them. The present question is not one of integrity, but of standpoint. The differences that separate us are more constitutional and temperamental than anything else. When I was a boy I remember I once asked the question what the distinction was between New School and Old School? The answer given me was that I had better wait till I grew up, and then I should find out. I am finding out. There are some lessons that can be learned only by personal experiment. Mutual suspicion of the integrity of one another's spirit and purposes is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of reciprocal understanding and pacification. They are likely to think that we are only half-way Christian because we insist on so much revision, and we are likely to reciprocate and think that they are only half-way Christian because they do not want any revision. It takes a great deal of grace to be able to imagine that a man can think differently from what we do and still be quite honest in thinking it. An illustration of that is afforded by the case of a family, I do not remember where from, but down in the fastnesses of Pennsylvania, or out in the wilds of the West probably—a home mission family that the ladies of our church have very munificently helped in the way of clothing and the like. The head of the family, an uncompromising anti-revisionist, wrote back gratefully and graciously acknowledging what the church had done for him, stating that he had heard of our church as being a staunch representative of revision, and he said that the clothes we sent him came as a surprise and a revelation. "Why," he said, "I feel differently toward revision since I got that box." Why, the dear saint, he didn't suppose that revisionists had enough of the grace of God in them to care whether people went clothed or naked. And that is all around. It was only last year in Saratoga that, when one of the General Assembly representatives from this city took the platform, one of the ladies from the West was heard to say to her companion, "Oh! that is one of those dreadful New York men that believe in changing the Confession of Faith! Won't somebody put him out!" Next to believing in God and in the inspiration of the Scriptures, we need to believe in each other. Paul says, and Paul knows, that the very best thing in all the world is love; and we are going to need quantities of that, or else before the next three years are gone by the Presbyterian Church will be a veritable Hades above ground. In these coming days and years it is going to be exceedingly necessary for us to keep very close to Christ and the blessed spirit of the thirteenth of 1 Corinthians.

At the same time, while we believe that God reigns, and while we are going to do our utmost to love these people with whom we are in conflict—we may not like them, but we are going to do our best to love them—I say that at the same time there are certain positions that we have some of us taken, that we are going to stand by and affirm so long as there is breath in our body to affirm them with. We will do it inside of the

Presbyterian Church if we can; and if we cannot we will do it inside of some other church.

One thing we are going to stand for is the unity of the Presbyterian Church, not by excision but by comprehension. The true strength of a church, like the true strength of a nation, lies not in the monotony of its elements, but in their organized heterogeneity. Rome was strong because of the diversity of the tribal ingredients that went to compose it. England owes her irresistibleness in part to the diversified threads of population that are woven into the web of her national unity. We are expecting the same thing from our own American people when once the assimilating process has blended the diverse constituencies, that are gathered into our midst, into one solid and compact whole. Or to transfer the same principle from political to ecclesiastical ground, the strength of the original apostolic twelve was due to differences as well as to resemblances. There were no theological scales and no temperamental yard-stick by which the twelve could have been tried in a way to make them show the same figure. The apostleship was large and broad enough to take in easily eleven men whose only point of unity was their faith in God and their loving belief in His Son, besides Judas Iscariot; and Judas even never ceased to be an apostle by any one's act save his own act. Princeton says that is a careless, ill-advised way of doing these things. If the apostleship had not started before Princeton did there would have been no show for the apostleship; too heterogeneous; no one system that they would all have been willing to pledge themselves to; Peter and John never would have agreed on any theological platform that had more than two planks in it; and when Paul came in everything would have gone all to pieces. The spirit of such an institution as that I have just mentioned is to make theologians just as a machine makes shoe-pegs; just as a baker makes crackers, the same quantity of dough in the cracker before it is put into the oven, and the same stamp put on to the cracker after it is pulled out of the oven. It attempts to secure church unity exactly as the Catholic Church has always tried to secure church unity, by cutting off the legs of those that did not walk in step, and by the abscission of the heads of those that did not think in step; which is the monotony of Sahara Desert, not the unity of a living organism.

And it is passing strange, it is one of the riddles of history, the comfort the Church has always taken in casting its members out of the synagogue. Even in the old Mosaic days to be a prophet, to see and think where others had not seen and thought before augured for the seer an ignominious death. And then even in Christ's own days the disciples began to rebuke already those who believed in Christ and who did Christ's works, but who declined to train in their particular company. And that has been the history of the Church. The quickest way to fire church enthusiasm is not to show to it a poor sinner for it to convert, but a poor heretic for it to sniff after and run down. I am not speaking of any one century, but of all the centuries of the history of the Church. We raise vast piles of money to convert a man and get him into the Church; but the moment of supreme felicity, the time when enthusiasm flashes up into one compact flame of radiance and heat, is when there is a prospect of getting a man out of the Church. The Church has always fought new ideas. It never subscribes to a discovery in science till it has to. It always widens its conceptions grudgingly and sulkily. When on the frontier between the known and the unknown it has always behaved as though it were scared. And the man who has a new understanding of things is always a hated man. No matter what his character may be, no matter what his integrity, no matter how profound, no matter how willing he might be to lay down his life for the truth as he apprehends it, he is a feared and a hated man. It is wonderfully curious considered just simply as a psychological fact. And they always try to kill him. And they do it as a part of their religious life: they think they are doing God service by killing him, just as Saul thought when he chased the poor Christians up to Damascus. Orthodoxy, history through, has been happy in shedding the blood of heterodoxy. Of course as civilization has advanced, modes of burning and burying alive have been modified and have assumed more æsthetic forms, but there is the same queer impulse back of it all. Take the entire country through, there is not a tithe of the interest felt in the conversion of the world to Christ that there is in seeing what the Church is about to do with a conspicuous doctrinal suspect. The Church does not fellowship new ideas; never did. It has no fondness for altering what it is pleased to call its mind. It does not like to be bothered about the reasons for things. It is like a man going through to his destination on a sleeping-car, who does not like to be stirred up by the conductor in the middle of the night to show his ticket. We are not saying that maliciousness is the secret of this; but it is an indubitable part of church history. Why, when a recent vote was passed in our presbytery indicating that one of our number would have a chance pretty soon to stand up to the ecclesiastical rack, the moment the vote had been declared I saw one of the oldest and one of the saintliest members of presbytery smile with a smile that was well on toward six inches in length. He is a saint, if there is one in our presbytery, but there was the same spirit in that smile that was in the satisfied faces of the old inquisitors who used to toast heretics over slow fires, and tickle their flesh with hot pincers. It is a conundrum that I have no ethical or psychological solution for. But it is a fact, and the Church is steadily against the man who dares express original convictions, and takes what seems to it a holy satisfaction in seeing him squirm for it. And it is right in the line of that to go on and say that it would have been natural to expect that, before steps were taken looking in the direction of a formal indictment, all possible means would have been used to arrive at a safe conclusion in a quiet way. You would have supposed that before recommending an ecclesiastical trial, which in all probability will not be concluded for years if once prosecution is commenced, it would be natural to suppose, I say, that the committee having the matter under survey and advisement would have felt themselves under solemn obligation to utilize every source of information that was available. A grand jury that should bring in an indictment, with the confession that it had religiously put cotton in its ears to avoid hearing what five out of six available witnesses could testify upon the matter would be beneath the contempt of all men that had a conscience for commonplace, every-day justice. I only refer to this as an illustration of my point that the Church now, as always, has a quick, keen relish for doctrinal prosecution. And this singular desire to see the screws put upon a co-presbyter is made only the more repulsive and absurd by the fact that the suspect in question had just been elected a commissioner to represent presbytery at General Assembly, and that the offence with which he is charged is that of nonconformity with a confession of faith that that same presbytery had but a little time before with large unanimity voted, is no fair expression of our doctrinal convictions and needs a thorough overhauling. For ill-advised, incongruous heresy-sniffing legislation commend me to the recent action of our presbytery. May the quiet of summer rectify the evidently jaded condition of our bodies, and the tangled machinery of our minds; and when the Muse of History composes herself to write the minutes of our procedure may the tears she will shed suffice to obliterate the record.

Let it not be supposed that this church and this pulpit does not recognize the fact that there are certain Christian truths that are to be considered as essential. We do believe in opening the doors widely, but we do not believe in knocking out the whole of the front of the house. And the essential truths are those which Christ by His teaching and living and dying has shown to be essential. We accept no man as Master but Christ. We will be bound by no authority but Christ. We will not be bound by any confession of faith. We will not be bound even by the Bible when it seems to us to contradict Christ; and when Christ bids us love our enemies and pray for them, and the imprecatory Psalms encourage us to curse our enemies and pray against them, I turn my face to Christ and my back to David. My morning and evening lessons from the Psalms I always read from an expurgated edition of the Psalter. In essentials unity, and in non-essentials as much diversity as anybody wants. The question that is on the lips of thousands of young men that are on the threshold of the ministry, and that are looking in the direction of the Presbyterian Church, is, Can I enter the Presbyterian ministry and still retain my intellectual self-respect? Must I pluck out my eyes and replace my brains with sawdust as candidacy for Presbyterian orders? Can I be an independent thinker and be at the same time a loyal Presbyterian?

It is in view of just such interrogatories as those that I go on to express it as my frank conviction that General Assembly stultified itself one year ago, when it bound its Revision Committee to confine its modification of the Confession within Calvinistic lines. Our objection is not to the thing, it is to the name; our objection is to the idea of tying a great Church in a live century and country to a man that has been three hundred years under ground. It touches the spot in a keen, wide-awake man where he keeps his disappointment and his contempt. Perhaps we can never improve on Calvin, but it hurts my feelings to feel that the Church that my heart and life are bound up in is anchored to a cemetery. Theology is not ripe yet; it has great possibilities in it; there is room within it for infinite expansion in every direction. And it is as fatal to its future to pin it to an old name as it would be to pin science to an old name. The attempt to make of Presbyterianism an aggressive, widening, moving power in the world and yet to brake its wheel with the name of John Calvin or any other name is like getting into your carriage with a crack of your whip and a great show of travel, before you have loosened your horse from the hitching-post. To tie us to the sixteenth century is an attempt to drive the Presbyterian buggy with a hitched horse. And any one who supposes that that kind of a Church in this age of the world is going to draw into its membership a great many people besides children before they commence to think, and old men and women after they have gotten through thinking, is badly mistaken. Start in a bright, live person's mind even a suspicion that there is an incompatibility between the Presbyterian Church and thought at its best and freest and largest, and you have everlastingly damned the Presbyterian Church in the esteem of that man. As old Dr. Van Dyke, a man who, I am told, was not so broad once as not to have had a good deal of room left for expansion, but who is so wide and umbrageous now that some of us who are considerably younger can easily sit under the shadow of his branches—as Dr. Van Dyke said in public a few days ago: " If we cannot have liberty and orthodoxy both let us have liberty and go without orthodoxy."

Now let me say a simple, careful word about the doctrine of the inerrancy of the Scriptures. I do not suppose there is one member of the session of this Church that has any kind of anxiety as to whether the Bible is absolutely without error or not. I am sure it makes no difference to me either as to the restfulness of my own mind touching the divine reliableness of the Scriptures in their wholeness, or as to the assurance with which I press upon men the claims of God and of His Son Jesus Christ as those claims address themselves to us through the Bible. I have no care about the matter one way or the other. We believe that the Bible is inspired by God. We do not believe that God ever told Moses to say that conies chew the cud, because conies do not chew the cud, Leviticus xi. 5 to the contrary notwithstanding. That does not vitiate the Sermon on the Mount. That does not invalidate the proofs of Christ's resurrection. That does not blur the thirteenth of 1st Corinthians. That does not wound Scripture in its vitals any more than paring your nails stops your heart's beating. The Bible is too big a thing to hang on a coney-peg. Such a matter as that just referred to in Leviticus is to be settled by the biological and hermeneutical experts, not by you and me, unless we have had specific training for it ; any more than we are competent without specific training to decide how far it is to the sun, or what the moon is made of. And the scholars are saying it, and saying it almost universally that there are such errors in Scripture as the one I have named. I do not know whether there are ; I do not know enough to be able to judge. Of course I can assume that there are not, and that would save a good deal of trouble ; but assumptions made in the interests of convenience are always avenged. It may be said again that allow the existence of one error, and where are you going to stop ? Now that is simple intellectual cowardice, and a man ought to blush for very shame at the craven impulse to ask such a question. The Bible cannot be buttressed by lying defences. If there are errors sooner or later it will be known, and the more pains we have taken to keep them covered up the more the Bible will suffer in the world's esteem, when once it is known. There is no book in the world that is so worthy of being handled with absolute candor and fearlessness as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. And this idea of the possible errancy of the Scripture is no modern innovation emanating from what some would have us consider the black art of the higher criticism. Calvin believed that there were errors in the Bible ; and so did Luther and Stier, and Lange and Tholuck ; H. B. Smith believed it. If now there are such errors and if it is not according to the Confession of Faith to believe there are errors, then it would seem better to square the Confession of Faith to the facts than to undertake to square the facts to the Confession of Faith. It would be just as well for the facts and a world sight better for the Confession of Faith. If a man says that Leviticus xi. 5 is a mistake, the thing to do is not to prove that he is false to the Confession, but to produce a cud-chewing coney. If Presbyterianism cannot keep out of bed without ignoring its Christian scholars and vituperating its Christian experts, the sooner it gives up the ghost the better, for it will economize medical expenses and save watchers.

Now the special object of these later paragraphs is to protest against quiddling ways of defending God's Word. It is this small, cowardly, pettifogging manner of handling these great matters that is exciting the contempt of people who have brains enough to think, and conscience enough to spot poltroonery and disingenuousness, and that are being led to suspect that religion is one of those things that shows to best advantage when the light is turned down. Some one will say that the manner in which I have this morning dealt with these questions will operate to engender skepticism. I deny it. Before God I deny it. I know what the young earnest men of this period are made of, and I know that if there is anything they loathe and have a sublime right to loathe, it is disingenuousness and evasion in matters of religion ; and if there is anything that is calculated to excite distrust of religion and of God's Word, it is to shake and to shiver when investigation begins to come round and turn up the light on its old revered pages. It would take a whole mountain of Gospel preaching to atone for the mischief that has been done by the well-meaning but silly souls that have tried to shoo off the critics from their searching and merciless investigation of the volume of life. The strength of the Word of God is in itself and not in its defenders. To cosset and to buttress it is to defame it. To defend it is to betray it. To uncover it, to offer it to criticism, to throw down the gauntlet and challenge investigation is our grandest and most commanding confession of faith in it. God Almighty cure us of all our small ways and dickering policies, and so put greatness within us that we may be competent to handle great things in great ways, and so kindle His light in our eye that we may be able to find the light that is in His revealed truth, and walk in that light with glad confidence and publish it with triumphant assurance.

CHANGES IN THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE ON REVISION, AND PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT DETROIT, MAY 21, 1891.

THE alterations, amendments and additions which the Revision Committee is prepared to recommend to the General Assembly are the following :

CHAPTER I.

OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

V. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture. And *the truthfulness of the history, the faithful witness of prophecy and miracle,* the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God ; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word, in our hearts.

[The words italicized are new. No other changes are made.]

CHAPTER III.

OF GOD'S ETERNAL DECREE.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
Sections I and II unchanged, Sections III and IV stricken out ; and Section V amended so that Section III will read : III. God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to His eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of His will, hath predestinated some of mankind unto life, and hath particularly and unchangeably chosen them in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of His mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith, or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions or causes, moving Him thereunto ; and all to the praise of His glorious grace. Section VI remains unchanged and becomes Section IV. Section VII was amended and becomes Section V, and is as follows : V. The rest of mankind, God was pleased according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth, *not to elect unto everlasting life*, but to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice ; *yet so as thereby neither is any limitation put upon the offer of salvation to all upon condition of faith in Christ ; nor is restraint laid upon the freedom of any one to hinder his acceptance of this offer.* VI. Section VIII remains unchanged and becomes Section VI.	III. By the decree of God for the manifestation of His Glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. IV. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed ; and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished. V. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to His eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of His will, hath chosen, in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith, or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving Him thereunto ; and all to the praise of His glorious grace. VII. The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy, as He pleaseth [for the glory of His sovereign power over His creatures, to pass by], and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.

[Section III of the revision contains no new matter, but consists of Sections III, IV and V of the old chapter, recast. Section V of the revision is Section VII of the old chapter changed by the addition of the words in italics and by the omission of the words in brackets in Section VII.]

CHAPTER IV.

OF CREATION.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
I. It pleased God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for the manifestation of the glory of His eternal power, wisdom and goodness, in the beginning, to create of nothing *the universe*, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, and all very good. *The heavens and the earth, with all that they contain, were made by Him in six creative days.*	I. It pleased God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of His eternal power, wisdom and goodness, in the beginning, to create, or make of nothing [the world] and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE FALL OF MAN, OF SIN, AND OF THE PUNISHMENT THEREOF.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
IV. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all *that is spiritually* good, and wholly inclined to evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. *Nevertheless the Providence of God, and the common operations of His Spirit, restrain unregenerate men from much that is evil, and lead them to exercise many social and civil virtues.*	IV. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions.

CHAPTER VII.

OF GOD'S COVENANT WITH MAN.

III. Man by his fall, having made himself incapable of life by that covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the covenant of grace; wherein He freely offereth *by His word and Spirit* unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in Him, that they may be saved, and promising to give, unto all those that are ordained unto life, His Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.

[The only change in the foregoing section is the addition of the words in italic. The only change in the following section is the omission of the words in brackets.]

Section IV was stricken out, Section V becomes Section IV. The words in the last line, "and is called the Old Testament," were stricken out.

IV. This covenant was differently administered in the time of the law, and in the time of the Gospel; under the law it was administered by promises, prophecies, sacrifices, circumcision, the paschal lamb and other types and ordinances delivered to the people of the Jews, all fore-signifying Christ to come, which were, for that time, sufficient and efficacious, through the operation of the Spirit, to instruct and build up the elect in faith in the promised Messiah, by whom they had full remission of sins, and eternal salvation [and is called the Old Testament.]

[Section IV, which was stricken out, is as follows:]

IV. This covenant of grace is frequently set forth in the Scripture by the name of a testament, in reference to the death of Jesus Christ, the testator, and to the everlasting inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

Section VI becomes Section V. In line nine, the words "and is called the New Testament" were stricken out.

V. Under the Gospel, when Christ, the substance, was exhibited, the ordinances, in which this covenant is dispensed, are the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; which, though fewer in number, and administered with more simplicity, and less outward glory, yet in them it is held forth in more fullness, evidence and spiritual efficacy, to all nations, both Jews and Gentiles [and is called the New Testament]. There are not, therefore, two covenants of grace, differing in substance, but one and the same under various dispensations.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF CHRIST THE MEDIATOR.

V. The Lord Jesus, by His perfect obedience and sacrifice of Himself, which He through the eternal Spirit once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied *Divine* justice, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto Him.

[The only change in the foregoing section is the substitution of the word *divine* for the phrase "of His Father."]

The chapter "Of the work of the Holy Spirit," becomes Chapter IX.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

I. The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, the same in substance with the Father and the Son, and equal in power and glory,1 is together with the Father and the Son to be believed in, loved, obeyed and worshiped throughout all ages. 2—I Matt. iii. 16, 17; xxviii. 19; John xiv. 16, 17; I Cor.

ii. 11 ; [2]II Cor. xiii. 14 ; Gal. v. 22, 25 ; Eph. iv. 4–6 ; Heb. ix. 14.

II. The Holy Spirit, who of old revealed to men in various ways the mind and will of God, hath fully and authoritatively made known this mind and will in all things pertaining to life and salvation in the sacred Scriptures,[1] holy men of God speaking therein as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ;[2] and these Scriptures being so inspired, are the infallible Word of God, the supreme rule of faith and duty,[3]—[1]I Cor. ii. 10–13 ; Heb. i. 1, 2 ; John xvi. 13 ; [2]Acts i. 16 ; II Tim. iii. 15, 16 ; II Peter i. 21 ; [3]I Thess. ii. 13 ; John v. 39 ; Col. iii. 16.

III. The Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, is everywhere present among men, confirming the teachings of nature and the law of God written on the heart, restraining from evil and inciting to good ; and is the source of all the wisdom, virtue and reverence for God found in men, and of all the peace and good order in society ; thus preparing the way for the Gospel wherever it is preached.[1] He everywhere accompanies the Gospel with his persuasive energy, and urges its message upon the unregenerate, enlightening their minds concerning divine things, quickening their consciences, and drawing them by his grace, so that they who reject the merciful offer of the Gospel are not only without excuse, but are also guilty of resisting the Holy Spirit.[2]—[1]Joel ii. 28 ; John i. 9 ; Rev. xxii. 17 ; Rom. x. 18 ; Rom. i. 19, 20 ; ii. 14, 15 ; [2]John xvi. 8 ; Isa. lxiii. 10 ; Acts ii. 16–18 ; Acts vii. 51 ; xxiv. 25 ; Heb. x. 29.

IV. The Holy Spirit is the only efficient agent in applying and communicating redemption. He effectually calls sinners to new life in Christ Jesus, regenerating them by His almighty grace, freeing them from the bondage of sin and death, and persuading and enabling them to embrace Jesus Christ by faith.[1] He dwells in all believers as their Comforter and Sanctifier, and as the Spirit of adoption and of supplication,[2] leading them into all the truth, making the means of grace efficacious in their edification, strengthening them for all duty, sustaining them in all affliction,[3] and performing all other gracious offices by which they are sanctified, sealed, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.—[1]John iii. 5 ; II Cor. v. 5, 17 ; Rom. viii. 2 ; I Cor. xii. 3 ; II Cor. vii. 10 ; [2]John i. 12 ; xiv. 17 ; Rom. viii. 15, 26, 27 ; [3]Gal. v. 5, 22 ; Jude v. 20, 21 ; Eph. iii. 16 ; iv. 30 ; II Thess. ii. 13 ; Col. i. 12.

V. By the indwelling of the Holy Spirit all believers are vitally united to Christ, who is the Head, and are thus united to one another in the Church, which is His body.[1] He calls and anoints ministers for their holy office. He also calls and qualifies all other officers in the Church for their special work, and imparts various gifts and graces to its members.[2] He gives efficacy to the word and to the ordinances of the Gospel ; keeps the Church from apostasy, revives it in times of declension, and enables it to bear effectual testimony to the truth.[3] By Him the Church has been and will be preserved, increased, and purified, until it shall cover the earth, and at last be presented to Christ a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.[4]—[1]I Tim. iii. 15 ; Eph. i. 22, 23 ; iii. 10 ; iv. 16. [2]Acts xiii. 2 ; I Cor. ii. 4. [3]Eph. iv. 3, 4 ; I Tim. iv. 1 ; Joel ii. 28 ; Acts ii. 17 ; Matt. xxviii. 18–20. [4]Eph. v. 27 ; Rev. v. 11–13 ; xi. 15.

[The foregoing chapter is entirely new.]

CHAPTER (IX) X.

OF FREE WILL.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
III. Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation ; so as a natural man, being altogether *indisposed to* that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto. *Yet is his responsibility as a free moral agent not thereby impaired.*	III. Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation ; so as a natural man, being altogether [averse from] that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

[The changes in the foregoing section are indicated by the italics. The last sentence is entirely new.]

The chapter " OF THE UNIVERSAL OFFER OF THE GOSPEL," becomes Chapter XI, and the number of all succeeding chapters is increased by two.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE UNIVERSAL OFFER OF THE GOSPEL.

I. God so loved the world that He provided in the covenant of grace, through the mediation and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ, a way of life and salvation sufficient for and adapted to the whole lost race of man :[1] and He doth freely offer this salvation to all men in the Gospel.[2]—[1]Rom. i. 16 ; II Cor. v. 19 ; Eph. i. 10 ; Col. i. 20 ; Heb. ix. 26 ; x. 14 ; I John i. 7 ; ii. 2 ; [2]Luke 24, 47 ; Acts ii. 39 ; xiii. 47 ; Col. i. 23.

II. The Gospel declares the love of God

for the world,1 and His desire for the salvation of all men.2 It sets forth fully and clearly the only way of salvation, which is through Christ alone;3 promises that all who truly repent and believe in Him shall be saved;4 commands, exhorts and invites all to embrace the offered mercy; and urges every motive to induce men to accept its gracious invitations.5 This free and universal offer of the Gospel is accompanied by the Holy Spirit,6 striving with and entreating men to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ.—1John iii. 16; I John iv. 14; 2Ezek. xxxiii. 11; Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xix. 41, 42; I Tim. ii. 4; 3Isa. liii. 5; Matt. i. 21; Luke ii. 30–32; I Cor. i. 30; iii. 11; I Tim. ii. 5, 6; iii. 16; 4John v. 24; vi. 47; xx. 31; Acts ii. 38; iii. 19; x. 43; xvi. 31; Rom. x. 9–11; 5Isa. lv. 1–3; Matt. xi. 28–30; Mark i. 15; viii. 36; Luke iv. 18; John vii. 37; Acts xvii. 30; II Cor. v. 20; 6John xvi. 8–11; Acts ii. 17; x. 44, 45; xvi. 14; I Cor. ii. 4; Titus iii. 5, 6; Heb. ii. 4; Rev. xxii. 17.

III. It is the duty and privilege of every one who hears the Gospel immediately to accept its merciful provisions.1 Great guilt and danger are incurred by delay or neglect.2 And they who continue to disobey the Gospel perish by their own fault and are wholly without excuse, because they have resisted the Holy Spirit and rejected God's gracious offer of eternal life.3—I Matt. iii. 2; Luke ix. 61, 62; xiii. 24, 25; II Cor. vi. 2; Heb. iii. 13, 15; 2Matt. vii. 24–27; xxv. 10; Luke xii. 20; xiv. 18; Acts xxiv. 25; Heb. ii. 1–3; xii. 25; 3Prov. i. 24–26; John iii. 18, 19, 36; Acts vii. 51; Rom. ii. 4, 5; II Cor. ii. 15, 16; iv. 3, 4; II Thess. i. 8, 9.

IV. As there is no other way of salvation than that revealed in the Gospel,1 and as in the divinely established and ordinary method of grace, faith cometh by hearing the Word of God, Christ hath given to His Church the written Word the Sacraments, and the Ministry; endowed her with the Holy Spirit, and commissioned her to go with His Gospel into all the world and to make disciples of all nations.2 It is, therefore, the duty and privilege of all believers to sustain the means of grace where they are already established, and to contribute by their prayers, gifts, and personal efforts to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.—1John viii. 24; x. 9; xiv. 6; Acts iv. 12; 2Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mark xvi. 15; Acts i. 8; viii. 4; xxvi. 16–18; Rom. i. 14, 15; x. 14, 15, 17; xvi. 25, 26.

[The foregoing chapter is entirely new.]

CHAPTER (X) XII.

OF EFFECTUAL CALLING.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
II. This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive *in the act of regeneration wherein*, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is enabled to answer *God's* call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.	II. This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive [therein, until] being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer [this] call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.

[The italics in the revised section indicate the changes made in the words in brackets in the old section.]

III. *All* infants dying in infancy, and all other persons, who, *from birth to death*, are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word, *are redeemed* by Christ, *and regenerated by the Spirit*, who worketh when, and where, and how He pleaseth.	III. [Elect] infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and [saved] by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how He pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.

[Section III has been recast. The chief change is in the substitution of *all infants* for "elect infants."]

IV. Others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet *inasmuch as they* never truly come to Christ, *they* cannot be saved; *neither is there salvation* in any other way *than by Christ through the Spirit, however diligent* men may be in framing their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess.	IV. Others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet never truly come to Christ, and [therefore] cannot be saved; [much less can men, not professing the Christian religion,] be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may is very pernicious, and to be detested.

[The foregoing section has been recast. The changes are indicated by italics in the revised and brackets in the old section.]

CHAPTER (XI) XIII.

OF JUSTIFICATION.

I. Those whom God effectually calleth, He also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins; and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; not by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on Him and His righteousness by faith; which faith (they have, not of themselves, it) is the gift of God.

The words in parenthesis were stricken out, so as to read *which faith is* the gift of God.

III. Christ, by His obedience and death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are thus justified, and did make a proper, real and full satisfaction to *Divine* justice in their behalf. Yet inasmuch as He was given by the Father for them, and His obedience and satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely, not for anything in them, their justification is only of free grace ; that both the exact justice and rich grace of God might be glorified in the justification of sinners.

In line three *Divine* is substituted for "His Father's" justice.

CHAPTER (XIV) XVI.

OF SAVING FAITH.

I. The grace of faith, whereby *sinners* are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the Spirit of Christ in their hearts ; and is ordinarily wrought by the ministry of the Word ; by which also, and by the administration of the sacraments, and prayer, it is increased and strengthened.

[The only change in the foregoing section is the substitution of *sinners* for "the elect."]

CHAPTER (XVI) XVIII.

OF GOOD WORKS.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
VII. Works done by unregenerate men, although they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others ; *and while their neglect of such things is sinful and displeasing unto God*, yet because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith ; nor are done in a right manner, according to the word ; nor to a right end, the glory of God ; they are therefore *not free from sin*, and cannot *be accepted of* God, or make a man meet to receive grace from God.	VII. Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others ; yet because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith ; nor are done in a right manner, according to the word ; nor to a right end, the glory of God : they are therefore [sinful], and cannot please God, or make a man meet to receive grace from God. And yet their neglect of them is more sinful, and displeasing unto God.

[The phrase *not free from sin* is substituted for "sinful ;" the other italicized words are new matter.]

CHAPTER (XXI) XXIII.

OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND THE SABBATH DAY.

(*Revision.*)	(*Old.*)
IV. Prayer is to be made for things lawful ; *for the forgiveness of all sins except* the sin unto death ; and for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter ; but not for the dead.	IV. Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter ; but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death.

[The changes are indicated by the italics.]

CHAPTER (XXII) XXIV.

OF LAWFUL OATHS AND VOWS.

VII. No man may vow to do anything forbidden in the Word of God, or what would hinder any duty therein commanded, or which is not in his own power, and for the performance whereof he hath no promise or ability from God. In which respect [popish], monastical vows of perpetual single life, professed poverty, and regular obedience are so far from being degrees of higher perfection that they are superstitious and sinful snares, in which no Christian may entangle himself.

The word "popish," in line five, was stricken out so as to read "monastical vows," etc.

CHAPTER (XXIII) XXV.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

III. Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and sacraments ; or the power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven ; or in the least interfere in matters of faith. Yet, as [nursing fathers] it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharing every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in His Church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let or hinder the due exercise thereof among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse or injury to any other person whatsoever ; and to take order that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

The words "as nursing fathers," line four, were stricken out.

CHAPTER (XXIV) XXVI.

OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

III. It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry who are able with judgment to give their consent, yet it is the duty of Christians to marry only in the Lord. And therefore such as profess the true religion should not marry with infidels, *nor with the adherents of false religions,* neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying with such as are notoriously wicked in their life.

[The phrase in italics is substituted for "papists or other idolaters."]

CHAPTER (XXV) XXVII.

OF THE CHURCH.

VI. There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ, *and the claim of the Pope of Rome to be the vicar of Christ, and the head of the Church universal, is without warrant in Scripture or in fact; and is a usurpation dishonoring to the Lord Jesus Christ.*

[The following is the old section.]

VI. There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself, in the Church, against Christ, and all that is called God.

CHAPTER (XXIX) XXXI.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

II. In this sacrament, Christ is not offered up to His Father, nor any real sacrifice made at all, for remission of sins of the quick or dead; but only a commemoration of that one offering up of Himself by Himself, upon the cross, once for all and a spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God for the same; so that the *Roman Catholic doctrine of the* sacrifice of the mass is most abominably injurious to Christ's one only sacrifice *for sin.*

[The words in italic take the place of "popish," and of "for all the sins of the elect."]

VIII. Although ignorant and wicked men receive the outward elements in this sacrament, yet they receive not the thing signified thereby; but, by their unworthy coming thereunto, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, to their own [damnation]. Wherefore all ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy communion with Him, so are they unworthy of the Lord's table, and cannot, without great sin against Christ, while they remain such, partake of these holy mysteries, or be admitted thereunto.

For *damnation,* line four, "condemnation" was substituted.

CHAPTER XXX (XXXII.).

OF CHURCH CENSURES.

II. To these officers the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have *ministerial and declarative* power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the Word and censures; and to open it unto penitent sinners by the ministry of the Gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF METHODIST THEOLOGY.

From *Zion's Herald* (Methodist Episcopal), Boston, June 3.

One may risk something in saying that the theology of the Christian Church, because of its lack of unity and of coherency, because of its complexity, ambiguity, and incompleteness, needs to be rewritten; but the recognition of the fact is the first condition of improvement. It is not enough to characterize general theology as narrow, chaotic, antique, mediæval, and inefficient; we must add that it fails in its representation of absolute truth, and it does not properly symbolize progressive Christian thought. We do not overlook its virtues, or forget its services; we recognize its birth-marks in the apparent necessities of Christian faith, and its many-hued developments in the successive epochs of church history; we also recognize the irresistible force of its influence in all ages on culture, science and philosophy until they in reactionary mood have declared their independence and now demand from the church some correspondence to their ideals of truth, and especially to alleged results in their own spheres of investigation. The hour is at hand, therefore, for a consideration of the proposition to broaden the basis of current theology.

The proposition, if of any worth, should apply to denominational systems as well as to the subject in its largest aspects; to the Twenty-five and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion as well as to the Nicene Creed and the Westminster Confession; for it may be true that a particular dogmatic system may be more objectionable and require more transformation than the general body of divinity around which the ages have crystallized their faith. It is not a Methodist theology that is wanted any more than a Methodist geometry, or a Methodist chemistry, but

A THEOLOGY OF UNIVERSALISTIC PROPERTIES,

adapted to all churches, all schools, all thought, all men. A geometry, a chemistry, that is national, or racial, or sectarian, would be valueless; it must be universal, applicable to all climates, all conditions, and all peoples. As the Scriptures are universal in their teachings, recording truth for all men, so the dogmatic system built upon them must avoid the limitations of a single period, the necessities of denominationalism, and the bias of the pre-judgment of centuries which has ever given the truth a narrow and individualistic form. It must also be evident that denominational theologies are an obstacle both to the apperception of truth in its wholeness and to the unity of the saints in church relationship and activity. It is useless to claim that either an Arminian or a Calvinian appropriates the entire truth of God, for, though revealed in the written Word, each studies it from a view-point that makes the full disclosure of its beauty and significance to his own mind an impossibility. So long as difference of view continues, unity of faith, and therefore unity of action, are out of the question.

Considering the subject in this abstract way, we are forced to the conclusion that theology needs to broaden at the base, and in its reconstruction to regard less the interests and peculiarities of sect-life than the commanding interests of the race. This suggestion may seem to be more speculative than practical, but in the endeavor to break away from sect-lines we see no other course than to accept, not a sect, but the *race,* as the initial point of reconstruction. We are the more moved to this reflection by what seems to be the strongest argument in its favor, namely, that while a denominational curriculum may not conserve the religious interests of all men, a theology whose denominational intent is obscure, whose qualities are universalistic, and whose proportions are equal to the moral demands of modern civilization, will be adapted to all denominations and secure the final unity of the world both in its intellective relations to truth and in its sentiments and experiences of religion. As Methodists, bound yet free, we may be pardoned if we hold that in essentials Wesleyan Arminianism is as liberalistic as the Scriptures (it being based upon them) will allow, and also as conservative as divine truth requires. Others, holding to a dogmatism quadrating with their interpretation of the Scriptures, may dispute the claim of Methodist supremacy in the doctrinal field; and still others too liberal, because too rationalistic, may charge the system with an unnecessary conservatism and inflexibility, advocating what the Scriptures clearly oppose. In this state of affairs a theology is needed that shall be free from the common objection that everywhere assails it.

If there must be

A METHODIST THEOLOGY,

as nominally there may be, provided its denominationalism is not its chief advertisement, it should possess the following general characteristics, which, as the reader will see, should belong to all systems of faith.

It should be adapted to the wants, issues, methods, and activities of Protestantism. This may appear to be in contradiction to the general plea for a universalistic theology; for why should any distinction be made between the intellectual and spiritual wants of the Protestant world and those of the Roman Catholic world? In the present stage of relations between the two sections of Christendom, it is clear that there can be no possible approach of agreement between them on fundamental theological ideas. On the contrary, there must first be a prolonged controversy between them before differences will disappear. The Protestant interpretation is in antithesis with the Roman Catholic interpretation of the Bible, and they will not harmonize without battle, without logical antagonism. The ascendency of Roman Catholicism cannot be overcome by the common methods of opposition, nor by the criticisms and intrigues of political, social, and ecclesiastical warfare, in spite of which it gains in power and may again defy the world. *Roman Catholicism must be answered theologically,* or it will triumph. It is often said that it has been answered, but it must be remembered that doctrinally it is developing all the time, as immaculate conception and papal infallibility, the two marvelous eccentricities of its teaching, are the products of the last forty years; and while they have been repudiated, they have not been overthrown by a logic more forcible than that upon which they rest. One of the chief functions of modern theology is to refute the developing theology of the papal church in an all-conquering way, and so completely as to lead to final unity of thought between the defenders of the two systems. Until such a result shall be secured, general theology must be essentially Protestant.

Such a theology, also, must be modern in form of statement, in method of investigation, in the tone of sentiment and in wholeness of significance. It shall not derive its contents, or essential spirit, from the second century, nor from the sixteenth century. Neither the Christian fathers, nor the Westminster divines, nor any past age, however redolent of faith and vital with interpretative power, shall construct a religious system to whose form of truth we shall be compelled to assent. The nineteenth century has the right of breakage with the preceding ages, and may judge for itself of the virtue of old systems and formulate its own belief. Our theology shall admit the sovereignty of modern thought, appropriate its elementary principles, adopt its historical methods of criticism, assign tradition its true place in religion, and conform to the results of scientific and philological investigation. Theology is a progressive science, and it is our desire to see it advance beyond the early apologists, the bounds of the mediæval period, the old divines of the Reformation, and the crystallized epigrams of the last century.

The motive of our advanced Methodist theology shall be the discovery and enforcement of truth. Like all other systems, Arminianism was the product of strife and partook of the controversial spirit of its age. That it embodied so much truth is a surprise ; but it did not settle all differences between the contending parties, nor did it illuminate all doctrine, nor cause other systems to surrender to its conceptions. With its Wesleyan coloring, it has failed to conquer in the realm of theology, though it is confessedly the strongest force in modern life and is initiating the changes in beliefs now going on in the churches. It is wanting, however, in something, either in a restatement of some doctrines, or a new exposition of the relation of divine sovereignty to human freedom, or a broader argument for free will ; at all events, its ambiguities should be removed, its sophistries expunged, and its view of truth enlarged. It may be larger than any other system, but it is not large enough, because it is not as large as the truth. This is no more than saying that the Methodist theologian has not fully discerned the total meaning of the Scriptures ; nor is this limitation a subject of criticism, but rather a motive to larger achievement. As no past age has comprehended divine truth, so no future age may be able to measure its breadth and height and grasp its fullness. It is the duty of every age, however, to go forward in pursuit of the hidden truths of revelation and not be satisfied with the discoveries made, or with its classification of the truths on hand. In the pursuit of truth it must be able to recognize and antagonize error. This we regard as an essential function of theology. As the artist must know beauty from deformity, so the thinkers must recognize truth and error when each stands by itself, when they are in combination, and when in secret and open conflict. In these times a host of errors, such as agnosticism, materialism, pantheism, socialism, and rationalism, as well as Catholicism, Unitarianism, Spiritualism and Theosophism will confront him, demanding entrance into the temple of truth, but they must be logically refused. Theologians must grapple with the errors of the age, and with them not only theologically, but historically, philosophically, scientifically, and with all the resources of genius and scholarship. To meet the demands upon him the theologian should be the best-equipped thinker in the world, for he undertakes to interpret God, man, and the universe, or all that exists, or can exist.

Irrespective, however, of the necessity of a universal theology, and yet ever advancing toward its attainment, Methodist theology should be based on certain particulars without which it can neither accomplish the specific design assigned it, nor intrench itself in the life-thought of the world. As the latter is as important as the former, a double value is given to the essentials of the Methodistic system.

1. Methodist theology should be

PRE-EMINENTLY SCRIPTURAL.

This is not a new thought, but it suggests one, or a phase of thought that should not be overlooked or receive careless treatment. To what extent shall theology be biblical ? Shall the Scriptures be the sole source of the truth essential to the system, or shall the door be open to tributary sources ? May history, archæology, science, literature, and philosophy furnish any material in the constructive work, or should they be entirely abjured by the thinker ? It must be remembered that theology is an exposition, not of history, or science, or literature, but of Scriptural truth ; we may therefore inquire if it may incorporate historic or scientific dicta with its expository work, or admit either on equal terms with the great truths of revelation. At this point a distinction is of necessity required between a basal truth and the method of its development. The truth to be expounded must be biblical in its source and character; the method of development may be historical, scientific, philosophic, literary. Hence theology must be neither extra-biblical nor extra-theological; biblical certainly it must be as to truth, but not biblical as to method; theological certainly it must be in spirit, but not theological in its entire apparatus of language, literature, history, and science. Biblical in basis and substance, it may employ any external truth, system, force, or idea that will assist in investigation or contribute to the general illumination. Thus limited in its scope, but free as to method, theology should no longer apologize for failure to discover the secret treasures, the *new* things, in the Word of God, and for its confessed inability to settle many of the unsettled problems which the Scriptures suggest.

Inasmuch as the Scriptures are the basis, or source, of theology, they in turn become the *first fact* in theology. The starting-point in biblicism is the Bible. What is it? How shall it be studied? Evidently it must be considered in at least two aspects: (*a*) as human literature; (*b*) as divine revelation. Hitherto, biblical literature has occupied no independent place in theological study, but was incidental, as it should be, to the main purpose of the Bible as a book of supernatural teaching. Owing to the advance in biblical criticism, which has made the authorship of the biblical books a supreme question, theology can no longer ignore this department, but must enlarge its sphere so that the preliminary subjects of authorship, involving in particular the origin of the Pentateuch, the dual theory of Isaiah, the Maccabean date of Daniel, the history of the fourth Gospel, the priority of Mark's Gospel, and the authenticity of Peter's Epistles, shall have full and impartial discussion. While the "higher criticism" may not invade the domain of theology, theology should consider the theories of the higher criticism and determine at the threshold of investigation the validity of its conclusions and the integrity of the historical position of the church respecting the literary character of the Bible.

The real issue in theology relates to the Bible as a book of supernatural revelations, involving the stupendous question of inspiration, the fact of miracle in Israel's history, and the existence of myths and legends in the sacred record, none of which can be evaded if scholarly self-respect shall be retained. No one of these questions is new to Christian thinkers, and according to certain canons of investigation the supernatural or miraculous element has had full vindication. Semler, Strauss, and Baur have been answered; but, on the other hand, evangelical teachers have been resisted, and so far forth as their methods have been undermined, the results of theology have lost in value. New methods of study are now in vogue, and the supernatural must be determined no longer by the old rules, but by the latest historical canons of criticism. There is, therefore, new occupation for the theologian, though the truths to be ascertained are the same as in the beginning of Christianity, and ever will be, world without end. If it shall happen that the supernatural shall stand the test of the new methods, as it endured the ordeal of the old methods, the Bible will continue to reign in the world as the Word of God, which in truth it is (1 Thess. xi. 13). In this investigation, therefore, the supernatural is on trial, and the theologian is its defender against agnosticism, rationalism, and the numerous forms of skepticism that now dispute its supremacy.

2. In the largest sense Methodist theology, as we have shown, should be *biblical;* in the restricted sense it should be *doctrinal.* It should appropriate the special truths of the Bible and unite them in a system, with adequate explanations and arguments, to the end that it may be understood in the highest sense as a revelation of God to man. Supposed to reveal something, the theologian should be explicit in stating exactly what is revealed. This issues in doctrine, or systematic theology. In this department Methodism is quite triumphant, holding that its doctrinal system is universalistic and biblical; and, though it is a system with limitations and deficiencies, it certainly is

AN APPROACH TO THE APOSTOLIC IDEALS OF TRUTH.

Other systems are in process of self-revising; some are evidently in decay; but Methodist theology holds up its head, and faces the storm, the sun and the future. Nevertheless, we should not be overbold in its defense, for it is not perfect, but requires here and there the touch of the critic.

What is most needed in all theology is *definition.* Words, phrases, doctrines, are announced without a clear statement of their meaning, and confusion, if nothing worse, is the result. Such terms as "original sin," "depravity," "temptation," "regeneration," "sanctification," and "resurrection," with many others, deserve larger treatment; while of still others it may be said that they are altogether obsolete and should be banished from the books. The work of eliminating obsolete terms, of introducing new words, and of defining those that remain, is an immediate necessity in Methodist, as in general, theology.

Its doctrinal phraseology defined, it must next develop the doctrines themselves, employing for this purpose not the antiquated types of thought of other ages, or the rusty mechanism of the schoolmen or of mediæval divines, but the modern forms of thought and speech, addressing the intelligence of man to-day by the symbols of the progress and culture of to-day. Too numerous are the biblical doctrines for catalogue in this paper; besides, we are not writing a theology; but we may indicate the possible development of the doctrinal system according to modern methods. Is God the subject? Names, attributes, the Trinity, are at once involved; but back of these specific points, with their problems, is the philosophical subject of ontology, which must engage the thinker according to philosophical principles. In cosmology, theology and science meet on common ground; in anthropology, theology, science and philosophy combine for the determination of facts and the resolution of mysteries; in incarnation, mediatorship and Messiahship, history and philosophy may avail to a limited extent; in justification, adoption, regeneration and sanctification, science and philosophy may render service; in resurrection and judgment, history, philosophy and science may speak, but not with authority; concerning heaven and hell, history, science and philosophy may reservedly and reverently indicate conjectures. And, to crown the whole, the doctrine of revelation itself, without which the Bible is impossible, is amenable to the three literary auxiliaries, history, science, and philosophy. Let us now be understood. We mean that *doctrinal Christianity has a philosophical basis*, and should be expounded, defended and enforced, not alone according to faith, or by mere authority of the church, or in an exclusively theological way, but according to the scientific and philosophic method and as being susceptible of demonstration according to such method. It may not be improper to say that it is this view that we have amplified in one of our works,* and that it is fundamental in our personal theology. We are persuaded that a philosophical theology is compatible with a biblical theology; and if our Methodist theology is at all defective, it is not in its biblical, but in its philosophical character.

3. As to ecclesiological theology, Methodism is not in the transition state, nor under the necessity of repairing its general teachings. In respect to the ministry, with its two orders, it is on biblical grounds; it repudiates the theory of three orders and with it the conceited and unsustained doctrine of "apostolical succession." In respect to the ordinances, it is the most liberal of all the churches in constructive meaning and administration. Recent discussion on the eligibility of woman to membership in the General Conference has shown the necessity of a large study of the New Testament in respect to church government, and a more definite affirmation and exposition of its teachings. Neander held that the New Testament is silent on the subject, and Methodism was founded on the idea that an "optional church government" is taught in the Holy Book. Except enlargement at this point, this department requires no reconstruction.

4. Methodist theology should be

CHRISTOCENTRIC.

Its fundamental aim should be, not the maintenance of the church, nor the vindication of the Bible, though such results will be secured, but the presentation of the historic Christ to mankind, as the Son of God, the fulfiller of prophecy, the Messiah of nations, the divine Teacher, the perfect Man, the Saviour of the race. One of the chief difficulties in the theological realm is to discover the personal view-point from which to interpret the Scriptures, whether it shall be Calvin, Arminius, Luther, Wesley, or the "fathers," or the church. No one of these should be the initial point of study. No one of the apostles should assume leadership of Christian thought. Theology must not be Pauline, or Petrine, or Johannine, or Mosaic, or Isaian, or Palestinian, or Babylonian, for in any case it would be individualistic and reflect a local coloring. The solution of the problems of theology is in Christ. To Him points everything of value in the Old Testament; without Him the New Testament is impossible; He is the way, the truth, and the life; he that hath seen Him hath seen the Father; by Him the worlds subsist, and not anything that exists was made without Him. He is the Alpha and Omega of revelation, and in Him ontology, cosmology, anthropology, history, science, literature, philosophy, time, space, man, angel and God have their sufficient and final explanation. The system that revolves around Augustine or Arminius pales in the presence of the greater system that has for its centre, its force, its life, the God incarnate, the Saviour of men. If theology would enlarge its revolution, it must substitute for the human figure at the centre the historic Christ. Here Methodism as well as other systems may learn a lesson.

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* "Plato and Paul."

And now the conclusion. Does

METHODIST THEOLOGY NEED RECONSTRUCTION?

If so, to what extent? We affirm the possibility of reorganization of the system in the following particulars: (*a*) It should subordinate denominational characteristics to universalistic properties; (*b*) it should employ modern methods in the development and systemization of Scriptural truths; (*c*) it should recast its definitions and refine its phraseology; (*d*) it should vindicate doctrinal Christianity as a philosophy as well as a religious system; (*e*) it should expound anew the principles of church government; (*f*) it should advance to a Christocentric conception of the biblical religion; and finally (*g*) it should ever maintain the biblical religion as both *historical and supernatural.* Suggesting these as tentative points of improvement, we wish to put on record our belief that in its biblical elements, in its doctrinal character, and in its systematic form, Methodist theology needs less reconstruction than any other, and is workable and preachable to such an extent as to raise a doubt in many minds if any change at all is needed in its essential or structural constitution.

New York.

ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR. ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER, BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, POPE LEO XIII.

(*Official Translation.*)

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE, POPE LEO XIII. VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

It is not surprising that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has so long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics and made its influence felt in the cognate field of practical economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable: the growth of industry, and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals, and the poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population; and, finally, a general moral deterioration. The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men discuss it; practical men propose schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes, all are occupied with it—and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.

Therefore, Venerable Brethren, as on former occasions, when it seemed opportune to refute false teaching, We have addressed you in the interests of the Church and of the common weal, and have issued Letters on Political Power, on Human Liberty, on the Christian Constitution of the State, and on similar subjects, so now We have thought it useful to speak on the CONDITION OF LABOR. It is a matter on which We have touched once or twice already. But in this Letter the responsibility of the Apostolic office urges Us to treat the question expressly and at length, in order that there may be no mistake as to the principles which truth and justice dictate for its settlement. The discussion is not easy, nor is it free from danger. It is not easy to define the relative rights and the mutual duties of the wealthy and of the poor, of capital and of labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators constantly make use of these disputes to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to sedition.

But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's Guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that Working Men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious Usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

To remedy these evils the *Socialists,* working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that, by thus transferring property from private persons to the community, the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes, that if they were carried out the workingman himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community.

It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the very reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and to hold it as his own private possession. If one man hires out to another his strength or his industry, he does this for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for food and living; he thereby expressly proposes to acquire a full and real right, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of that remuneration as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and invests his savings, for greater security, in land, the land in such a case is only his wages in another form; and, consequently, a working man's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his own disposal as the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in this power of disposal that ownership consists, whether the property be land or movable goods. The *Socialists,* therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community, strike at the interest of every wage-earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life.

What is of still greater importance, however, is that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation. For the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two chief instincts, which keep his powers alert, move him to use his strength, and determine him to action without the power of choice. These instincts are self-preservation, and the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which are close at hand; beyond their surroundings the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by sensibility alone, and by the things which sense perceives. But with man it is different indeed. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of animal nature, and therefore he enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal race, the fruition of the things of the body. But animality, however perfect, is far from being the whole of humanity, and is indeed humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and obey. It is the mind, or the reason, which is the chief thing in us who are human beings; it is this which makes a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and completely from the brute. And on this account, viz.—that man alone among animals possesses reason—it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them, but in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things which perish in the using, but also those which, though used, remain for use in the future.

This becomes still more clearly evident if we consider man's nature a little more deeply. For man, comprehending by the power of his reason things innumerable, and joining the future with the present—being, moreover, the master of his own acts—governs himself by the foresight of his counsel, under the eternal law and the power of God, Whose Providence governs all things. Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice not only on things which regard his present welfare, but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the earth itself; for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; satisfied to-day, they demand new supplies to-morrow. Nature, therefore, owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, the daily supply of his daily wants. And this he finds only in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth.

Nor must we, at this stage, have recourse to the State. Man is older than the State; and he holds the right of providing for the life of his body prior to the formation of any State. And to say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race is not to deny that there can be private property. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general; not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they please, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples. Moreover the earth, though divided among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all; for there is no one who does not live on what the land brings forth. Those who do not possess the soil, contribute their labor; so that it may be truly said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some laborious industry which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

Here, again, we have another proof that private ownership is according to nature's law. For that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being, is produced in great abundance by the earth, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and lavished upon it his care and skill. Now, when man thus spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his own personality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his own, and should have a right to keep it without molestation.

These arguments are so strong and convincing that it seems surprising that certain obsolete opinions should now be revived in opposition to what is here laid down. We are told that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and the fruits of their land, but that it is unjust for any one to possess as owner either the land on which he has built or the estate which he has cultivated. But those who assert this do not perceive that they are robbing man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, it is now fruitful; it was barren, and now it brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved it becomes so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labor should be enjoyed by another? As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labor should belong to him who has labored.

With reason, therefore, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have maintained the opposite view, has found in the study of nature, and in the law of Nature herself, the foundations of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership, as being preëminently in conformity with human nature, and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquillity of human life. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws—laws which, as long as they are just, derive their binding force from the law of nature. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in the gravest terms even to covet that which is another's:—*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; nor his house, nor his field, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his.**

The rights here spoken of, belonging to each individual man, are seen in a much stronger light if they are considered in relation to man's social and domestic obligations.

In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage. No human law can abolish the natural and primitive right of marriage, or in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning: *Increase and multiply.*† Thus we have the family; the "society" of a man's own household; a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true "society," anterior to every kind of State or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth.

That right of property, therefore, which has been proved to belong naturally to individual persons, must also belong to a man in his capacity of head of a family; nay, such a person must possess this right so much the more clearly in proportion as his position multiplies his duties. For it is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessaries for those whom he has begotten; and, similarly, nature dictates that a man's children, who carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality, should be provided by him with all that is needful to enable them honorably to keep themselves from want and misery in the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of profitable property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. A family, no less than a State, is, as We have said, a true society, governed by a power within itself, that is to say, by the father. Wherefore, provided the limits be not transgressed which are prescribed by the very purposes for which it exists, the family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation and its just liberty.

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* Deuteronomy v. 21.

† Genesis i. 28.

We say, at least equal rights; for since the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter, and which rest more immediately on nature. If the citizens of a State—that is to say, the Families—on entering into association and fellowship, experienced at the hands of the State hindrance instead of help, and found their rights attacked instead of being protected, such association were rather to be repudiated than sought after.

The idea, then, that the civil government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household, is a great and pernicious mistake. True, if a family finds itself in great difficulty, utterly friendless, and without prospect of help, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid; for each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the walls of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, the public power must interfere to force each party to give the other what is due; for this is not to rob citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the State must go no further: nature bids them stop here. Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State, nor absorbed; for it has the same source as human life itself. "The child belongs to the father," and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and, to speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family in which it is begotten. And it is for the very reason that "the child belongs to the father" that, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, "before it attains the use of free will, it is in the power and care of its parents." * The *Socialists*, therefore, in setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice*, and threaten the very existence of family life.

And such interference is not only unjust, but is quite certain to harass and disturb all classes of citizens and to subject them to odious and intolerable slavery. It would open the door to envy, to evil speaking, and to quarrelling; the sources of wealth would themselves run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting his talents or his industry; and that ideal equality of which so much is said would in reality be the levelling down of all to the same condition of misery and dishonor.

Thus it is clear that the main tenet of *Socialism*, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected; for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit, it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property. This laid down, We go on to show where we must find the remedy that we seek.

We approach the subject with confidence, and in the exercise of the rights which belong to Us. For no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of Religion and of the Church. It is We who are the chief guardian of Religion and the chief dispenser of what belongs to the Church, and We must not by silence neglect the duty which lies upon Us. Doubtless this most serious question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides Ourselves—of the rulers of States, of employers of labor, of the wealthy, and of the working population themselves for whom We plead. But We affirm without hesitation, that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that proclaims from the Gospel those teachings by which the conflict can be put an end to, or at the least made far less bitter; the Church uses its efforts not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by its precepts the life and conduct of men; the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the working man by numerous useful organizations; does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes; and acts on the decided view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the help of the law and of State authority.

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* St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2æ Q. x. Art. 12.

Let it be laid down, in the first place, that humanity must remain as it is. It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The *Socialists* may do their utmost, but all striving against nature is vain. There naturally exist among mankind innumerable differences of the most important kind; people differ in capability, in diligence, in health, and in strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality in condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community; social and public life can only go on by the help of various kinds of capacity and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which peculiarly suits his case. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from *the state of innocence,* he would not have been wholly unoccupied; but that which would then have been his free choice and his delight, became afterwards compulsory, and the painful expiation of his sin. *Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life.** In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on this earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must be with man as long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people freedom from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only make the evil worse than before. There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it really is—and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles.

The great mistake that is made in the matter now under consideration is to possess oneself of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class: that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view, that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than Religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice. Thus Religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made; never to injure capital, or to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, or to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and raise foolish hopes which usually end in disaster and in repentance when too late. Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not their slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian; that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason and to Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power. Thus, again, Religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are Religion herself and things spiritual and mental, the employer is bound to see that he has time for the duties of piety; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions, and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family or to squander his wages. Then, again, the employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal obligation is to give to every one that which is just. Doubtless before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but rich men and masters should remember this—that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain, upon the indigent and the destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. *Behold, the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*[*] Finally, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workman's earnings, either by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealings; and with the more reason because the poor man is weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should be sacred in proportion to their scantiness.

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* Genesis, iii. 17.

Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed, would not strife die out and cease?

But the Church, with Jesus Christ for its Master and Guide, aims higher still. It lays down precepts yet more perfect, and tries to bind class to class in friendliness and good understanding. The things of this earth cannot be understood or valued rightly without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will last forever. Exclude the idea of futurity, and the very notion of what is good and right would perish; nay, the whole system of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery. The great truth which we learn from Nature herself is also the grand Christian dogma on which Religion rests as on its base—that when we have done with this present life then we shall really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting; He has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our true country. Money, and the other things which men call good and desirable—we may have them in abundance, or we may want them altogether; as far as eternal happiness is concerned, it is no matter; the only thing that is important is to use them aright. Jesus Christ, when He redeemed us with *plentiful redemption,* took not away the pains and sorrows which in such large proportion make up the texture of our mortal life; He transformed them into motives of virtue and occasions of merit; and no man can hope for eternal reward unless he follow in the blood-stained footprints of his Saviour. *If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him.*[*] His labors and His sufferings, accepted by His own free will, have marvellously sweetened all suffering and all labor. And not only by His example, but by His grace and by the hope of everlasting recompense, He has made pain and grief more easy to endure; *for that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.*[†]

Therefore those whom fortune favors are warned that freedom from sorrow, and abundance of earthly riches, are no guarantee of the beatitude that shall never end, but rather the contrary;[‡] that the rich should tremble at the threatenings of Jesus Christ — threatenings so strange in the mouth of Our Lord;[§] and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for all that we possess. The chiefest and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers indicated, but which the Church has traced out clearly, and has not only made known to men's minds, but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one pleases. Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man; and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. *It is lawful,* says St Thomas of Aquin, *for a man to hold private property; and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human life.*[‖] But if the question be asked, How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy doctor: *Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, Command the rich of this world . . . to give with ease, to communicate.*[¶] True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own necessities and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; *for no one ought to live unbecomingly.*[**] But when necessity has been supplied, and one's position fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent out of that which is over. *That which remaineth, give alms.*[*] It is a duty, not of justice (except in extreme cases), but of Christian charity—a duty which is not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgments of men must give place to the laws and judgments of Christ the true God, Who in many ways urges on His followers the practice of alms-giving—*It is more blessed to give than to receive;*[†] and Who will count a kindness done or refused to the poor as done or refused to Himself—*as long as you did it to one of My least brethren. you did it to Me.*[‡] Thus, to sum up what has been said: Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be external and corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them, as the minister of God's Providence, for the benefit of others. *He that hath a talent,* says St. Gregory the Great, *let him see that he hide it not; he that hath abundance, let him arouse himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and the utility thereof with his neighbor.*[§]

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[*] St. James, v. 4.

[*] 2 Timothy, ii. 12.

[†] 2 Corinthians, iv. 17.

[‡] St. Matthew, xix. 23, 24.

[§] St. Luke, vi. 24, 25.

[‖] 2a 2æ Q. lxvi., Art. 2.

[¶] *Ibid.*, Q. lxv., Art. 2.

[**] *Ibid.*, Q. xxxii., Art. 6.

As for those who do not possess the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that, in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labor. This is strengthened by what we see in Christ Himself, Who *whereas He was rich, for our sakes became poor;*[‖] and Who, being the Son of God, and God Himself, chose to seem and to be considered the son of a carpenter—nay, did not disdain to spend a great part of His life as a carpenter Himself. *Is not this the carpenter, the Son of Mary?*[¶] From the contemplation of this Divine example it is easy to understand that the true dignity and excellence of man lies in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue; that virtue is the common inheritance of all, equally within the reach of high and low, rich and poor; and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness. Nay, God Himself seems to incline more to those who suffer evil; for Jesus Christ calls the poor blessed;[**] He lovingly invites those in labor and grief to come to Him for solace;[††] and He displays the tenderest charity to the lowly and the oppressed. These reflections cannot fail to keep down the pride of those who are well off, and to cheer the spirit of the afflicted; to incline the former to generosity and the latter to tranquil resignation. Thus the separation which pride would make tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.

But, if Christian precepts prevail, the two classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are the children of the common Father, that is, of God; that all have the same last end, which is God Himself, Who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy; that all and each are redeemed by Jesus Christ and raised to the dignity of children of God, and are thus united in brotherly ties both with each other and with Jesus Christ, *the first born among many brethren;* that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong in common to the whole human race, and that to all, except to those who are unworthy, is promised the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. *If sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God, and co-heirs of Christ.*[*]

Such is the scheme of duties and of rights which is put forth to the world by the Gospel. Would it not seem that strife must quickly cease where society penetrated with ideas like these?

(To be concluded in our August number.)

ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

BY THE REV. CANON BENHAM.

From *The Fortnightly Review* (London), June.

By universal agreement the Church of England is mourning the most brilliant of her prelates. When his appointment to the Northern Primacy was announced some four short months ago, the fairness of the selection was at once recognised, whether the test were zeal, industry, practical ability, eloquence. Bishop Magee had all these gifts. The one doubtful element in the problem was the fact that he had entered upon the seventieth year of his age. Moreover, his constitution had been severely tried by a serious illness eight years ago.

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[*] St. Luke, xi. 41. [†] Acts, xx. 35. [‡] St. Matthew, xxv. 40.
[§] St. Gregory the Great. Hom. ix. in *Evangel*, n. 7.
[‖] 2 Corinthians, viii. 9. [¶] St. Mark, vi. 3.
[**] St. Matthew, v. 3: "*Blessed are the poor in spirit.*"
[††] *Ibid.* xi. 28: "*Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you.*"

[*] Romans, viii. 17.

Though Dr. Magee sprang into general fame almost suddenly, those who had an intimate knowledge of what was going on in the religious world knew his great ability. Many church-going men, thirty years ago, who were in the habit of looking at announcements of preachers, and who found the name of the Dean of Cork on the placards, settled the next Sunday's movements for themselves by arranging to go and hear him. He preached one night at one of the special services at St. Paul's from the text —"They say of me, Ah Lord God, doth he not speak parables?" The congregation was one of the largest that had ever been seen there—such an one is not an uncommon sight now—and many who came away declared that they had never heard so magnificent a sermon. It was a characteristic one; quite extempore; and an uncompromising assertion of received Christian doctrine, the central idea of the sermon being that it was the preaching of mystery and of the supernatural power of God which angered unbelieving Israel. If the prophet, so the preacher contended, had watered down his teaching into the general philanthropy and unsectarian generalities which many were crying out for now, no objection would have been taken to him. I mention this sermon at the outset, not merely because it was a very brilliant piece of declamation, but because it was a characteristic example of his preaching. You might agree or disagree with Dr. Magee's theology, but certainly he knew what he meant, and was never nebulous. An oration of similar substance, but not, in my judgment, so happy, was delivered by him on a memorable occasion fifteen years later, after he had become Bishop of Peterborough. When his name appeared at the beginning of the month of July, 1881, as the preacher selected for the Westminster Abbey evening sermon on the 24th, any one might have foretold a large congregation. As it was, every available foot of the Abbey was filled an hour and a half before the service began. There had been crowds at the two preceding services when Farrar and Dean Vaughan preached. For Dean Stanley was to be buried on the morrow, and thousands who admired and loved him came to hear the funeral sermons, but all expected that Bishop Magee would carry off the palm. There were present that evening not only well-known Churchmen, but a multitude of men outside the Church, whom Stanley had gathered round him and reckoned among his friends, among them leading Positivists and Agnostics. Two of the best known sat immediately under the pulpit. Stanley himself might have said smooth things to them; at least, he would have endeavoured to find some common ground; but Bishop Magee had no tenderness in this direction. His sermon was as uncompromising a manifesto of mingled invective and sarcasm as ever had been heard within the walls of the Abbey. The impugners of the Pentateuch were smitten hip and thigh; but it may be doubted whether the effect went beyond intense irritation in those who felt themselves attacked. The Bishop had, no doubt, anticipated the opportunity, and he used it with a vengeance. His sermon lasted just an hour, but the *Guardian*, while printing the other two sermons verbatim, gave the Bishop some twenty lines only, called it "eloquent," and merely quoted the eulogium on Stanley.

As uniformly consistent was another conservative line on which the Bishop steadily moved. During his tenure of the Rectory of Enniskillen,* he published a pamphlet, which in later editions grew into a little volume, in favour of Church Establishment. Like everything which he wrote, it is racy reading. For example, after urging that the "voluntary system" so called is viewed by its advocates in an ideal state which never has been or can be realised, while the same controversialists magnify and distort the evils in the Establishment, he applies his tests to a pamphlet of Mr. Miall's, says that this is so conspicuously unfair that Mr. Miall is obliged to shift his ground half way through, and to change his standpoint altogether, and then compares him to Balak. "Some men love to choose their standing point for the survey of any system to which they are opposed, as Balak advised Balaam to choose his long ago: 'Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all; and curse me them from thence.'" A few pages further on, another passage in the same pamphlet is thus described: "We have a long string of concordance-gathered texts commanding Christians to 'give freely,' to be 'ready to give and glad to distribute,' and so on; which, with many references to the great success of our voluntary societies are urged as overwhelming proof of the scriptural inconsistency of those who, with such texts in their Bibles, venture to defend an Establishment. As if, forsooth, any one denied that voluntary effort was a Christian duty, as if we did not quote and enforce these texts in every charity sermon that we preach.'' Again, the term voluntary system is applied, he says, to chapels with pew rents. "The minister on this system first buys or hires a chapel, duly provided with comfortable accommodation, pewed, cushioned, lighted, heated, and beadled; and he proceeds to let out this accommodation, and his own ministry, and the ordinances of the Gospel with it, to those who can afford to pay for them. Terms cash. If this be voluntaryism, it certainly is not the voluntaryism of the New Testament, to which our opponents are so fond of appealing. The primitive Church, we are told, had no tithes and no church rates. Had it any pew rents? Do we read that Paul was appointed by the elders to a fashionable church at Ephesus, or that James possessed an eligible proprietary chapel at Jerusalem? Does the pew-rent system provide for the preaching of the Gospel to the poor?" He taunts his opponents with having their minister at their mercy and keeping him so. "They treat him like a wild beast who is kept humble by being kept poor. They pray for a blessing upon his basket and his store, while they take care that his basket shall be empty and his store nothingness itself." It had been argued that you secure more spirituality by means of the poverty of your ministers. "You do not; you only obtain your supply of ministers from a lower class of men. . . . Your only difference will be that you will have ignorant and ill-bred worldliness. . . . Some men would fain treat their ministers as the Brazilian ladies treat the fireflies, which they impale upon pins and fasten to their dresses, that the struggles and flutterings of the dying insect may give out sparks of light for their adornment. . . . I once heard of an ill-paid minister who went to his deacon to solicit an increase of salary. 'Salary!' said the deacon, 'I thought you worked for souls?' 'So I do,' replied the poor man, 'but I cannot eat souls; and if I could, it would take a good many souls of your size to make a dish!'"

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* The following are the chief dates in his life:—Born, December 17, 1821; Ordained, 1844; C. of St. Thomas's, Dublin, 1844-1846; St. Saviour's, Bath, 1847-1850; Min. of Octagon Chapel, Bath, 1851-1856; Inc. of Quebec Chapel, 1856-1864; R. of Enniskillen, 1860-1864; Dean of Cork, 1864-1868; Dean of Chapel Royal, Dublin, 1866-1869: Bishop of Peterborough, 1868-1891; Archbishop of York, 1891; died May 5, 1891.

I cannot give more of these quotations, but have taken so many because they make up a good specimen of Magee's early utterances on this subject. His great effort came in his memorable speech in the House of Lords on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill on the 15th of June, 1869, a speech still talked of with enthusiasm by those who heard it, and of which the late Lord Derby, then within a year of his end, said that it surpassed in eloquence any that he had heard in that House. He had been selected for the see of Peterborough by Disraeli, who was delighted with his sermon on the meeting of the Church Congress at Dublin, when Mr. Gladstone had declared for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The elections had not yet come off, Disraeli was still Premier, and he took the opportunity of making Magee an English bishop. The choice was abundantly approved when he stood up next year in the House of Lords on behalf of the doomed Church. It is curious in reading that great speech to note that much of it, both as to arguments and incisive illustrations, is taken from the early work from which I have quoted, but the style is more finished, and each argument is driven home. There are two passages only which space will allow me to quote. The first has reference to Mr. Gladstone's peroration, in which he spoke of the Bill as an act of justice and reparation to Ireland.

"What a magnanimous sight! The first thing that this magnanimous British nation does in the performance of this act of justice and penitence is to put into her pocket the annual sum she has been in the habit of paying to Maynooth, and to compensate Maynooth out of the funds of the Irish Church. The Presbyterian members for Scotland, while joining in this exercise of magnanimity, forget that horror of Popery which was so largely relied on and so loudly expressed at the last elections in Scotland. They have changed their mind, on a theory that a bribe to Popery is nothing if preceded by plunder of the Protestant Episcopacy. Putting two sins together, they make one good action. Throughout its provisions this Bill is characterised by a hard and niggardly spirit. I am surprised by the injustice and impolicy of the measure, but I am still more astonished at its intense shabbiness. It is a small and pitiful Bill. It is not worthy of a great nation. This great nation, in its act of magnanimity and penitence, has done the talking, but has put the sackcloth and ashes on the Irish Church, and made the fasting be performed by the poor vergers and organists."

The other passage is from his peroration. Menaces had been uttered against the House of Lords should the Bill be thrown out by them. The Bishop's reply is the following:—"My lords, as far as menaces go, I do not think that it is necessary that I should say one word by way of inducing your lordships—even if I could hope to induce you to do anything by words of mine —to resist these menaces. I believe that not merely the spirit of your lordships, but your lordships' high sense of the duty you owe to the country, would lead you to resist any such intolerant and overbearing menaces as those which have been uttered towards you. I believe that if any one of your lordships were capable of yielding to those menaces, you would be possessed of sufficient intelligence to know how utterly useless any such humiliation would be in the way of prolonging your lordships' existence as an institution, because it would be exactly the case of those who for the sake of preserving life lose all that makes life worth living for—it would be an abnegation of all your lordships' duties for the purpose of preserving those powers which a few years hence would be taken from you. Your lordships would then be standing in this position in the face of the roused and angry democracy of the country, with which you have been so loudly menaced out of doors, and so gently and tenderly warned within these doors. You would then be standing in the face of that fierce and angry democracy with these words on your lips—'Spare us, we entreat and beseech you! spare us to live a little longer, as an order is all that we ask, so that we may play at being statesmen, that we may sit upon red benches in a gilded house, and affect and pretend to guide the destinies of the nation and play at legislation. Spare us for this reason—that we are utterly contemptible, and that we are entirely contented with our ignoble position! Spare us for this reason—that we have never failed in any case of danger to spare ourselves! Spare us because we have lost the power to hurt any one! Spare us because we have now become the mere subservient tools in the hands of the Minister of the day—the mere armorial bearings on the seal that he may take in his hands to stamp any deed however foolish and however mischievous! And this is all we have to say by way of plea for the continuance of our order.' My lords, I do not believe that there is a peer in your lordships' house, or any one who is worthy of finding a place in it, who could use such language or think such thoughts, and therefore I will put aside all the menaces to which I have referred. For myself, and as regards my own vote, if I were to allow myself to give a thought to consequences, much might be said as to the consequences of your lordships' vote to your lordships' house and to the Church which I so dearly love; and I, a young member of your lordships' house, fully understand the gravity of the course I am about to adopt, and the serious consequences that may attach to that vote; but, on the other hand, I feel that I have no choice in the matter—that I dare not allow myself a choice as to the vote that I must give upon this measure. My lords, I hear a great deal about the verdict of the nation on this question, but, without presuming to judge the conscience or the wisdom of others, and speaking wholly and entirely for myself, I desire to remember, and I cannot help remembering, this, that there are other and more distant verdicts than the verdict even of this nation—and of this moment—which we must, every one of us, face at one time or another, and which I myself am thinking of while I am speaking and in determining upon the vote I am about to give. There is the verdict of the English nation in its calmer hours, when it may have recovered from its fear and its panic, and when it may be disposed to judge those who too hastily yielded to its passions; there is the verdict of after history, which we are making even as we speak and act in this place, and which is hereafter to judge us for our speeches and for our deeds; and, my lords, there is that other more solemn and more awful verdict which we shall have to face; and I feel that I shall be then judged not for the consequences of my having made a mistake, but for the spirit in which I have acted, and for the purposes with which I have acted." In the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* it is implied, on the part of the Bishop or his biographer, that Bishop Magee was insincere in this speech, the ground of the charge being that he had already expressed his opinion that it was of no use fighting a losing battle (iii. 283). Among Bishop Wilberforce's great qualities, freedom from jealousy was never conspicuous. I have two remarks only to make on the condemnation of Magee. (1) Reports of Bishops' confidential meetings had always been held absolutely sacred until that biography published some of them, and this, too, in a manner of which the accuracy in several cases has been strongly denied. (2) There was no inconsistency in Bishop Magee's conduct. He said in substance, "I feel that I am bound to support the Irish bishops. My personal opinion is that this is a bad Bill which we may as well pass and then amend it; but if the Irish bishops think otherwise, it is our duty to accept their view" (p. 287). That the

Bishop's speech did not convince the House of Lords need not be added, but it is worth while for any one, reading his speech at length, to see how many of his prognostications have proved true.

In turning to a different subject we see the same principle at the bottom of Bishop Magee's action. In doctrine and practice he was all his life through a strong Conservative, yet one who keenly watched the signs of the times and the methods open to him to preserve all that he could. He had been an "Evangelical," as the phrase goes, at Bath and as Dean of Cork, and his convictions remained steadfast to the end. But he was too wise and too earnest a man not to recognise the good that was being done by the High Churchmen, and these always gave him their confidence and grateful love. Two of his charges administered sharp rebukes to the Ritualists, and warned of the mischief which they were in danger of causing, but he was like a faithful husband who admonishes his wife when she deserves it, but allows nobody else to speak harshly to her. Perhaps the most brilliant speech he ever made in Parliament was his motion for the rejection of Lord Shaftesbury's Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, in which that peer made the memorable proposal that three persons in any diocese might institute proceedings against a clergyman for alleged violation of rubrics. In a speech full of Irish humour, and delivered (so Archbishop Tait averred in conversation) in a rich Cork brogue, the Bishop so pelted the Bill with satire and indignant denunciation, that it was thrown out by nearly two to one the same night, in spite of the Primate's support.

"To any three persons in the diocese," he said, "who may be the greatest fools in it, is to be given the power of deciding whether the parish, or the diocese, or the Church at large is to be set in a blaze because they choose to club together their little money and their large spite to set a prosecution going. I cannot thank the noble earl for the compliment that he pays the Bench of Bishops when he thus proposes to hand over their discretion to this self-elected triumvirate of fools. Three persons! Why, my lords, three old women in the Channel Islands would have the right to prosecute for any minute violation of the rubric—say, for turning east at the Creed—any clergyman in a district within sight of your lordships' House [the Surrey side was then in the Winchester Diocese, as were the Channel Islands]. . . . About two years ago one of these disputes came before me for settlement, the clergyman and the parishioners having agreed to refer to my decision a question as to the service of the church. I believe I settled it to the satisfaction of everybody, with the exception of a Wesleyan preacher, who objected *in limine* to the reference, because he doubted whether the Bishop's principles were sufficiently Evangelical; that is, he was not quite sure that the Bishop would decide in his favour. Well, if he could only have found in the large diocese of Peterborough two other persons who were as great fools as himself, and that, by the way, would have been a most serious preliminary difficulty, he might, under this Bill, have burdened the Church with a wretched lawsuit which the Bishop amicably settled."

This was the speech in which he ticketed the Church Association with the nickname of "The Joint-Stock Persecution Company, with Limited Liability," a *sobriquet* which the Ritualists have not forgotten nor suffered to die. One after another his sallies so convulsed the House with laughter that Lord Granville is said to have nearly rolled off his seat, and Archbishop Tait was very little better. Lord Shaftesbury alone sat grim, and never once smiled.

Nine years later he administered a yet more unsparing castigation to Lord Oranmore on the same lines. Archbishop Tait, in consequence of the strenuous objections of the High Churchmen to the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Constitution of the Privy Council, moved for a Royal Commission on these Courts. Lord Oranmore opposed on behalf of the Church Association, and was made an example of by the eloquent denunciation of Bishop Magee (see *Guardian*, February, 1881).

The Bishop evidently had a rooted antipathy to the Church Association, and during the days of the Ritual debates in Convocation and Parliament, he lost no opportunity of showing it. Thus, in July, 1873, he published a damaging correspondence convicting them of inaccuracy, and in the following December he sent them a cruelly polite letter, inviting them to draw up a canon "which, while respecting the sacred right of every sin-burdened penitent to open his grief to his pastor, would nevertheless enable a bishop to prevent that penitent from making and his pastor from receiving—in the necessarily impenetrable secrecy of such an interview—that kind of confession which should go beyond either the letter or the spirit of the teaching of our Church."

He supported Archbishop Tait's Public

Worship Act, making a great stand, as did the Primate himself, on behalf of the power of the Episcopal veto for the stopping of prosecutions. When some violent opponents of the Act declared that they would not obey it, that if their Bishop sent them a monition they would send it on to their lawyers, and that all that was needed was fatherly conduct on the Bishop's part, his comment was, "I honestly desire, as far as I can, to be fatherly towards these men, but when I hear this sort of advice given to us, I am reminded of the solitary instance in which a ruler attempted to govern in this fatherly fashion, and that his name was Eli, while his sons were Hophni and Phineas."

On the Burials Bill he was true to his Conservative ideas, and opposed the concession to Dissenters. In the course of one of the discussions in Parliament he came into angry conflict with Archbishop Tait. The affectionate reconciliation of the two prelates is related in Archbishop Tait's life (vol. ii. p. 403), but Bishop Magee stuck to his opinions, though it is fair to add that after the Act passed he loyally accepted it, and gave his clergy wise advice upon it.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to show that the Bishop, besides being a shrewd politician, was a wise and fatherly prelate, a man of broad views, of great and generous heart; for many of his speeches have had the best of results; namely, sound practical improvements in our moral and social condition. His efforts on behalf of personal purity are well known; so, to, are his endeavours to strengthen the efficiency of his clergy, to abolish abuses in Church patronage, to spread education, to promote thrift. His life was, in fact, sacrificed to his zeal on behalf of the work for prevention of cruelty to children. One famous epigram of his gave immense offence to the teetotallers, viz., that he "would rather see England free than sober;" but no man strove more sincerely, or more successfully, than he, to encourage temperance. All who knew him recognised in him the spirit of transparent truthfulness; in fact, the hatred of all humbug was such a passion with him as sometimes to get him into scrapes. But then the same manifest sincerity dragged him out again. Take the following witty bit from his address at the Working Men's Meeting at the Church Congress at Leicester in 1880:

"When I hear men producing their little scraps of compliments to the working men in the same way as a cunning trader produces little bits of cloth and glass beads when he goes among a set of savages, I don't quite believe in it. When I hear persons trying to pet and coax working men, they remind me of the very timid groom who goes into the stall of a very spirited horse that he is afraid is rather vicious; he goes up to him timidly and tries to pat him here and stroke him there, and all the while he has his eyes between the horse's ears to see if he turns them back; to see if he is going to be, as the Irishman said of his horse, very handy with his hoofs. I will tell you why he does so. It is, first, because the man is a coward; secondly, because he don't know his business as a groom; and thirdly, because he doesn't know the nature of the animal he has to do with. Then there is another class of men who proceed in another way. I have seen them go to the working man as if he were a horse in a field. I dare say you have seen a groom go up to the horse with a sieve full of oats in his left hand, while behind him he has a bit and a bridle in the other. Now there are men who come to the working classes with great promises of the oats they are going to feed them with, which, by the way, are not their own oats but their neighbour's, and if the noble quadruped had a few of the grains of sense that are scattered about, he would sniff the bridle and the bit, and say—I would rather not have the oats. Then, occasionally, you see a stout man approach the horse with a heavy whip, but he never gets near him—hasn't a chance. Those who are about to address the working man to-night are not going to approach him as if he were a horse at all: they are going to speak to him as a man."

As I have said, his outspokenness sometimes got for him hard words. Thus, he angered the Leicestershire Nonconformists not very long after the Congress by saying that the Liberation Society would evidently prefer a gin-shop to a Church. And the Mayor who had welcomed him to Leicester at the Congress signified his displeasure by sending £50 to the Liberation Society. But in the long run nobody ever got on better with the Nonconformists than the Bishop. Witness their affectionate farewell to him.

A whole volume could be filled with witty sayings of his which came in pat to the purpose when wisdom was wanted to shut up some mischievous speaker or correspondent. The Bishop was generally happy when such persons tried to "draw" him. Thus a foolish man in Torquay, who was angry with the Burials Bill, got up a memorial and sent it to the Bishops requesting to know what they were going to do and proposing to publish their replies. Bishop Magee, after objecting to being publicly catechised by a man that he had nothing to do with, went on gravely to say, "In this as in every other matter concerning the interests of the Church and of religion in this country in which it may be my duty to act, I propose to take such steps as after careful consideration may appear right and wise to take." The gentleman would hardly have kept his word as to publication, but the Bishop published it himself. Another foolish fellow was good enough to tell him that he highly approved some views the Bishop had expressed in his sermons at Bath about the Ordination Service, and wished him to explain how they could be reconciled with the views of Dr. Pusey. The Bishop in reply referred him to the sermon, and begged him to try to understand it for himself. "Whether you find my statements satisfactory or the reverse—or whether they can be reconciled with certain statements made by Dr. Pusey or by any other person, are questions on which you are, I presume, capable of forming your own judgment."

Presiding on the 17th of May, 1879, at the festival of the Artists' Benevolent Institution, he made two of his happiest after-dinner speeches. Here is a delicious paragraph from one of them: "It is some years since I carried off from the walls of your Academy, in a moment of impulsive self-gratification—for which I received a domestic rebuke—what seemed to me a very charming little painting. It was by an artist of no great repute. It was but a few trees and a glimpse of a stream, and a bit of sunset, taken on the banks of the Thames; but it had an air to me of exquisite repose and peace and rest. And I assure you that sometimes when I am wearied with work, vexed, perhaps, by a correspondence with some clergyman who is not blessed with a sense of implicit obedience to his Bishop—or, perhaps, by a question of the colour of some vestment worn by one who has an artistic eye—I come out and look at this picture, which seems to me to mirror the stream of life as it draws peacefully towards its evening. There is something in it that rests and soothes me, and, if you will believe me, at that moment a curate might play with me with safety."

Not less felicitous was a speech which he made on the day of the consecration of St. Mary's, Edinburgh (October 30th, 1879). He had preached one of his finest sermons in the morning, and at the dinner which followed, gave equal delight to his audience. Scotchmen, as everybody knows, are specially proud of a brother Scot who has distinguished himself outside their native land, and they can also enjoy a gentle joke against themselves for a small weakness of which they are not unconscious—namely, the inclination to discover some trace of Scotch blood in celebrated people. The Bishop found his opportunity of humouring them, when Lord Mar gave as a toast "The Churches of England, Ireland, America, and the Colonies." The Bishop in responding said, that in selecting him to reply to the toast, there was certainly one point in favour of the selection. They had chosen to speak to this composite toast of theirs one who occupied an English see but was an Irishman, and who had the honour and happiness of having some Scotch blood in his veins. He remembered some years ago when the eminent Scotchman who now occupies so worthily the chair of Canterbury—(loud cheers)—heard from him a sermon which his Grace was kind enough to think of in a favourable manner, the Archbishop expressed his approval with his usual graceful humour. He asked him when he came out of the Cathedral "Bishop, was not your mother a Scotchwoman?" He answered, "No, your Grace, she wasn't; but I believe her grandmother was." (Great laughter.)

Archbishop Magee's *bon mots* were almost as many as Sydney Smith's. It is to be hoped they will be collected, and enshrined in a biography the staple of which will be, after all, the record of the work not of a mere brilliant humourist, but of a great and good man. I can only jot down a few which I have heard from friends; one or two from his own lips. It is well known that he disliked being solicited for preferment. He prided himself on doing his best to find the right men for himself. One applicant not only badgered him unmercifully but came up to London, and caught him at the Athenæum. "Mr. ——," said the Bishop, "if it rained livings, I would offer you—an umbrella." Another patronage story which perhaps straitlaced people will think requires a little kindly allowance—and surely it needs only a *very* little—is the following. A layman solicited the Bishop on behalf of the curate of his parish, and after pleading his cause, got the Bishop's promise to give the curate the vacant living. The delighted squire exclaimed, "Many thanks, your lordship, I can tell you that you will find him a regular trump card." The Bishop was rather surprised, and perhaps nettled at the unseemly metaphor, but said nothing. But a little later, after the new incumbent had taken possession, he met the squire again, who repeated his small jest, "Well, my lord, I told you that Mr. —— would turn up a good trump." This was too much for the Bishop's forbearance, who replied, "Well, sir; in the short time that he has been there he has managed to show his hand a great deal too much, and he has played the deuce." Walking with Bishop Atlay at Hereford, whereas every one who has been there knows the beautiful river Wye washes the episcopal grounds, the latter said, "Well, we think our Cathedral very interesting, but it is not nearly so grand as yours." "I think," was the reply, "that you may consider your flowing river (pointing to it) better than my Dead See." This name had got affixed to the Diocese of Peterborough during Bishop Davys's tenancy.

Here is a story which I heard him tell. Some members of his congregation—I think at Enniskillen, but am not sure about that—came to him when he was leaving his incumbency, to bid him farewell. "And we can assure you, sir," they said, "that we have profited so much by your ministry, and feel that it has done us so much good, that we have resolved that afther ye've gone and left us, we'll none of us ever go to church any more."

The Bishop was well up in his Dickens, and very frequently went to him for illustrations. Thus he came into Lambeth Library one day, where he was engaged to speak at some meeting, and said, with comical weariness of manner, "I feel like Mantalini, whose life was one horrid grind; my life nowadays is one horrid speech." When he was denouncing Lord Shaftesbury's Bill, he quoted Squeers, who expressed the great pleasure he had found in thrashing Smike in a hackney coach—"there was such a relish in it." This, said the Bishop, is exactly what the aggrieved parishioners will do. There will be no real good to be got by their bullying poor, hardworking clergy, but it will be a novelty, and therefore they will find a relish in it. And to him has been attributed another humourous application out of the same volume, which found its way into a Church newspaper. Bishop Claughton, Archdeacon of London, held a Visitation to which nobody came. The good Bishop was naturally annoyed, and expressed his opinion that some means ought to be used to compel them to obey the archidiaconal summons. Thereupon Mr. Squeers was quoted for an illustration. "Bishop Claughton is of Mr. Squeers's opinion that the world is chockfull of wisitations, and if a boy repines at a wisitation, he must have his head punched."

Preaching at the Chapel Royal, Dublin, on the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, at the time when the disestablishment of the Irish Church was imminent, the Bishop applied the parable thus: "The spirit of pharisaism wears different garbs, and speaks in different tones in different ages. The original Pharisee said, 'I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all I possess.' The modern pharisee says: 'I don't fast; don't see the use of it, and don't pay my tithes.' No, to do you justice, you don't."

But I must repeat emphatically what I have already said: it would be a false picture of Magee to represent him as preeminently a joker. He could not, indeed, help answering a fool according to his folly. But some of his best speeches breathe a fervent piety which cannot be mistaken. I might quote at large from his published sermons, but content myself with referring to three speeches, one delivered at the Church Congress at Bath on the subject of Sunday Schools (*Guardian* for 1873, p. 1364), one on the Central African Mission (Feb. 1875) and one at Wellingborough in May, 1874. The first two are full of the eloquence of deep and tender pathos. The last was called forth by ribald posters which were stuck all over the town on the occasion of his coming to consecrate a cemetery, and which resulted in a mob which hooted and hustled him at the service. He boldly invited the people to a special service at the parish church. It was crowded, and he addressed them in a manner, marvellous even to read of. The hearing carried all before it, and no man from that day was more popular there.

But I must close these reminiscences. I met the Bishop often, but many who read these pages will have known him far better than I did. Yet on their behalf, and as one that read his speeches with delight, and was privileged to hear many of his utterances, both witty and wise, I lay this humble wreath on the grave of one whom the Church of England in years to come will reckon among her true and faithful sons, a delightful, unselfish, generous man, and withal a great Prelate and Father in God.

A RELIGIOUS REVIVAL AMONG THE YOUTH OF FRANCE.

BY PROFESSOR RAOUL ALLIER, OF THE SORBONNE UNIVERSITY, PARIS.

From *The Independent* (Undenominational), New York, May 28.

"THIS century is moving toward fatalism," said Michelet.

"It will come to know God," said Pastor Gratry.

Up to this time it is the first of these two predictions which seems to have been fulfilled in France. The sovereignty of Realism has been declared in politics by the men of the Empire, and those who have been under its influence; in philosophy by the positivists; in literature by Flaubert, the Goncourts and Zola. It is a singular fact just when the prophecy of Michelet appears to be realized with deplorable brutality, that that of Pastor Gratry thrusts itself upon our consideration, and that several unexpected events seem to proclaim the dawn of a religious revival.

If we begin with that which makes the most stir, the first sign of the awakening is the new interest taken in occult sciences; but a tour among the many societies which pretend to be initiated in the philosophy of the East would lead us away from our subject. We will only observe that the apostles of "the great Synthesis of Religion" do not preach to the empty air, they are listened to with attention, and many of their young hearers come to the conclusion that "Perhaps there is something in all this." What a convenient aphorism, which has the advantage of permitting a skeptical sneer and a sympathetic curiosity at the same time! But in the main our young men are not merely seeking the marvelous, they are looking for a conception of science which leaves a place for religious phenomena and which allows them to find in a pervading love for humanity the highest social well-being.

Let us pass over those petty sects where dilettanteism is an element, and where the art of startling the public is sometimes practised with mutual admiration. Let us go to the students who do not set themselves up as wonder workers, and who, under the guidance of their professors, are contented with a manful study of the action of their own souls. In the first place we find a keen enough skepticism in regard to the former religious status of the University. They no longer desire an official creed which can satisfy neither philosophers nor believers. At the same time they are weary of positivism, they stifle in the narrow limits of the known. These malcontents have cast aside traditional authority; then what is the philosophy of which they dream? This question can be better answered by an anecdote than a dissertation. Some months ago the most influential members of the General Association of Students of Paris, and its oldest friends, among them professors, artists and literary men, were brought together at a banquet. Toward its close M. de Voguë made a speech, in which he attempted to define the aspirations of the present generation. Said he:

> "Our methods of analysis, our rational view of the universe, *the general tendency toward exactness of the scientific spirit,* are all acquisitions which henceforth can perish only in the total breaking up of civilization. All that we reconstruct must be built upon this impregnable foundation."

A round of applause interrupted this declaration. We should keep this profession of scientific faith emphatically before the mind in order to easily applaud what followed:

> "But, moreover" [continued M. de Voguë] "the sphere of the unknown keeps its legitimate place in those things which engross our attention, since it contains all the laws, all the combinations of laws of which we are ignorant. We shall not be unfaithful to our rational conception of the universe. On the contrary, it will be very consistent with our principles, if we leave a large place for the intervention of laws which are unknown."

The Voltaireans who were present were not pleased with this statement. They were annoyed by the enthusiastic applause of this body of young men; but what was their irritation when the speaker proceeded to add to his assertions:

> "Our rational conception of the universe remains intact if we recognize in the inventions of science, and the productions of art, the result of a free gift or 'grace.' Accordingly, as is understood by that, the general effect of an unknown law which is planned above us, but very surely as unerring in its application, and as regular as those laws which are catalogued in our understanding."

Further commentary is useless. I will add only a word to this quotation. Ten years ago the young men of our higher schools would have protested against this language; to-day they warmly applaud it. Is this not a sign of the times?

In regard to other indications of this religious revival we will say little. The intellectual obstacle which was set up between religion and the preceding generation is in a great degree destroyed. The consequences of this fact are important. Let us rapidly enumerate them. In the first place, the problem of religion is no longer ignored, but received; it is approached with a certain fear, but with real interest. A professor of the philosophy of religion, in the Faculty of Letters, of Paris, will have his lectures crowded from the beginning; but he will keep his hearers only on condition that he treats his subjects both in a secular and religious spirit. One can have but little doubt of this if he has talked confidentially with the young men, who, on the sides of the Mount Sainte Geneviève, seek to find a ground for their personal convictions.

Full of a respectful interest in religion, but incapable of asking from it devout feeling, they are waiting for æsthetic feeling. How little they appreciate the irony of the eighteenth century when they find a charm in the strange supplications of Verlaine, when they are "edified" (the word is Jules Lemaitre's) by "*La Marche à l'Etoile,*" of Frageroele; by "*La Passion,*" of Haracourt; by "*Noel,*" of Maurice Bouchor. Is it not a secret need for worship in common which causes the success of modern mysticism?

If the youth of our schools have not a very clear perception of what religion should be for the individual, their apprehension of what it ought to be for society is more distinct. It is a curious thing to watch the progress of their ideas. In order to satisfy their social instincts they have established the General Association of Students, and they were scarcely united in this syndicate of material interests before they became inflamed by great ambitions. Their dream has been to make friends with the poor and the lowly; to apply their knowledge to the service or these disinherited brothers, and to labor for the advancement of social justice.

> "Neither Science nor Democracy," said a student at a recent conference, amid the plaudits of his comrades, "neither Science nor Democracy is sufficient in itself. Deprived of a higher principle, they are only blind barbaric forces. There is at the base of all modern science an hypothesis borrowed from mind itself (the conception of force). Democracy would be only a savage struggle of classes and interests if it were not ruled by the spirit of Justice and Love. In the last analysis, then, it is the Spirit that should direct modern evolution, and in the spirit Love is its highest, most active and most fruitful principle."

Now when men approve such sentiments, it is impossible that their attention should not be drawn toward the figure of Christ and their hearts be stirred by the contemplation of Him who is holy and just; and the same young man from whom I have borrowed the lines above lately exclaimed before the same audience:

> "If Christianity as a doctrine is not revived among us, we must, at least, have the Spirit of Christ."

But skeptics maintain that this is only an isolated expression, that it is "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Within but a short time this young man, M. Béranger, has been nominated by his companions President of the General Association of Students of Paris. What a defeat for our Voltaireans!

It may be asked, perhaps, is there any real earnestness in this demonstration? Do we not mistake our wishes for realities? An answer is very simple. See what the high priests of dilettanteism think about it. They continually lament the new tendencies which are evident; they cry out against the offense; they hide their faces before these indications of an awakened religious feeling. Would their anxiety be so intense if these signs were without value?

Admitting their reality, what does the movement which they show amount to? The importance of a movement is measured by its causes. Why do the young men who crowd our schools wish to escape from dilettanteism and egoism? In the first place, there is an intellectual motive. If you talk with a student of the Sorbonne—I mean with one of the best of those who reflect—you will be astonished to see how greatly positivism and materialism have lost ground among them. A student of philosophy will no longer repeat that benumbing phrase which about the year 1860 did not provoke a smile—"The universe is now without mystery." He has read and pondered upon the works of such writers as Charles Renouvier, Charles Secrétan and Emile Boutroux. In their school he has learned to cultivate not only physical science but all learning; and he believes in them when they have convinced him that dogmatic determinism is not absolutely founded upon reason; that in all phenomena there is an undetermined part; that this undetermination makes us presage that at the heart of Nature there is a spontaneity whose flowering out will be Love; that religion is not a passing state, but a function of the soul; that metaphysical belief can reach beyond scientific certitudes, and religious belief can reach beyond that. With such ideas and such sentiments, we are not far from despising superficial skepticism and deriding the eighteenth century; and when we are no longer alarmed, but merely irritated by this ceaseless simper in the presence of holy things, we are ready to recall with enthusiasm the noble words of M. de Voguë which I have already reported.

The young men who come together to revive religion are subject also to literary influences. In fact, we witness an evolution to which critics have given the signal. A few years ago M. Brunetière was out of favor in the Latin Quarter, where he was accused of narrowness and illiberality; to-day he is appreciated, if not relished and liked. From the day that he began to be read he has carried things by main force. He has made his readers feel that there is a certain incompleteness and barbarism in the literature of realism; and he has compelled them to recognize what was national and human in the works of the past. Now to understand the past is in a certain way to revive its spirit. While M. Brunetière has demolished the writings of the naturalistic school, M. Emile Hennequin has destroyed the critical theories of M. Taine. According to the latter, the artist is the result of the *milieu*. According to M. Hennequin, he is, on the contrary, an active cause, and the hero worship of Carlyle has reappeared among us. Great men are not controlled by social or literary movements, they instigate them themselves. The moral result of this assertion is a latent need for activity. The determinist is convinced that he has only to allow himself to be carried along by events; the man who believes in liberality and in the force of personality wishes to direct events and to impress them with his own individuality; he desires to be Somebody, and for that reason to possess a faith.

But "all things work together for good, for them who love God," even when they are merely stirred by an aspiration toward the unknown God. By a strange coincidence, just when the young men of our schools longed for the advent of a new literature, the Russian romance was laid open to them by M. Melchior de Voguë. In a short time Tolstoï became popular in the Latin Quarter. While we admit that the Christianity of Tolstoï is singularly incomplete and false, is not the main point this; that after having read this defective commentary of the Gospel, the youth will read the Gospel itself? And is not the young man who is already convinced that brotherly love is the law of life prepared to hear the call of Christ?

This leads us to the true cause of that religious revival which disconcerts the triflers of old Voltaireanism. The rising generation has but little dilettanteism; they hold it in horror, and in truth it would be difficult for them to do otherwise. The logical consequences of dilettanteism have been deduced by a set of writers who investigate vice, at the head of whom we must put the Boulangist deputy of Nancy, M. Maurice Barrès. The three books of this writer—"*Sous l'oeil des Barbares*," "*L'homme Libre*" and "*Le Jardin de Bérenice*," contain the shameful doctrine of refined and cruel selfishness. But the young writers who profess these fine sentiments are not satisfied with developing a literary theme; one of them, Chambige, has made an application of them which his friends have found very awkward, and which has plunged a worthy family in sorrow. The books of M. Barrès have encouraged all those young men who do not care to fill the ranks of the dissolute. The crimes of Chambige and his imitators, for he has had them, have created a reaction against these fatal doctrines.

It is a happy coincidence and one which cannot be fortuitous that selfish dilettanteism delayed producing its natural fruits until an uprising of the national conscience became possible. It will never be known how much the disasters of 1870–71 have humbled a generation whose minds were awakened by the baleful glare of the double siege of Paris. In it a spring has been bent and broken. It is unnecessary to press this further. To-day the wounds of our country are scarred over. The young men of the present time did not witness the convulsions of the country in its struggle for existence; there is no reason why they should not accept and love life. At twenty years the heart which has not known suffering is eager to give itself. The lessons of M. Barrès and his kind ought to bring about a healthy revolution; from this point of view they have not been an evil.

Let us sum up the different points which we have enumerated: An uprising of the conscience and the heart, assisted by a philosophical and literary revolution, has created among our young men a fresh desire for moral and religious life. The movement toward mysticism, whose principal indications we have noticed, is not the same as that tendency toward religiousness which is so often felt by the old and the weary; it is not a longing for rest, it is a leap toward life and action.

What is the future of this movement? Are we really upon the eve of a religious revival? We are, if Christians do their duty, and know how to live up to their faith; if they are capable of forgetting their narrow systematizing and their illiberal divisions; if they exhibit the religion of Christ as a principle of life. We do not dare to throw even a trembling glance upon the future; it is enough for us to remember that the Lord reigns.

WORK FOR STREET BOYS.

BY THE REV. JOHN C. COLLINS.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenominational), New York, May 21.

It ought to be no great task to write, as requested, an article on the work among the street-boys of America for the readers of The Christian Union, certainly not for one who has seen a vision of years take tangible shape and Christian America begin to reach out for the salvation of these thousands of little fellows of our streets.

If I lack inspiration for such an article, I need only to turn to the photograph of thirty or forty of these boys which the Superintendent of one of our Clubs managed to catch one evening by flash-light, after grouping them in one end of the room. Black and white, bright-eyed, happy, thoughtless little fellows, face after face looks into mine. Some of the faces are pinched by privations which have already left their mark, and there is a pleading look in their eyes which has given to me many a time inspiration and new strength in trying to solve the not easy problem of helping Christian America put its hands upon and its arms around the hundreds of thousands of others like them throughout the length and breadth of the land.*

The first night, now about seventeen years ago, I ever faced a gathering of street-boys in what was known as a Boys' Club, I saw possibilities of a great work in that surging mass of seemingly uncontrollable juvenile humanity. The results among these boys the two or three years following that first night, while I was in college and the theological seminary, deepened the convictions of the great usefulness of this work which I had when I stood before that mob of boys, wondering how I was to get the power over them by which to control and direct their lives into new channels, and I came to have a vision that some day it might be possible to arouse Christian people throughout the country and bring to them a knowledge of the great possibilities for good in this work. There seemed to be, however, no means at that time of making this vision a reality, and doubtless it was God's plan that its realization should be postponed to a later day, when, under new circumstances and new forces, there would be a larger possibility of success. This day came when at last our Christian Workers' Association, of which I was Secretary, brought me into co-operation and touch with the Christian men and women throughout the United States and Canada who were best fitted in their various localities to undertake this work; and in 1887 we began, in a thoroughly systematic way, and through an organization which it was designed should spread all over the country, to organize the work for boys through Boys' Clubs.

It is unnecessary to give the details of this organization. To those who may not be familiar with the system of work it may be necessary, without going into details, to say that the *plan of work*, for which we care, after all, more than we do for the plan of organization, was to open a room in the center of the larger cities, except, perhaps, the very largest, and to gather into this room, during the evenings of the colder months of the year, the boys from the streets. Each room would be placed under the oversight of a Christian young man as superintendent, and the boys could be brought into touch with Christian ministers and people who would visit the rooms from night to night. The attractions were to be simply a warm, well-lighted room, with a carefully selected library of books for boys and a number of innocent and, as far as possible, instructive games. They would be simply the attractions which the better class of boys had in their own homes, and thus such boys would not usually be drawn to the room, and the work would be confined to those most needing it. During the daytime, when the club was not open, the superintendent could visit the homes of the boys and become perfectly familiar with their surroundings, fathers' occupations, and learn about the boys' habits, character, etc., more definitely than could be done in any other way. He was also to visit the police courts and keep close watch for and over the boys, as far as the judges would give them into his care, who were brought into the courts for petty offenses. In this way he would come into touch with every boy who was likely from his surroundings to grow into a criminal, and as most criminals *grow* and are not made in a day, this police-court work could be made a very important and useful feature. In the rooms also the boys were to be taught politeness by saying "Please" when they asked for a book or game, and "Thank you" when they obtained it; also cleanliness and the like. Penny Savings Banks could be established. Occasional lectures on interesting subjects—sandwiched in between *bona fide* sandwiches and apples and oranges, the prospect of obtaining which would be no small influence in securing attention and order—could be given. Mottoes containing some great truths could be hung about the walls and make their impressions upon the plastic minds of the boys. Manual training classes, of ten or fifteen boys, in carpentry; classes in type-setting, wood-carving, clay-modeling, could be established in adjoining rooms. Better than all, and first of all, without any established plan, the superintendent, by personal intercourse, the mightiest agency which the Christian worker can use, could bring the boys into personal relation with the Lord Jesus Christ, their great Friend.

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* Reproductions of this photograph and detailed statements of what has been accomplished will gladly be sent by Mr. Collins to any interested. He may be addressed at New Haven, Conn.

I knew without a doubt that we could furnish sufficient attractions to reach, in every city where a club was opened and properly managed, nearly every boy of the street, but I did not know how we could get the money or how we could find and train and hold to our system of work superintendents who must needs have tact and be exceedingly teachable if the work was to be carried on and accomplish much; and I questioned whether Christian people would have the persistence and faith sufficient to *wait* for the results, which in the case of work among boys do not show on the surface as soon as the results of work among hardened adults, so often found to be temporary. The gathering of the boys and the work which a *bona fide* Boys' Club could do was no experiment, but the co-operation of Christian people and the rest was.

And this we began in 1887 to do. I rejoice to be able to say that, under the blessing of God and with the co-operation of the noble company of Christian men and women who have served on committees and who have contributed of their means, each doing what God has made it possible to do, we have placed our hands for good, for time and eternity, upon over *thirteen thousand boys,* chiefly boys of the streets, in many cities, principally those in New England.* We have solved many problems of organization, and, besides those who have been reached directly through the work of which I am General Superintendent, very many others have been stirred up to undertake in small ways a work among the boys, and many hundreds and thousands have been reached through these agencies. Out of all the clubs which have been organized only three have disappeared. The others are continuing their work with increasing influence for good from year to year. Nearly two thousand dollars have been placed in the Penny Savings Banks in something over a year. About fifteen hundred boys have been members of the classes which have been formed. Hundreds of boys have been placed in the care of the superintendents by the police judges, and have been apparently turned from lives of crime and misery to lives of happiness and usefulness. Many boys without religious training have been brought into connection with the churches and Sunday-schools, and, more than this—for statistics, after all, give no real measure of what is or is not done—these thousands of boys have felt the influence in their lives of the Christian people with whom through these "night kindergartens" they have come into contact; for, in most of the cities where these clubs have been organized, committees from the churches have been frequent and constant visitors.

This, in brief, is the story of the beginning and present condition of this movement, in which it seems to me we all ought to rejoice, those who have not had a part in it as well as those who have been given this privilege.

I have stated that we have made a *beginning,* and I consider that what has been accomplished is but a beginning. Such a work as this is intimately related to the highest welfare and the future prosperity if not the salvation of our country, and, if there were no other motives, the desire for self-preservation and national prosperity should urge every American to assume the responsibility which is placed upon him by the knowledge of *what can be done* for these boys, judging by what has already been accomplished. Every one of these boys who survives the struggle with poverty and temptations with which so many of them are surrounded will soon be an American citizen, and very likely the head of a family, with power for evil or good which cannot be measured. I shall never forget that wonderful discourse of Dr. Lyman Abbott's on the "Housing of the Poor" at the New York Convention of Christian Workers in 1887, in which he so forcibly and vigorously brought before our minds the power of the family and the family life. Thousands of these boys will in the near future be husbands and fathers and heads of families. As the boy is, so will the husband and father be ; and as this husband and father is, so will be, in all human probability, the family, this wife and these children ; and as these children are, so future homes and families will be, and the Church and our country. I know of no place—and I have had many years of Christian work among older persons—where a word, a touch, a little help, reaches so far and gives such momentum in the right direction as with a boy.

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* In a private letter Mr. Collins says: "If there was not so much vitality and good reason for the existence of the work *in the work itself* we never would see thirteen thousand boys reached in a little over three years and a half. A new feature which we are putting into these Clubs is a bath-room, which we find works splendidly. The University Club here in New Haven, which is carried on by us, assisted by the Freshman Class in College, which has formed a Boys' Club Association, has a splendid little bath-room attachment. During the last eleven nights, of which I have statistics before me, 142 boys have been bathed; and they have been thoroughly bathed, too, for under the arrangements with the College boys there are three members from the class present every evening, and one of them has charge of the bathing. He goes into the bath-room and sees that the boys are washed from head to foot. If this is not practical Christianity, then I don't know what is. Sometimes the young fellow in there will get so thoroughly exhausted and 'sweated out' that he cannot stand it more than half or three-quarters of an hour, when he has to be relieved by some chum, and the bath-room is kept in operation from the time the Club opens until it closes. These boys have been the very dirtiest and neediest little fellows that we could get our fingers on in the whole city, and they take great delight in it. When this feature becomes introduced into the new Clubs which will be formed and into the old ones, you see it will be no small thing. Of course this bathing is in addition to the ordinary washing up, which has been a feature of all the Clubs from the beginning, and perhaps in every club there is an average of fifty boys every night, who just wear out bars of soap and begrime towels in great quantities in the effort to get the black off hands and faces."

But, great as is the incentive which we find in the blessing which shall come to the Church and to our country through the salvation of these boys, I find—and I have reason to think that the others who are working and will work among these boys will find—even higher motives in realizing, as they do from day to day, that they are stopping and thwarting the powers of evil, which are getting so strong a hold upon these young, innocent, helpless little fellows, and which, if they are not stopped and broken, will bring untold misery upon their victims. How many of us are ready, if we see one in the terrible plight of physical pain, to rush to his aid ! but how much higher the wisdom and real the relief, yea, Christlike the effort, to *prevent* the powers of evil and shut out the pain and misery which sin brings into every human life ! Who is there that demands more consideration from us than these helpless little fellows, who, through no fault of their own, are in the midst of temptations which will surely overwhelm them unless in this same Name we come to their rescue ?

Thank God, we are coming to their rescue. I look beyond the faces in my picture and see the pleading, pitiful little faces in a thousand dark places, and coming towards them for their help are those who minister in His name, and the vision of the years past, whose realization has had a beginning, will become, I am convinced, in the near future a glorious reality.

CONFIRMATION OF THE REV. DR. BRIDGMAN.

From *The Churchman* (Episcopalian), New York, June 6.

THE confirmation of the distinguished Baptist clergyman, Dr. Bridgman, by Bishop Potter is an event of more than ordinary interest. Dr. Bridgman has been a man of eminence in his denomination. He is universally esteemed by all to whom he is personally known. His piety is unquestioned. His pastoral success has been remarkable. His denominational loyalty has been steadfast. He has faithfully submitted to denominational restraints. To the last his congregation has remained attached to him, and it is in spite of the urgent remonstrance of his people that he has felt constrained to withdraw from his connection with them and the denomination to which they belong.

The story of Dr. Bridgman's resignation is instructive. In theory every Baptist congregation is autonomous. It professes to be a Church in itself, and to be uncontrolled by any denominational authority. In fact, however, it is not so ; and the control of Baptist ministers and Baptist congregations by denominational opinion, as expressed in denominational journals and by denominational representatives, is absolute enough to make it almost impossible for a self-respecting minister who does not adhere to the prevailing methods and opinions of the denomination, to retain his position, though he be thoroughly supported by the congregation to which alone he is supposed to be responsible. For years past Dr. Bridgman's position has been peculiar. After entering on his ministry in cordial sympathy with what are generally regarded as sound Baptist views, he has found himself less and less able to preach them in the sense in which he first accepted them. Without denying the just prominence of the sacrament of baptism, but rather because he has learned to think of it as an ordinance of Christ for the whole Church catholic, and not as the badge of a denomination, he has not been able to use the customary denominational phrases in a merely denominational sense. Having come to see that the Table of the Lord is not the table of a single congregation, nor of any denomination, but of all baptized Christian people, he has deeply felt the hardship of the narrow denominational rule which excluded his own wife from participation with him at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, for the sole reason that, Christian woman though she is and has been for these many years, she has remained a Presbyterian. In like manner, as his appreciation of the love of God has grown stronger and clearer with the passing years, he has found it impossible to preach the hard and cruel doctrines of future torment of the impenitent which are prevalent in Baptist Churches, and he has not been able to reject the pious hope which has come to him that "at last, far off, at last to all," God's love may appear to be the goal and end of God's severity.

Notwithstanding these changes of opinion and sentiment, which have probably been so gradual that he himself has hardly been conscious of them, Dr. Bridgman has faithfully maintained the Baptist cause, and has loyally submitted to denominational restraint, in the very point in which his loyalty must have been most painful. It is difficult to conceive the feelings of a minister who believed it to be "the privilege of all Christians to partake of the Lord's Supper wherever His table is spread," and yet was compelled to see his own Christian wife rejected from the Lord's table in his own congregation. To this and other things, however, Dr. Bridgman loyally submitted without complaint, in the fulfilment of what he held to be his denominational duty. At length he ventured to tell his people that he could no longer put away the "eternal hope" which had come to him concerning God's dealings in the world to come; and then the trouble came. A large majority of his own people, and among them many who did not share his views, remained as firmly and devotedly attached to him as ever; but a minority dissented, and outside of his congregation the strife of tongues and pens began to rage. He was accused of denominational disloyalty, and was plainly told that he had no right to remain in the denomination to which he had given the best years of his life. That was more than he could bear, and, in spite of the entreaties of his people, he felt himself in honor bound to resign his charge.

This has happened: Dr. Bridgman has unconsciously outgrown the shackles and restraints of denominationalism. He was a Christian man before; he remains a Christian man still. As a baptized Christian man, he was a member of the Catholic Church before; and he remains a member of the Catholic Church still. But heretofore he has been a member of a society of Christian people who are banded together in separation from other Christians, and organized on a principle of exclusion, not of catholic inclusiveness. At the same time they reject certain views and opinions which are not inconsistent with the reality of Christian faith, and make it inconsistent with a sense of honor in an upright man to remain in communion with them if he comes to hold those views or opinions. What has happened to Dr. Bridgman is that a Catholic communion, with a full and satisfactory statement of the Christian faith, with unquestioned liberty of thought on all matters of subordinate importance, and therefore with the power as well as the ability to embrace all Christian people, has become indispensable to his spiritual manhood. In a word, he has outgrown the exclusiveness of denominationalism and has grown up to the inclusiveness of catholicity. From one point of view that is all.

And yet it is not all. Dr. Bridgman has recognized in the Catholic Church from whose communion his spiritual forefathers separated, but of which they and he have always been members, the spiritual home in which he can find rest, a home in which faith and freedom are united, that is to say, a home which is catholic in faith, free in opinion and inclusive in communion. When he and his wife resolved to break through the denominational barriers which hedged them in from the larger communion to which, as Christian people, they really belonged, they found themselves for the first time in their lives in visible sacramental communion with each other. As members of Christ's Church they ought always to have been so; and nothing has hindered them but the unchristian rule of a society of Christian people who have cut themselves off from communion with their fellow-Christians. When the bishop laid his hands on Dr. Bridgman and his wife in the rite of confirmation, he asked no questions that they had not both answered long ago, and he imposed upon them no terms of communion which, as Christian people, they were not ready to accept. What happened, then? Nothing happened but this, that at last they found themselves at home together, with no unchristian bar of denominational exclusiveness to separate them in the enjoyment of the holiest privileges of Christ's Church.

We realize the pain and heartbreak which must have attended the experiences through which Dr. Bridgman has been called to pass. We realize that there must still be sorrows that are hard to bear. We realize that, in leaving friends with whom he has had long and sacred relations, the pang of parting must be bitter. But we would beg him to remember that he has really left none of those old friends, since all of them, whether they know it or not, are members with him of the same "one body" of Christ. The only difference is that he now enjoys a privilege of freedom which they have not yet learned to be their spiritual birthright.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE E. C. U.

From *The Church Times* (Church of England), London, June 12.

To the observant Churchman it cannot fail to be evident that in the very near future we are likely to be engaged in conflicts which may be fraught with disaster. The worst day for England will be that in which the Church and State come to be permanently arrayed against each other as hostile forces, and it behoves us by all means in our power to delay its coming. The state of things in France, to take no other instance, might well serve us for a warning. The Gallican Churchman finds himself living in a political atmosphere, to breathe which is deadly to his Churchmanship. It is not the form of Government that affects him; it is the moral tone of the political world around him.

Among ourselves Churchmen for the most part have been, and are, strangely apathetic as to the true relations that should subsist between Church and State. Through their indifference they have suffered many pernicious doctrines to grow into general acceptance as articles of political belief. True they have been rightly engaged in the congenial work of propagating religion, but none the less the relations of Church and State needed to be safeguarded. Thus they carelessly encouraged, by their mistaken views on law, the growth of the Erastian idea to such an extent that nine Churchmen out of ten would even now be unable rightly to distinguish between "the things that are Cæsar's" and "the things that are God's." The ecclesiastical suits, with which we are unhappily familiar, and which still disturb our peace, furnish painful proof of this confusion of thought. Nothing is more certain than that the Church would long ago have been reduced to the position of a branch of the Civil Service, had not the faithful few resisted the encroachments of Parliament and the Privy Council. To most Churchmen it appeared that such resistance was made for wholly inadequate reasons, the preservation of some point of ritual, or the right to do as we please. They are learning now, in the most convincing way, that the very life of the Church was at stake.

In another very grave matter Churchmen have neglected to insist on justice for the Church. They have allowed the sentimental grievances of Nonconformists to occupy so large a share of public attention, that in consenting to redress their imaginary wrongs they have disparaged their own rights. With infinite labour and self-sacrifice Churchmen, at a time when the State was perfectly indifferent, and Dissenters declined to incur the responsibility, built up and maintained efficiently a splendid system of education, teaching upwards of 75 per cent. of all the children receiving instruction throughout the country. This advantage, amounting almost to a monopoly, the Dissenters have represented as a serious injustice to themselves, and, sooner than allow it to continue, have allied themselves with Secularists to discourage religious teaching altogether. They now demand, as a right, a share in the management of our schools. We doubt not that many Churchmen of Liberal political views honestly believe that a real grievance exists, and that justice can only be done by depriving the Church of her privileges. It does not occur to them to inquire into the manner in which those privileges grew up, and whether the Church is not in danger of sustaining a grievous wrong.

Further, in regard to the modifications of the marriage laws, Churchmen betray a shortsightedness that is extremely culpable. The conception of the sanctity of family life, which has coloured the whole of Christian morality, cannot nowadays be modified without, at the same time, lowering the standard of morality set up by the Christian religion. The Divorce Act was the first successful step in this direction, bringing the law of the land into antagonism with the Divine law. Since its appearance on the Statute Book the idea of the sanctity of marriage and its sacramental character has been sensibly weakened. The revelations of the Divorce court illustrate the regard in which marriage has come to be held, and, what is worse, every day they spread the contagion of contempt for this great mystery. The second downward step is the attempt to sanction marriage with a deceased wife's sister. There are amiable Churchmen, even priests, who fail to see in the Levitical law anything forbidding a man to marry his sister-in-law. But surely, if that were the case, the sentiment of Christian nations ought to be considered. Allow such marriages, and this sentiment is rudely shocked: the tradition of family life, as hitherto accepted and made the basis of social intercourse, is broken, and a totally new conception of the family relations is brought in, tending, we may be perfectly certain from the example of other nations, to the laxest morality.

Now for the treatment of such matters as these, and for help in a crisis like the present, we need an organisation of sound and earnest and sober Churchmen, with definite views as to the true principles and interests of the Church: a society unconnected with politics as such, but estimating rightly the relations of the Church with the State, and all political measures directly affecting religion. Such a society should be employed for the education of public opinion, for the propagation of sound and healthy views. Its influence should make itself felt in political contests, in religious controversies, in projects of social reform.

The germ of such an organization is ready to hand in the English Church Union, which celebrated its thirty-second anniversary on Tuesday last. This Union is composed of thirty-three thousand members, twenty-five of them Bishops, the rest priests and lay communicants. Its wide influence throughout the country is seen in the fact that in 111 churches of London and 775 churches in the provinces celebrations of the Holy Communion were provided this week for the members of the Union. It is further to be noted that it is not an association of mere professing Churchmen, but of men and women in fullest communion with the Church. Its object and mission is not solely to defend a particular mode of worship, though that attitude has been unduly forced upon it by the Ritual prosecutions; it is rather to defend the spiritual interests of the Church of England from all attacks from whatever quarter, and to spread a knowledge of Catholic principles throughout the English-speaking world. On these grounds we give the Union our hearty support, believing it to be the most powerful and useful agency we possess for advancing the Catholic cause. On these grounds too we hold that it is deserving of the support of the Church at large, as an organized means of defence against the powers of evil that surround the faith on every side.

There are many estimable persons who hold themselves aloof from all associations smaller than the Church herself; but this is to forget that the work of the Church is neither defence nor attack, but the building up of souls. In her relation to the world she needs the banding together of her sons for purposes of defence.

To the questions of the day, to which we referred at some length above, the English Church Union addressed itself at its annual meeting. And in its proceedings the most pleasing feature was the spirit in which the debate was conducted. It is obvious that, in discussing important measures, considerable difference of opinion as to particulars is likely to arise, and we hail those differences as a healthy sign, and likely to result in the thorough sifting of a question to the bottom. The Clergy Discipline Bill, for instance, brought out verbal differences in the formulated expression of individual views; but the meeting was absolutely unanimous in reprobating any encroachment of the State upon the rights and liberties of the Church. The discussion of Free Education afforded room for differences of opinion, as is only natural in a society not committed to any one side in party politics. But the members collectively were fundamentally agreed as to the true principle of Education, that it must be first and above all religious. The resolution speaks for itself:—

> That whatever changes may be made with regard to Elementary Education, no interference should be allowed with the present system of management of Voluntary schools, in so far as it secures the fulness and freedom of religious instruction therein in accordance with the faith of the religious body to which the schools belong; and that no such compromise as that of admitting Nonconformists, and others, to give religious instruction in Church of England schools can be accepted by this Union.

If there were room for criticism on Tuesday's proceedings, we would venture to remark that the list of good things in the Agenda for the afternoon meeting was rather like the *ménu* of a banquet of almost aldermanic profusion. And with this said, it remains only that we congratulate the Union upon another year of real progress and useful work.

"HOW TO SPEAK IN THE OPEN AIR WITHOUT INJURING THE VOICE."

From *The Christian Advocate* (Methodist Episcopal), New York, June 18.

During June, July, August, and September thousands of addresses will be delivered in the open air in the United States at Camp-meetings, Temperance Conventions, Sunday-school Assemblies, Chautauquas, Schools of Philosophy, Fourth of July and other celebrations. *The Homiletical Review* for June has an article by Professor Coats on the topic of this editorial. His points condensed are: Do not speak in the open air. If you will do so you should use your voice in the open air from youth through life; if you have not done that, remember that your voice does not come back to you as it does in the house. Open the mouth wide where it will be of some service; in the back part of it, not in the front alone. Avoid high keys if you wish to produce powerful tones. Be more deliberate. Rest your voice by using such variety as you can.

These, except the first caution, are for the most part excellent suggestions. We regard speaking in the open air as one of the most healthful physical exercises that any man who knows how to do it can perform, except when there is a very high wind in the face of the speaker. We offer some suggestions, the result of experience and observation:

1. For a few minutes—say, two or three—make no effort to be heard by the whole assembly, if it be large. Let something be said worthy the hearing, but not essential to an understanding of what follows, noticing as the voice gradually rises, till it begins to be heard by all; then make this the key-tone. Pay no attention to the man who screams "Louder!"

2. Voices *naturally* high-pitched are the most easily heard if clear. Note the voices of children, whose words at play can be understood several hundred yards away. But a *baritone* voice admits of the greatest variety and the greatest ease to the speaker and to the hearer. *Bass* voices should be raised to the medium tone for open air speaking. No voice not naturally high should be strained *up*—it is sure to break.

3. Articulate the *consonants* distinctly; the vowels will take care of themselves.

4. Beware of diminishing the force of the voice at the ends of sentences; always bad, in the open air it is a fatal impediment to hearing.

5. Remain in one place. Do not turn around to address the chair, or turn the body from side to side, or perambulate the platform like a caged hyena, meanwhile howling. By inclining the head from side to side, though it be not moved more than three inches, a line between the two columns of air will comprehend the whole audience at a distance of twenty-five or thirty feet and beyond. Hearers will then adapt themselves easily to the speaker's position.

6. Make long pauses at convenient points, at least twice the length of an ordinary period, and at the end of these take the deepest possible inhalation through the nose.

7. Orations of a purely intellectual character require only the conversational tone. Those designed to stir the feelings, except the deepest pathos, must of necessity become somewhat haranguish. Under such circumstances a rhythmical chant is a great relief to the voice, and increases rather than diminishes the effect produced. It is an astonishing fact that the lowest tones of such a chant can be understood twice as far at least as the same tones if the orator were speaking and not chanting. We have tested this by listening to ministers of the Society of Friends, both male and female in the open air; also Southern Baptist preachers, many of whom have a peculiar tone; and Methodists, and not a few political orators. We heard a minister named Trefren in New Hampshire preaching at a camp-meeting, and though his chant in the hortatory part of his sermon would hardly be stigmatized as a tone, we walked away slowly and distinctly understood all that he was saying at a measured distance of over five hundred yards, his lowest notes carrying the words with the aid of the understanding which we had of those uttered on the higher tones to our ears. Continuing the walk until we had reached a village nearly three-quarters of a mile away, we called the family of our host to the door, and still the clear tones of his voice could be heard, and some of the words understood. It is not a singing tone, but a chant, such as is natural to all emotion, slightly exaggerated, that we recommend. A person with a musical ear can easily obtain the management of it, without any danger of excess. After finishing the main divisions, begin the next some notes lower.

Finally, use no water, nor any other beverage. Wear a collar and cravat very loose. As the breathing must be almost twice as full and deep in speaking in the open air as in a church, great attention must be paid to having no unusual weight of clothing. A great political orator, when speaking out of doors, wore no waistcoat, carried nothing in his pockets, not even his watch.

Cry aloud, therefore, brethren, and spare not. Give the people the best thought in the best language, and may the oratory of the summer of 1891 help forward patriotism, learning, temperance, philanthropy, and religion.

PARAGRAPHIC.

Costly Funerals.—Mr. Spurgeon recently denounced in his own sharp way the pomp and parade at funerals, which he declared to be at once absurd and cruel, and expressed a hope that the common sense of the people would suppress such display as demanding an expenditure which was generally needed by poor widows and fatherless children.

If Mr. Spurgeon has any such hope, we fear it will prove a delusion, if not a snare. Undoubtedly these expensive funerals bear heavily upon the poor and upon people of moderate income. Life with them is a struggle—too often a hand to-hand struggle—in which every day absorbs its own petty income. And yet they cannot afford to die. In the burial of their loved ones—for the poorest love their wives, husbands, and children—they must "keep up appearances." Was not the badge of poverty bitter enough in life to end with life? The funeral must be one of considerable show, even if the family of mourners go cold and hungry and destitute for months. They do not complain. It was the last thing they could do for the loved one. The funeral was not that of a pauper; it was as "respectable" as that which not long ago issued from the mansion of a wealthy neighbor, and they were glad to make it so at any personal sacrifices. That is what they will continue to do in spite of admonitions that they cannot afford it.

But is there no remedy for this increasing and oppressive evil? Certainly; but it will never come from those who suffer from it most, because to make an open protest would be equivalent (so they think) to forming themselves into a Voluntary Association of Paupers! Reform must come from the rich, and it will come only when they cease from a display of wealth that is ill-timed enough to be designated as lacking in refinement, and as offensive to good taste, and content themselves with what is plain, simple, decorous, and appropriate.—*New York Evangelist.*

"Stand up! Stand up for Jesus!" is one of the most popular of American hymns. Its author was the Rev. George Duffield, a Presbyterian minister. It was written under affecting circumstances. In 1858 the Rev. Dudley A. Tyng had been engaged in a remarkable mission in Philadelphia, and on the Sunday before his death had preached in Jaynes Hall one of the most stirring sermons of modern times, so that out of the five thousand present at the delivery at least a thousand are believed to have been converted. On the following Wednesday he left his study for a moment, and went to a barn where a mule was at work on a horse-power shelling corn. Patting him on the neck, the sleeve of his silk study-gown caught in the cogs of the wheel, his arm was torn out by the roots, and in a few hours he died. Just before his death he sent the message "Stand up for Jesus!" to those assembled at the Young Men's Christian Association prayer-meeting—a message which suggested this hymn, and formed the concluding exhortation of the funeral sermon for Mr. Tyng, which was preached from Ephesians 6 : 14 by its author. It was printed as a fly-leaf for the Sunday-school scholars by the superintendent; thence it found its way into a Baptist newspaper, and afterward passed, either in its English or in translated forms, all over the world.—*Central Christian Advocate.*

Pastor or Revivalist?—Must we have a "revivalist"? Certainly, if you expect a revival, for God usually does this work through some agent or agents. Where and how can we get one? You will usually find him in your pastor, and the best way to get one is to pray for and work with your pastor.

This is true Evangelists have their place and work, but these are ordinarily not in the established churches, nor as officers in command of the settled ministry. A revival of religion is always desirable, but a revival, according to the modern idea, is too often a special effort made necessary by failure to use the means ordained of God for our spiritual advancement. Evangelists and special services and the inquiry-room make up, in part, for our neglect of the stated means of grace. The call of a modern revivalist is too often a sort of apology or penance for failure to heed the word preached week after week by settled pastors.

Desire on the part of the church for a professional revivalist indicates an already revived condition. Willingness to do the work and take the pledges he requires indicate the same thing. A certain evangelist declined to begin meetings in this city, some years ago, until two pledges had been given. The ministers must pledge themselves to attend every meeting and take part as often as possible, and a large number of church-members must pledge themselves to "attend every meeting; to urge others to attend; to talk with the inquirers; to pray for a blessing; to take part in the services, and, especially, to sing with a vim." The city or town in which ministers and other Christians sign these pledges is revived at once. More than this, the church in which any large proportion of members sign such a pledge to their pastor, can have a revival without an evangelist, and if the pledge is made perpetual, and is kept, the revival will be perpetual.—*Herald and Presbyter.*

The Office of Sickness.—Hard though it is to be withdrawn from daily duties and from the society of ordinary associates, to lie on one's bed or recline in the easy chair during a period of enforced idleness, sickness too has its uses in the divinely ordered economy of life. It helps one to take a look at daily affairs at a valuable angle of vision. Eternity is apt to come within the perspective. We see what our failings are, realize perhaps as never before our complete dependence on God, and happily, it may be, rejoice in the reality of that hope which anticipates the time when the imperfect shall have yielded to the perfect and complete. It often has a mellowing influence, like the first touch of the frost upon certain fruits, this season of ill-health, which we are often wont to heedlessly bewail. With all its inconveniences and unpleasantnesses, it may be an angel that we are harboring unawares, when kept to the invalid's room with meditation, born of our helplessness, for our companion. Like David we learn to say, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted."—*Moravian.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PHYSICAL RELIGION. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1890 by F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xii., 410.

The title, "Physical Religion," is unique, and a little startling. The leading aim of the author is to show that the earliest religions of mankind were mere ascriptions of remarkable powers and results to visible objects or physical forces; that as man rose in intellience and in moral sentiment he began to ascribe to these same forces various moral attributes. Higher and nobler characters were thus transferred to deities as they were developed in man himself, with the difference that these conceptions were raised to supernatural degrees. The principal field in which the author traces this development is the ancient Vedic literature of India, and he makes special use of Agni, the god of fire. He quotes various passages to show that the first traceable conception was that of fire as a simple agent. But as fire is beneficent or ruthless, according to its application, it gradually gave rise to the conception of character. The sun as it revives the earth suggests omnipotence, and comes to be regarded as the giver of life and the father of all things.

The Vedic hymns, no doubt, indicate these attributes, but the difficulty lies in establishing a regular gradation. Without a theory to be supported the student of the Vedas would probably never dream of a gradual evolution. The hymns were written at different periods and by various authors, some of them centuries apart. They vary according to the richness of fancy possessed by their respective authors.

Professor Müller's earlier testimony conveys the impression that the Vedic literature, instead of rising to a higher character, continually lapsed as time advanced. The later Vedas, all based upon the first, were manipulated to suit the purposes of the priesthood. In his lecture of Caste (see "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii.) he shows that no later Sanskrit hymn is to be compared to the earliest Rig Veda in its hymn to Varuna, and that most of the foul doctrines of Hinduism were of later date.

For many years Max Müller has been, next to Ebrard, a chief witness for the prevalence of monotheism in the early history of all religions, with the reserve, however, that he did not regard this as a result of a preternatural revelation.

He has waged many a battle with the evolutionists along these lines. He has maintained that there was a monotheism (vague, perhaps) before the polytheism in the Vedas; that some of the earliest Vedic poets protested against polytheism, and contended that even when various names were called, as Surya, Indra, Varuna, etc., one and the same being was intended; that before the separation of the Aryan tribes one supreme being was worshipped in common, and that their languages still show that for the Supreme *one name* is traceable, while their names of subordinate gods show ramification and variety. He has contended that among all Turanian branches of the human family—Tartaric, Finnic, Tungusic—and even among the tribes of Africa and of the Pacific islands, side by side with their worship of nature, of ancestors, and even fetiches, there is still traceable "a not altogether faded reminiscence" of one Supreme God, the Father of all men.

But the learned Oxford professor has of late shown signs of yielding to the assumptions and prejudgments of evolution as applied to religious development.

When Mr. Herbert Spencer, beginning with "simple mechanical aggregates of atoms, has traced the progress of evolution up to 'the highest product of organization—thought,' and lastly through all the complex relations which exist between thinking organisms, or society with its regulative laws both civil and moral," it only remains for him to shape all the religious phenomena of the world to his theory. Accordingly in his Sociology he attempts the heavy task of showing that even the religion of Israel grew up from the simplest germs. This method is now the fashion.

But Professor Müller has heretofore protested against the dogmatism and intolerance of the evolutionists, and the "howl of derision" which all Germany has raised against Virchow because he refuses to merely guess at the existence of the "missing link" of Darwinism. Yet the Oxford professor appears to have succumbed at last, and his "Physical Religion" is a studied attempt to show the slow development of the "Concept of God in the Veda."

We are not acute enough to see that he has made out his case. On the contrary, we venture to think that he has failed. The steps and stages seem rather constructed than discovered. The "Biography of Agni" is a fancy.

The author treats of the growth of religion under three heads: (1) *Physical Religion*, as relating to the worship of physical forces and objects—fire, sun, earth, rivers, etc.; (2) *Anthropological Religion*, or the worship of ancestors, heroes, kings, etc.; (3) *Psychological Religion*, or the ascription to imaginary deities of those attributes which man finds in his own consciousness. Out of the last of these all the highest conceptions of deity may spring without the need of a divine revelation. This is the author's conclusion.

The general tendency of the lectures is naturalistic. The fourteenth lecture disposes of the claim of the modern Buddhists that Christianity has borrowed from the legends of the Buddha, but it proceeds to show that many systems have claimed for their founders a similar setting of marvellous incidents as connected with their birth, and he seems to draw the inference that Christian believers must not seriously object if the miraculous environment is denied to Christ as well as to Buddha and Mohammed.

Lectures III. and IV. are valuable for their clear and instructive sketches of the Veda and the advances of Vedic literature.

F. F. ELLINWOOD.

NEW YORK.

GOD IN HIS WORLD. An Interpretation. New York:, Harper & Brothers, 1890. 8vo, pp. xli., 270.

The author calls his work an "interpretation" —that is, as he explains, not a speculation, but "a vision of living reality." In form it is a more or less connected series of reflections, *pensées*, distributed into three books with an introduction. The introduction, like the Vorspiel of a modern opera, contains all the leading "motifs." As there indicated, the standpoint of the writer is "Christian Realism," according to which the "divine life is shown to us only in the Real—in

Nature and in Man, and chiefly in Christ." The central theme is the Incarnation as consummating the revelation of nature, giving the key to history, and furnishing the divinest power in human experience. The theme is not new, but the working out of it is. Even the casual reader will be impressed by the originality of the book. The author is essentially a Romanticist. He has an intense abhorrence of rigid systems. To all these he opposes the living ways of nature and the Spirit. The divine life, he says, is full of surprises. The poet and the prophet, men "caught in living ways," are its interpreters, not the men of science or the theologians. To the even moderately orthodox many of his dicta will appear simply shocking. He holds, for example, that "the outward structure of faith, as ecclesiastically developed," tends to fix in the mind misconceptions of God which "would appear to be blasphemous, save as we see that they correspond to misconceptions of all life" (p. 264). There is no supernatural revelation (130), no inspiration which is not continuous with the life of God's kingdom in all ages (240); and in no case does it insure perfection (234). The test of the Spirit is "correspondence unto the divine manifestation in Nature" (199). The orthodox doctrine of the Trinity is anti-scriptural (105 f.). "There is no need of an atonement to reconcile God unto man" (138), for "Justice is not a divine attribute" (140), and the real judgment has "in it no ethical quality" (143). The sacrifice of Christ means, therefore, something different. Instead of a propitiation, it rather realizes the original idea of sacrifice—"that of a love-feast in which God is the guest and associate of man" (139). The riddance of the judicial view of sin is complete. Lapses are a part of God's plan (210). There is a sort of divine abhorrence of what we call perfection and righteousness. "To be perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect, is to be faultful according to any human standard of perfection. What we would reasonably and ethically consider a perfect world would be the sport of Nature and a subject of divine raillery" (211). Christianity is not a new divine dispensation (181), but "only the intense reinforcement of divine activities for human redemption that have been operative from the beginning" (95). It is quite in keeping with this that universal salvation is regarded as an important article of the faith (151 ff.). On the other hand, we meet with quite conservative views on some matters of biblical criticism (see *e.g.*, pp. 209 and 230), though the author is not averse to supposing that the evangelists "should tinge the record with their superstitious feeling," or shape our Lord's utterances in accordance with their own constructions (xxxv.). The one factor of the old orthodoxy which he does insist on is the reality of the Resurrection, which is to him the supreme expression of God's living power in His world (130 ff.). As to the miraculous birth, he is somewhat ambiguous (107).

As a plea for vital Christianity, the book is remarkably strong. It makes us feel intensely the pulsations of a divine life, recreative and redemptive and too large for our comprehension, in the great movements of history. It opens the eyes of our faith to behold "God now i' the world His power first made, . . . his love at issue still with sin, . . . yea, and the Resurrection and Uprise To the right hand of the throne." At the same time, we cannot share the author's antagonism to system. The intellectual life is also divine. As Hegel put it, *Denken ist auch Gottesdienst.* It is not true to say that "in the spiritual world there are no problems" (134), and still less true, that the Children of the Kingdom do not attempt the solution of any (257). The divine service of humanity furnishes, to say the least, an humble sphere for the work of the scientist and the sage, not to mention the despised theologian; for, on the one hand, civilization is not so undivine a thing in God's world as it is represented (240 f.), and, on the other, even though ministration could be—as it should not—so sharply set over against contemplation, as it is here (188), the adjustments we are called on to attempt of social relations in the Christian spirit, as a part of the ministration, require the best wisdom of reflection and experience. The childlikeness of faith is not the same as rudimentary intelligence, and man is not simply receptive, but co-operative in the divine revelation. The opinion that "logical perfection of form is a fatal defect" (xxxiv.) works badly in the case of our author, even from the literary point of view. The succession of so many brief paragraphs, each full of ideas indeed, but often abruptly introduced and sometimes rather loosely constructed, tends to obscure the continuity of what we should perhaps apologize for calling the argument. But worse; it leads, at times, to rhapsody and sentimentalism (129, 131, 134 ff.). Nevertheless the book is one which, if read once, will be likely to be read in parts many times, and this as well for its eloquent passages as for the penetrating insight of some of its startling paradoxes.

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Old Testament Studies: An Outline of Old Testament Theology. By R. V. Foster, D.D., author of "Introduction to the Study of Theology," and Professor in the Cumberland University Theological School, Lebanon, Tenn. Nashville, Tenn.: Board of Publication of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Chicago and New York: Revell, 1890. Pp. 370, $1.50.

The aim of this volume, as indicated in its subtitle, is to present in outline the facts and doctrines of Old Testament theology. It was prepared evidently for readers who desire to have a concise statement of the results of investigation, without the minute details of criticism. It is based upon the larger works of foreign and American scholars, but it is not by any means a mere compilation. The introduction contains brief essays on 1. Biblical Theology; 2. Revelation, and 3. The Relation of the Old and New Testaments to Each Other. In the body of the work the material falls under a threefold division: 1. The Pre-Mosaic Period; 2. The Mosaic Period; 3. The Period of the Prophets. The plan pursued is first to present the historical facts, and then to formulate the doctrinal contents of the revelation for each period. An exhaustive list of topics is not attempted, and the discussions are necessarily brief. The author's method is sound. He insists very properly on the principle that the interpretation of the several parts of the Old Testament should be kept within the limits of the actual knowledge of the times of which they are the product, and not be allowed to take color from the more advanced knowledge of a succeeding age. In applying this principle to the case of Abraham, the author gives a satisfactory portraiture of the Father of the Faithful, as he appears before us in the critical periods of his life. When he comes to deal with the prophetic functions he assigns the first place to the preaching element. The prophet was primarily a preacher. If he foretold future events it was because the circumstances of the times required it. The aim was moral; the purpose was didactic. The prophet used his own prediction, given to him by Jehovah, to point a lesson, to instruct, to comfort, or to warn. But the majority of prophetic utterances were not predictions. Many popular errors relative to this whole matter need to be corrected. Let the true view become general, and the study of prophecy will be the delight of many who now neglect it.

In the discussion of the sacrificial element in the Old Testament, while its typical character is admitted, the chief significance is given to its retrospective and memorial aspects (p. 241 f.).

The author deals with difficult points in a spirit of candor. His position is in the main conservative. Occasionally there is a departure from the more commonly received opinion. "Elohim" is explained as a plural, which originally designated the gods of polytheism, but was adopted by the biblical writers to denote the true God in the manifold perfections of His being (p. 119). The story of the temptation and fall of the first pair is held to be a pictorial rather than literal representation of the facts (p. 177 f.).

The style of the book is clear, but lacks somewhat in vivacity. More frequent citations of authorities, especially in cases of direct quotation, would have added to its value. We commend the book as one which teachers and older students in our Sunday-schools will find useful. If the reader do no more than peruse it once and then lay it aside, he will not have read it amiss. But he will read to better purpose if he mark the points of special interest and consult some larger work, such as Oehler's "Old Testament Theology," which is happily accessible to the English reader. The book is well printed, and has a fair index.

T. F. DAY.
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THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW. By JOHN MONRO GIBSON, M.A., D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. viii., 450. 8vo, $1.50.

This volume is one of the series called *The Expositor's Bible;* The Epistle to the Colossians, by Dr. Maclaren, was one of the first issued (in 1887); Hebrews, by Principal Edwards; Revelation, by Professor Milligan, and First Corinthians, by Dr. Dods, are among the New Testament volumes that have since appeared.

The task undertaken by Dr. Gibson is no slight one; next to Revelation the Gospel of Matthew is perhaps the most difficult book of the New Testament to interpret. Waiving all questions as to its date and sources, and its relation to the other synoptic gospels, it is plainly a book from a Jewish pen, written from a point of view that would be impossible to a modern writer, and its historic atmosphere one that can never be reproduced. The task of the exegete is sufficiently difficult, still more that of expounding this gospel in popular speech. To interpret Matthew's conception of Christ, to grasp his leading ideas and exhibit them saliently and vividly in a series of discourses—to do in the sermon what the author of Ecce Homo may be supposed to have attempted in the essay, requires rare skill as well as great learning. Dr. Gibson's opening chapter is disappointing, and leads one to question whether he apprehended at the outset either the nature or the extent of his task.

One of the best chapters is *The Prophecy on the Mount*, an exposition of our Lord's discourse concerning the Last Things in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of the gospel. The reader is led back to the proper historical view point, and made to realize the prophetic significance of the catastrophe that ended the Jewish commonwealth. The difficult word "immediately" is disposed of rather too easily, also the phrase "all these things" in xxiv. 34; these *easy* explanations of the hard places in Matthew do not stay.

We could wish that Matthew xviii., one of the most characteristic discourses in the first gospel, had received fuller treatment. Though not one of the longest, it is of the highest importance in the development of the evangelist's theme; Lange has discerned its significance, and Bruce, in his "Training of the Twelve," has given due prominence to some of its leading thoughts. The value of the present volume would have been greater if the author had stated in fuller and clearer terms his understanding of "Kingdom" and "Church" in the teaching of Christ, and their relation to the problems of modern thought and duty.

The table of contents is itself an interesting study. The titles of the chapters and the subtitles are many of them noticeably helpful to the exposition. Chapter viii. is well headed *Signs of the Kingdom.* The title of Chapter ii., *His Reception*, is less suitable. Nor do we think that "The Sermon on the Mount" is well replaced by *The Gospel of the Kingdom;* if the latter title is to be given to any one of our Lord's discourses, let it be to that contained in the third of John, the discourse with Nicodemus.

WILLIAM ARNOLD STEVENS.
ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BIBLE ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE NEW HEBRIDES. With Notices of the Progress of the Mission. By the Rev. JOHN INGLIS, D.D., F.R.S.G.S. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1890. Pp. 356.

There is an especial advantage in the careful and attractive presentation of a theme like that chosen by Dr. Inglis, both to the reader of the Bible and to the student of the mind of man. The Bible is presented in literary forms which are partly local and partly, perhaps in the main, universal. The land and the book are linked together, and much of the matter of the Old Testament and of the Gospels could manifestly have been written nowhere else than in Palestine. Much of the symbolism of parable and prophecy, and the major portion of the figurative language is most fully enjoyed and keenly comprehended after knowledge of nature and man in Syria. To large portions of mankind not a little of the teaching of prophet, apostle, and the Master must lose its point; or, at least the finer shades of meaning be lost. For example, in the Pacific islands there are neither locusts nor wild honey, and the translator's substitute—arrived at after much prayer and thought—of "cockroaches and molasses," may assist the reader, but hardly reflects actual fact. To us the matter may be one of merriment, and yet are not some of our translators' accommodations to the necessities of English readers as grotesque and far away from actual fact and Palestinian local color? What a loss it seems to us that millions of people who never saw sheep or shepherd must miss the inspiring and soothing imagery of the twenty-third Psalm, and the words of the Great Shepherd!

Here, however, the Pacific islander draws dividends from the great law of compensation, in more thorough appreciation of biblical facts and tropes which fail of their proper force in the lands of the melted glacier, where cocoanut palms may be lacking. Dr. Inglis, in this his second book, tells in an entertaining way what these compensations are. He was a missionary in that group of islands of Scottish name, comprising three fourths the area of Connecticut, and lying west of the Fiji. His lot was cast among the ebony and sandal-trees, where yams, bananas, cucumbers, cocoanuts, and sweet potatoes fed the two hundred thousand inhabitants, whose knowledge of indigenous animals was restricted to hogs, which when full grown were of the size of a rabbit. Not over fond either of soap or raiment were these people, who are now being clothed and led in their right mind to sit at the feet of Jesus. Dr Inglis naturally begins with a chapter on "Nakedness and Clothing." But if the modern savage is dressed chiefly in more or less tattooed cuticle, was not also our first-named ancestor and ancestress? And did not Simon Peter, out of fervent impetuosity to see his Master, become for the nonce like the New Hebridesian? So also, "the curse of Canaan," "Benjamin's mess," "Gideon's soldiers lapping," *sh* versus *si* in Shibboleth, "Samson and the foxes and firebrands" are all paralleled by this alert-eyed missionary. Even the nimble flea is not too humble a subject for literary treatment, though this subject and that of "ministering angels" in the next chapter but one must not be confounded in the hasty reader's mind. Other comparisons made and felicitously treated are "the hammer and the rock," "the fig-tree," "the cock crowing twice," and "the mode of treating natives." In all these the writer shows himself a student of the original languages of Scripture, as well as of the customs of his little flock and their kinsmen.

At the seventeenth chapter, or after one fourth of his text, the author describes the natural history, manners, and customs of the islands. After ten chapters, which form a readable cyclopædia of facts, we have the history of the mission, with suggestive biographical sketches. Here, as usual, we have the lights and shadows of missionary life, a record of the sure fulfilment of the divine promises of blessing to the earnest laborer in the world's harvest field, and encouragement and cheer to all who believe in the Redeemer's last command. Sad indeed is the picture of the woes inflicted by the white man's diseases, intoxicants, and destroying instruments. Throughout all his narrative the author casts many a side-light upon Scripture text, and the volume is thus throughout doubly interesting. For the pastor interested in finding fresh matter for missionary stimulus, or for the preacher seeking homiletic illustration, Dr. Inglis's work is of more than ordinary interest, and his example may be commended to other missionaries. We have here but another of the numerous reflex influences from the mission field, showing how much we who stay at home owe to our brethren toiling in the "foreign" field.

William Elliot Griffis.

Boston.

Studies in Christian Biography—St. Chrysostom and St. Augustin. By Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. Pp. viii., 158.

As stated in the preface, this is the first of a series of *Studies in Christian Biography* which Mr. Whittaker proposes to publish. A most valuable service will thus be rendered to the Christian public, and the successive volumes will be awaited with eager expectation. It is eminently fitting that these *Studies* shall be introduced to thoughtful readers by notices of the two greatest men of Christian antiquity—Chrysostom, the prince of sacred orators and exegetes in the East, and Augustin, the foremost theologian of the West, by that veteran of Patristic scholars in America, Dr. Philip Schaff.

The author's exhaustive studies, in preparation of his Church History and of the learned Prolegomena and notes of the six volumes of the works of St. Chrysostom and the eight volumes of the works of St. Augustin in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Library*, put him in closest affiliation and sympathy with the heroes whose life-story he has told so lovingly. It is this magic power of the historic imagination which causes these men to emerge from the silence and darkness of the dead past, and enact their wonderful experiences before our very eyes. So Dr. Schaff seems almost like Luther's friends, jotting down the "Table Talk," or a Boswell eagerly catching the words that fall from the lips of Johnson. He thinks their thoughts, he writhes under their agonies, he shares their triumphs, he goes with Chrysostom into his lonely banishment, he rejoices in the victories of the Bishop of Hippo. Thus are these *Studies* more charming than the best-told romance, while they bear to old and young, to the scholar and to the lay reader as well lessons of untold value. Nor does his admiration for these great men blind the author to their failings in character and theology, but, like a loving and faithful friend, he clearly reveals these to the reader, thus recognizing but one perfect life, Jesus of Nazareth.

The book should be in thousands of Christian homes and in Sunday-school libraries, to tell its wonderful story, as well as to embalm the memory of those Christian mothers, Anthusa and Monnica, by whose prayers and example these men became what they were.

Charles W. Bennett.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

History of the American Episcopal Church, from the Planting of the Colonies to the end of the Civil War. By S. D. McConnell, D.D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890. 8vo, pp. xiv., 392, $2.

A casual opening of this volume at any point where the author has occasion to speak of "the Church," meaning thereby the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, might lead one to suppose that we have to do with a man who makes the extremest of claims for his denomination. But such an assumption would be wide of the mark. Convenience, not bigotry or narrowness, has led to the choice of the term. On the contrary, this volume, in its honesty and fairness of statement, leaves little to be desired. In fact, it sometimes seems as though the author might have drawn the veil of charity over some of the shortcomings of men prominent in the denomination, and over some of the unfortunate circumstances which he has felt called upon to relate.

It is a story of intense interest which these pages contain. It is well divided into two parts, the first coming down to the War of the Revolution, and the second taking up the tale with the period of the formation of the present civil government. While the colonies existed as such, the American Episcopal Church was a neglected child of the Church of England ; but so soon as their independence became recognized, the organization became the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Herein lay in good part its weakness under the former order of things, and later its strength. So long as it was part and parcel with the Church of England it antagonized more and more the growing sentiment in favor of freedom from English control. It became more and more Tory in its sympathies and affiliations, because it was bound strongly to the then existing state of affairs. Hence its near approach to total extinction with the success of the Revolution. In the South men turned away from it, and in the East its loyal members went into voluntary exile. The associations of the Episcopate were with a state of things that was hated, and which had led finally to an appeal to arms. Then again the great loss and weakness, due to the failure to obtain the consecration of a bishop who should stand on the field with a full knowledge of its needs, had an evil effect upon the prospects of the Church. Having no effective and governing head, it fell on evil days, and was subjected to a vast variety of vicissitudes. These the author duly portrays. It is another rehearsal of the familiar story of British ignorance of and indifference to things American. It was not till after the close of the war, and then only through the Scottish nonjurors, that the Episcopate was at last brought to these shores, and then, in the person of a man who was still under British half-pay, in recognition of his former services as chaplain to the British forces.

But so soon as Independence and a stable government were assured, the position of the Church was once more clearly defined. It is bound by loyalty to the government under which it exists. When the War of the Rebellion came, bringing with it a division among the States, the Church divided along the same lines, but the division was never recognized in the North. The roll at the General Conventions was called as of yore, and Alabama headed the column. When peace came, the roll remained unchanged, and without serious jar or discord the two parts again came together to form one grand whole. Herein the organization was strong, and herein lay the beauty of the system. Instead of two churches, identical in everything except location, divided by the line which marked the civil struggle, there is but one Church, united, aggressive, and progressive. The same cause had been at once its former weakness and also its later grand source of strength and unity.

The volume contains a sketch of the history of Episcopacy in this country rather than an exhaustive treatise. It has the interest of a romance, and one is almost loath to lay it down. The author has paid attention as well to the antecedent facts as to the story proper, and we are presented with a brief but effective setting of the tale.

The style is picturesque in places, but always clear and forcible. One learns to know the man through his judgments and opinions. Sectarian bias is scarcely apparent at any point, and in this way the book is the more commendable, as it is one which is calculated to be read, not by the clergy alone, but by the laity also. It has much that will commend it to plain and sensible readers, so that its influence will be widely felt. While there are no attempts at "fine" writing, the clear and vigorous phraseology of the author is worthy of all praise. Occasionally there are expressions used which can scarcely be justified, though these are comparatively few. The sentence (p. 289), "This sort of treacle catches few flies," clenches the thought, but some will question its elegance. Another is not open to any defence from the charge of inelegance and incongruity (p. 259), "To effect this he cooked a plan which put all the bishops in a corner." The title given on page 157, "Graham, Earl of Claverhouse," is an error, for John Graham, of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee.

There are some errors of date which have been noted, and which have been corrected elsewhere by the author.

In closing, it only remains to add that the spirit of the book is such that were it to be faithfully imitated and practised, sectarian zeal and denominationalism would steal away into the darkness, and the dawn of the day of the coming of fraternal relations on a larger scale and a broader basis, if not of Church Unity itself, would soon begin to brighten the ecclesiastical sky.

CHARLES R. GILLETT.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

WILLIAM E. DODGE : THE CHRISTIAN MERCHANT. By CARLOS MARTYN. New York : Funk & Wagnalls, 1890. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 349, $1.50.

The author of this interesting volume has given a number of works to the public, but we doubt if any of them is so well calculated for usefulness as this one. Some are of a different opinion, and have asked why a statue has been erected to Mr. Dodge, or why a memoir of him should be put into a collection of noted persons, since he was not a soldier, nor a statesman, nor a scientist, nor a man of letters. The answer is to be seen in his conspicuous excellence in private life. He was a merchant prince, and attained that position not by accident or family influence, still less by unworthy means, but by industry, frugality, enterprise, and a far-seeing sagacity, by a combination of business qualities not often seen united in the same person. There are a great many merchants, but how few in the whole number attain great wealth with an honorable name. But Mr. Dodge was much more than a merchant. He was a Christian and a philanthropist, consistent in character, active in good works, and exerting an influence for good in many different directions. He did not accumulate large sums to be given away after his death, but was his own executor all through his life. Nor was he the slave of caprice or of pet schemes, but with a large and comprehensive outlook aided with voice and pen and purse every worthy enterprise that came before him. His many-sided activity was shown in Church and State, to the old and the young, to white and black, in Sunday-schools and ministerial education, in the cause of temperance, of peace, of Bible societies and tract societies, and in numberless wayside humanities. Nor was this at the sacrifice of domestic and home-bred virtues, as was said to have been the case with the honored philanthropist Howard. Mr. Dodge's family circle was the *beau ideal* of a happy Christian home, and its inmates as well as all others who crossed his threshhold bear sweet and pleasant recollections of its constant amenities.

It was well worth while to sketch the outline of such a life, to note its progress, to see its interior springs and trace its results, and this the Rev. Mr. Martyn has done with tact and skill and sympathetic emotion. We can hardly agree with him in the opinion that Mr. Dodge should have been an Abolitionist, or that his course previous to the war needed an atonement (pp. 128, 129), for the overthrow of slavery was due far more to the insensate folly of its upholders than to the efforts of those who found their meat and drink in decrying the institution. Nor can we for one moment allow that he "loved peace more than righteousness." He did all that he could in the Peace Congress and elsewhere to avoid war, but when it became inevitable, went in with heart and soul for the country, as became a man of intense patriotism. And he needs no apology. His course is the more worthy of remembrance because its good qualities are imitable. It is an excellent pattern to be set before young men, as showing how a lofty character can be built up and a Christian standard maintained through a long course of years and amid very widely different environments. In Mr. Dodge's case the child was father to the man, and the splendid consummation of riper years was but the natural development of the principles and habits adopted while yet young. For this reason it is eminently fitting that his portrait statue should stand where Broadway intersects Sixth Avenue, and that this book should be written and widely circulated. T. W. CHAMBERS.

NEW YORK.

FRANCIS WAYLAND. By JAMES O. MURRAY, Dean and Professor of English Literature in Princeton College. (American Religious Leaders Series.) Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. ix., 293, $1.25.

Dr. Wayland is one of the very best subjects for a biographer's skill. It is right also to class him among the few great American religious leaders, although he was not so much a leader in religious things as a deeply religious man who was accepted as a leader in other things. It can hardly be said that Professor Murray does him justice. He has painted a portrait with much painstaking and more than needful attention to *minutiæ*, but he has given it no background. He has studied the man too much apart from his surroundings. The impression he leaves is that we have heard inadequately of a great man, whom we would gladly know through some reporter who was himself more in sympathy with his spirit.

Dr. Wayland was essentially a man of the people and a man of affairs. His father was an English Baptist currier in New York, and a lay preacher as well. The son was reared in the painfully religious atmosphere of such a home. In 1813 he graduated at Union College, aged 17, younger than the age at which boys now enter college. He says himself, "The course was very limited. Chemistry was scarcely born; electricity was a plaything; algebra was studied for six weeks; and geology was named only to be laughed at." This was the university training of the man who, thirty years later, as President of Brown University, was to revolutionize the methods of college instruction. He whose own education had been purely classical was to be the first one to give to the physical sciences that pre-eminent place which they have long held. It is strange that the man who was most widely known while he lived as the great champion of foreign missions, the authority in moral science, the great college president who inspired his students with noble aims, should have done his abiding work almost unconsciously. His introduction of the "elective system" of study, and the change which he effected in the way of estimating the relative values of different kinds of knowledge, have effected the whole world. His moral philosophy has been long obsolete. We question if it was ever of value for anything but a mental gymnastic. It gave no satisfactory account of either the origin or the processes of the moral faculty. And yet it was probably the best extant. Its author was not in possession of adequate material from which to construct a moral philosophy, but what material he had was used with his characteristic sagacity and knowledge of the ordinary conduct of men. Our biographer has but little to say concerning this character of Dr. Wayland, in which he was best known to the public. But he has drawn a very engaging picture of the personal appearance, habits, and daily life of his subject. He looks at him always from the outside. We see little of how the world looked from Dr. Wayland's point of view, but the whole effect is pleasant. For the purpose contemplated by the publishers in projecting this popular series of "American Religious Leaders," the work is also well done. S. D. MCCONNELL.

PHILADELPHIA.

BOOK-NOTES, BY THE EDITOR.

We have received from Randolph three little things, all different and all good in their way. *A Characteristic of Modern Life*; five essays, by the author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson," etc. (25 cents), is a pretty little piece of 74 pages, having as its motto, "The great characteristic of modern life is worry." It is a helpful and brightening tract, which is intended and calculated to do much good to those who know exactly what worry is, and also to those who have experienced it but who have failed to distinguish it in its essence and true inwardness. One cannot rise from its perusal without having been uplifted by its wise and wholesome thoughts of comfort and encouragement. *Are they not Safe with Him?* by *Henry Drummond* (25 cents), is a little poem of comfort for the bereaved. It is a tender little gem, and its external form corresponds well with its internal beauty. *The Planting of the Kingdom*, a synopsis of the missionary enterprise, by *Philo F. Leavens*, D.D. (40 cents), is a little book of 48 pages, into which a vast amount of information is compressed. The main outlines of the history of missions in all lands, with the dates of the principal events placed opposite in the margin of the page, are given in the briefest form, so brief, in fact, that no one has any excuse for not knowing the main features in the progress of Christians missions since they first came into existence. The compilation is made by a most competent hand, one well known for his enthusiasm for the matter, and it is calculated to be of great value to the minister who is desirous of a sweeping glance over the whole field in preparing for the missionary talk before his congregation. As a guide to intelligent study of the subject it is worthy of all praise.

Honda the Samurai. A story of modern Japan. By *William Elliot Griffis*, D.D. (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1890. 12mo, pp. 390, $1.50.) *Paoli: the Last of the Missionaries.* A picture of the overthrow of the Christians in Japan in the seventeenth century. By *W. C. Kitchin.* With illustrations by G. A. Traver and Henry Bouche. (New York: Robert Bonner's Sons, 1890. 12mo, pp. 468, $1.) Whoever takes up the former of these volumes, expecting to find in it a "story," will be disappointed so far as anything corresponding to the ordinary understanding of that word is concerned, and whoever takes up the latter expecting anything more of an "account" of the extermination of Catholic converts than can be summed up in a very few words, will likewise meet with disappointment. Mr. Kitchin has written a "story," and Dr. Griffis has written an "account" of Japan before and during the overthrow of feudalism in the Flowery Empire. Those who read for the story's sake will choose the volume of Mr. Kitchin, while those to whom information about Japan is of interest will follow Dr. Griffis. On a very slender foundation of personal narrative, in "Honda the Samurai," we are made acquainted with a very large number of things that one wants to know about that land which was first opened to the world by the American fleet under Commodore Perry. There is only one thing that can be said in criticism of the volume, and that concerns its method. The information that one gains is disjointed and in fragments. The whole subject is not presented in a systematic way. On the other hand, it is true that this method is a direct outgrowth of the aim and scope of the book. On a framework of fact, the history and the institutions, the scenery and the customs of the land are brought before us in the form of instruction given by a father to his children, and in the experiences of the "hero" of the tale. While written for children, we have no doubt that "children of a larger growth" will find in Dr. Griffis' book many things that will both interest and instruct them. After reading its pages one is in a better position to understand the things that are reported from Japan, and to appreciate the efforts for progress making there and the elements opposing such progress.

Nunnery Life in the Church of England; or, Seventeen Years with Father Ignatius. By *Sister Mary Agnes*, O.S.B. Edited, with preface, by the Rev. W. Lancelot Holland, M.A., vicar of All Saints', Hatcham, S. E. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 207.) If the "revival of monasticism in the Church of England" had promised to extend itself in any degree, and to make many converts in this country in any of our denominations, this volume might have had the effect of alarming the average Protestant reader. Here we have the tale of one who for seventeen years was an inmate of various institutions under the charge of Ignatius, who has recently been in our midst gathering money for the support of his nunneries and monasteries. If the statements are true, they will go a long way toward convincing those who may be wavering in their opinion that monasticism under any auspices or in any form is anything but a blessing.

Our task in the present review is not to expose Ignatius or to cast obloquy upon him. Of the truth or falseness of the things charged one can only judge from the guarantee of the editor, who is vicar of a large parish in London, and from the general impression derived from a perusal of the book. It is only fair to say also by way of preface that at the start our predispositions were in his favor. Nevertheless a careful perusal of the volume has left the impression of the truth and honesty of the recital very clearly in our mind.

The avowed purpose of the book was solely to warn others from a course which cost the author dear. That, without malice or other evil intent, has finally led the author to a step from which she held back for two years.

Of the contents of the book we can give only a few particulars. Aside from the personal narrative, we find that the novice upon entering one of Ignatius' institutions has to take the three vows of "holy poverty," "holy chastity," and "unconditional obedience" to the superior, who is alleged to assert that his voice is the voice of God, so far as the novice is concerned. Who looks back after taking these vows is threatened with a curse. Conscience and reason are things exercised by the superiors alone. Confession is practised after the Romish fashion. Penance is inflicted in an arbitrary and often in a disgusting form. The literature read and the worship books used are derived from Rome. Popish doctrines—infallibility and the immaculate conception alone excepted—are taught. Mass is celebrated, in which the Romish "Ordinary" is used. Other things too numerous to mention are enumerated and amplified in this book, till one is led to inquire why such things are tolerated.

And yet we have heard the man who is responsible for these things stand in a Baptist pulpit and preach free grace through Jesus. To be sure there was a great deal of the emotional in the discourse, yet there was the kernel and truth of the Gospel.

The accomplished pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Chicago, the Rev. *John Henry Barrows*, D.D., has published recently a volume in which he maintains the thesis, "The Gospels are true histories." The book contains "*Seven Lectures on the Credibility of the Gospel Histories.* With an introduction by Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., President of The United Society of Christian Endeavor." (Boston: Lothrop, 1891, pp. ix., 146, 12mo, 75 cents.) Some of the lectures had been previously published in the weekly religious press, where they had been well received. The style of the author is bright and lucid, his facts well marshalled and forcibly stated, his statements such that they evince wide reading and sound judgment, rendering the volume one that is calculated to do good in the fields where it was intended to circulate. The drift of modern thinking is seen in one of his statements, where he differs by worlds from the position of such as Dr. Shedd: "Their [Gospels'] record may be true, even if they were not written by the men whose names they bear. Christianity may be divine, whether Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or some other persons wrote these Gospel books." Any other view would be pernicious and perilous, if not fatal.

In furtherance of the project to erect a tablet at Delfshaven to the honor of the Pilgrims and the Dutch Republic, the Congregational Club of Boston passed a resolution containing this phrase: "*Whereas*, Remembering the hospitality of the free republic of Holland so generously bestowed upon the Pilgrims. . . ." In the interests of exact historical accuracy, Dr. *William C. Winslow*, of Boston, prepared and read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society a paper entitled "*The Pilgrim Fathers in Holland.* Their condition, and their relation to and treatment by the authorities and the people, with special reference to the proposed monument at Delfshaven." (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publication Society, 1891, pp. 24, 8vo, 10 cents.) Dr. Winslow joins with Dr. Walker, of Hartford, and the late Dr. Dexter in declaring that the monument of "grateful recognition to Dutch hospitality" would be a perpetuation of a historic error. Dr. Dexter denominated it "a fancy which is in the face of history." The action taken is not due to opposition to the erection of *any* monument, but only to that inscription, which would be opposed to the plain facts, as described by certain of the Pilgrims themselves.

Dr. Winslow's showing is brief, but it is certainly sufficient to give pause to such as are not blindly committed to an erroneous "form of words."

QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

CONTENTS PAGES AND DIGESTS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS CRISIS IN JAPAN. By Mr. NOBUTA KISHIMOTO. *The Andover Review*, Boston, June, 1891.

It is the almost universal testimony of missionaries and native workers that Christian work in Japan is passing through a certain crisis. The present article is a statement of some of the important causes and the means that may well be taken to meet the condition.

The causes are twofold: first, those which are common to all Christian workers; second, those which are special to the orthodox theology of the conservative bodies. Under the first head the causes mentioned are, first, the general attention of the Japanese is engrossed in interest in politics, especially the organization of the constitution and the formation of the parliament. This, however, is not very serious, and will soon pass. The second cause is the general anti-foreign spirit aroused in connection with treaty revision. This also is temporary, and is already subsiding. The third is the misunderstanding and misapplication of the emperor's rescript on morals, which has led some Shintoists to conjecture that it is a sign of the establishment of Shintoism as the State religion, and has given a kindred idea also to the Confucian scholars. Both these are incorrect. All that the rescript does and can mean is to emphasize the importance of moral education, which, in the confusion of the introduction of Western institutions, was in danger of being forgotten. The fourth is the growing effort on the part of Buddhists to hinder the advance of Christianity. Buddhism, as the popular religion, is losing its influence among the educated. The increase of Christians is so far the decrease of Buddhist believers, and the increase of Christianity means the decline of Buddhism. Thus, Buddhist priests are resorting to every means to hinder the spread of Christianity and to maintain the supremacy of their religion. The fifth cause is the underlying and far-reaching influence of prominent and influential men, including, (*a*) Buddhists, especially teachers in the university; (*b*) the teachers of Confucianism, numerous among the officials; (*c*) those who, having studied Western materialism, positivism, and agnosticism, have been unfavorably influenced by certain ceremonies and dogmas of the Christian church; (*d*) a still larger class, who are entirely indifferent to any religious matters. The sixth, and one of the most prominent causes, is the general doubt among the common people as to whether Christianity is worthy and substantial enough to be adopted, and is due to the different forms or sects under which it has appeared in Japan. These are (*a*) the three great divisions, Romanism, Nicholaism (the orthodox Greek Church), and Protestantism; (*b*) the different sects of Protestantism, now numbering about thirty; (*c*) the introduction of the new Liberal Theology from Germany, and Unitarianism and Universalism from America. The natural consequence upon the popular mind of the fatal contradictions between these systems is that if Christianity is so disputable and unsettled, it is probably not worthy and substantial enough to be adopted instead of the religious systems of their ancestors.

II. The causes which are special to the orthodox theology of the Conservative bodies. These are (1) the new Liberal Theology of the German missionaries, which is, however, not to be confused with rationalism, the missionaries themselves not being followers of the Tübingen school. It is constructive rather than destructive. The reasons for their influence are (1) their knowledge of comparative religion, and thus of the real points of the superiority of Christianity over other existing religions; (2) their theology represents the critical and historical investigation of the philosophy of religion in Germany for more than a hundred years; (3) their intellectual ability, noble attitude, and religious spirit. The second cause is the introduction of Unitarianism and Universalism from America, which are more radical and more destructive than the new Liberal Theology of the Germans. The third cause is the liberal movement in the Orthodox churches themselves, whose hidden source is found in the emphasis laid in the traditional dogmas by strict orthodox theology. Originally weak, this has been growing, and is illustrated by the remark of a graduate of the university who had attended the summer school held in one of the missionary centres, and exclaimed in disappointment, "I had expected something better, but found there only the theology of the seventeenth century." As the influence of the new Liberal Theology and the radical influence of the Unitarians became felt, this feeling began to assert itself, especially under the lead of an influential pastor of an orthodox denomination; and although not fully developed, its character may be summed up in the phrase, "A Japanese Christianity for Japan." According to this, Christianity in that country must be built upon the foundation of the existing native civilization, and upon the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism; the absolute doctrine of the manifestation of God, the infallibility of the Bible, the vicarious atonement of Christ, the doctrine of original sin, are of comparatively little importance. What is important is the love of God, the love of Christ, to die to sin, and to repent of our transgressions. "Therefore, if one sincerely loves God, loves Christ, and loves his brother according to the commandments, then to whatever sect he may belong, or whatever may be his theological opinions, I will surely call him a true Christian." Undoubtedly such are the general features of the liberal movement of the Orthodox church in Japan; just how large a proportion of the orthodox churches come under that influence is not evident. Some missionaries are anxious, but there is no occasion for such anxiety, as the leaders of that movement are men of deep religious spirit, and will never go astray from their faith in Christ as the Saviour from God. The fourth cause of this special difficulty is the general confusion or embarrasment felt among the native preachers as to the essence of Christianity. When the doctrines of the vicarious Redemption, the Divinity of Christ, the infallibility of the Bible, etc., are regarded by some as unessential, the foundation stones seem to them to be crumbling away. Had these preachers a full Christian experience and full knowledge of historical Christianity, they might stand firm in their faith; but they find difficulties. Some lose the foundation of their faith, and some do not know what to preach. Some cannot preach anything in boldness and confidence.

Having thus considered the causes, the question comes how to meet the crisis. One way is by what may be called the "qualification method;" that is, to consider the qualifications of those who work in this field of evangelization. These are, first, a sufficient knowledge of comparative religion. In Japan Buddhism is the popular religion ; Hindoo philosophy is taught and studied ; Confucianism furnished the standard of national morality, and there is, in addition, the native Shintoism. To preach Christianity adequately and successfully in a country like Japan some knowledge of comparative religion is an absolute essential, (1) because one cannot know the real superiority of Christianity without knowing these other religions, that he may compare not only their evil side but their good side with the advantages of Christianity ; (2) because by such fair comparison only can there be obtained a firm foundation for those who are not prejudiced by circumstances ; (3) only thus can those who believe in the other systems be reached. The second qualification is familiarity with the modern religious and theological tendency of the world, as well as with that of Japan. The third and last qualification is the recognition of the fact that the first and ultimate aim of missionary work must be to *Christianize* Japan and not to *foreignize* it. Just as the Christianity of Peter is not exactly that of Paul ; of Germany not that of America ; so, that of Japan must have its own specific characteristics. The clear distinction between essentials and non-essentials must be always kept in view. All this does not militate against the essential of an earnest and intense zeal in preaching Christ and the Gospel. They are means to an end, not the end itself.

THE SETTING OF ST. PAUL'S APOLOGY. By IRVING J. MANATT, Ph.D., LL.D., U. S. Consul at Athens, Greece. *The Old and New Testament Student*, Hartford, Conn., June, 1891.

In an unusually long article for this periodical, Dr. Manatt sets forth with marked clearness and interest the peculiar advantages of the position from which the Apostle preached his famous sermon to the Athenians. Recognizing what every traveller feels, that the first impressions of the Areopagus are very disappointing, he shows how the more one looks at it and takes in all its surroundings, traditions, etc., the more he feels that a nobler site could not have been found. He first briefly glances at the traditions that gathered around this place when the first jury trial of Greek mythology was held, and then sketches the view that met the Apostle's eye as he ascended the steps and looked around upon Athens, then in her full Hellenic glory. As one after another of those grand monuments of thought and art come before the mind, from the very prison doors of Socrates, which faced him as he spoke, there seemed to come the proof that, even in the times of ignorance, "God had not left Himself without a witness" there.

THE LIFE OF FATHER HECKER. By Rev. WALTER ELLIOTT. *The Catholic World*, New York, June, 1891, Chapters 25 and 26.

These two chapters in the life of the founder of the Paulist Community give a sketch of the beginnings of that community, and Father Hecker's idea of a religious community. The ultimate principle is expressed in the following extract from his diary : "It is for this we are created, that we may give a new and individual expression of the absolute in our own peculiar character. As soon as the new is but the re-expression of the old, God ceases to live. Ever the mystery is revealed in each new birth ; so must it be to eternity. The eternal absolute is ever creating new forms of expressing itself." This new order is to be found by observing men's strivings after natural good. A few quotations will give some conception of the general idea. "A new religious order is an evidence and expression of an uncommon or special grace given to a certain number of souls to meet the special needs of their epoch, and unless its activity is directed chiefly to supplying those special needs, it will decline and fail. The true Paulist is dependent entirely on God for his spiritual life, and aims at a Christian perfection consistent with his natural characteristics and the type of civilization of his country. . . . Individuality is an integral and conspicuous element in the life of the Paulist." The whole chapter should be read by any one desirous of studying a most significant movement among the Roman Catholics of America.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MODERN CRITICISM, by HAMILTON W. MABIE, in *The Andover Review*, Boston, June, 1891, is a most interesting article, sketching the development of criticism under the influence of the inductive method. The older criticism involved the idea of a fixed and formal set of laws constituting an art, and was based on standards which were supposed to be exact and final. The later involves the idea of the growth of literature with the growth of man, the essential element being, not conformity to a rigid order of form, but soundness and veracity of thought and beauty and flexibility of expression, and modern criticism seeks especially the fact and the law of life and art, which form the basis of growth.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH : ITS ORGANIZATION AND DOCTRINES. By Rev. J. L. BARTON. *Missionary Herald*, June, 1891.

In ecclesiastical matters the Armenian Church began at A.D. 551 as the year one, and from that period they reckon time. This is the date found in nearly all old manuscripts of the church.

LEADING DOCTRINES. 1. They separated from the original church upon the question of one nature and one person of Christ ; the Armenians accepted the doctrine which had been condemned by the general council.

2. They believe the Spirit proceeds from the Father only.

3. They accept seven sacraments, although baptism, confirmation, and unction are intermingled in practice.

4. They immerse infants, eight days old or less, three times, and offer to them the communion.

5. They accept fully transubstantiation, and worship the consecrated elements as God.

6. They use unleavened bread, which is dipped in the wine and given to the people, who receive it into the mouth from the hand of the priest.

7. They pray for the dead, but deny purgatory.

8. They practice auricular confession to the priest, who imposes penance and grants absolution, but gives no indulgences.

9. They pray to the Virgin and to saints, and have great faith in the mediation of these ; with the Greeks, they reject images and accept pictures.

10. They believe in the perpetual virginity of "the Mother of God."

11. They regard baptism and regeneration as the same thing, and have no practical conception of a new birth apart from this. All are saved who partake of all the sacraments, do proper penance, observe the fasts of the church, and perform good works.

12. Original sin is removed by baptism ; actual sin by confession and penance.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

Boston, June.

Christianity a Religion of Hope.
Philip S. Moxom, D.D.
The Significance of Modern Criticism.
Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie.
The Present Religious Crisis in Japan.
Mr. Nobuta Kishimoto.
What is Reality ? Part XI. The Philosophy of the Unconscious.
Rev. Francis H. Johnson.
The Gospel of Wealth Prof. Tucker.
Editorial.
  " Christianity in Its Lowest Terms."
  The Significance of the Recent Episcopal Election.
  An Inconsistent and Useless Procedure—The Trial of Dr. Briggs.
  A Communication—Christian Nationalism.
Biblical and Historical Criticism.
  Can there Be no Davidic Psalms in the Psalter ? Prof. Steenstra.
Social Economics.
  The Outline of an Elective Course of Study. Part III. Pauperism.
  Prof. Tucker.
  Krüger's Die Apologieen Justin's des Märtyrers.

NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW.

New Haven, Conn., June.

The Barrundia Affair.
Hon. Anthony Q. Keasbey, Newark, N. J.
Labor's War on Labor.
Linton Satterthwait, Trenton, N. J.
The Feudal System of Japan Compared with that of Europe.
M. Ichihara, Yale University.
Canadian Reciprocity within the Union.
Hon. Joseph Sheldon, New Haven.
First Impressions of China.
Edwin E. Aiken, Pekin, China.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

New York, June.

The Lady of Erin.
Rev. Edward McSweeny, D.D.
Deus Lux Mea! Rev. Hugh T. Henry.
Scope and History of the Talmud.
Elizabeth Raymond-Barker.
The Indians of Canada.
J. A. J. McKenna.
Chunky. Edith Brower.
Some Plain Words with Agnostics.
Rev. Chas. Warren Currier, C.SS.R.
The Witness of Science to Religion.
Rev. William Barry, D.D.
A Question of Growth.
F. C. Farinholt.
The Warfare of Science.
Very Rev. Augustine F. Hewitt.
The Life of Father Hecker.
Rev. Walter Elliott.
  Chapter XXV.—Beginnings of the Paulist Community.
  Chapter XXVI.—Father Hecker's Idea of a Religious Community.
A Convert from Judaism. C. S. H.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDENT.

Hartford, Conn., June.

Editorial.
  The Bible a Book of Life.
  Frequent Blindness to this on the Part of Scholars.
  The Prophetic Ideal of God.
  Its Bearing upon the Prophetic Histories.
  Common Sense of the Biblical Writers.
The Setting of St. Paul's Apology.
Irving J. Mannatt, Ph.D., LL.D.
The Old Testament Society in Berlin.
Mr. Lewis B. Paton.
The Historical Element in Prophecy ; Its Relation to the Divine Element.
Wellesley Students.
Higher Criticism. Mr. V. M. Olyphant.
The Gospel of John.
Wm. R. Harper and Geo. S. Goodspeed.
" Judaism and Christianity."
Prof. P. D. Lyon, Ph.D.
Biblical Notes.
  The Plural " Us " in Genesis l. 26.
  Chronology of Paul's Life.
  The Vulgate Old Testament.
  The Common Language of Palestine in Our Lord's Time.
Synopses of Important Articles.
  Immanuel.
  Prophecy and Fulfilment (Isaiah vii. 14–17 ; viii. 8 ; ix. 5–7).
Book Notices.
  Morrison's The Jews under Roman Rule.
The American Institute of Sacred Literature.

THE UNITARIAN REVIEW.

Boston, June.

Liberal Orthodoxy. By the Editor.
Aristotle's Politics.
Charles Chauncy Shackford.
A Man without a Country.
D. H. R. Goodale.
The New Education: Manual Training in Schools. Edward A. H. Allen.
The Gospel according to Herbert Spencer.
Henry C. Badger.
Literary Criticism : Brain-sickly Literature. F. O. Eggleston.
Correspondence : A Word from the South.
Editor's Note Book : A Change of Air ; A Memorial Word ; From Australasia.

THE YOUNG MAN.

London, June.

"The Young Men of To-day : What I Think of Them."
By Hulda Friederichs.
" A Lucky Hit." New Serial Tale.
By Edward Garrett.
The Philosophy of Pleasure.
By Frederick A. Atkins.
Four Magnificent Resolutions.
By Reuben Thomas, D.D., of Boston.
A Trip to Wonderland.
.By Dr. Thain Davidson.
Jesus Christ and the Young Man.
By Dr. Parker.
Echoes from the Study.
By W. J. Dawson.
The Ideal Husband.
Science up to Date.
By Frank Ballard, M.A.
The World of Business.
Sport and Play.
Our American Mail.
Leaders in Thought and Action.
  V. The Venerable Archdeacon Farrar, D.D. With Character Sketch by the Rev. H. R. Haweis.

THE SUNDAY AT HOME.

London, June.

Galileo Galilei. The Story of a Supposed Conflict between Science and Religion.
By the Rev. Henry James Piggott, B.A. Illustrated by W. H. J. Boot, and others.
Our Street. Serial Story.
By Leslie Keith, Author of "Of all Degrees," " Great Grandmother Severn," etc. Illustrated.
A Modern Apostle.
By Prof. W. Garden Blaikie, DD., LL.D.
French Religious Life and Thought.
  III. Ministerial Training.
  IV. Inner Life. With illustrations.
Invalid Children. By Anne Beale.
Jewish Proverbs in the Early Christian Centuries. By W. Taylor Smith.
Some Gleanings from " Old Humphrey's" Letters.
The Story of Mr. Kong.
By the Rev. John M'Gowan, Amoy.
Christ and the Speculative Inquirer.
The Methods of Divine Love.
By the Rev. J. T. L. Maggs, B.A.
A Morning Hymn. By Sydney Grey.
A Children's Hymn.
By F. St. John Corbett.
Old and Young.
Bunny's Birthday. Chapters IV.–VII. A Story for the Young.
By Evelyn Everett Green, Author of " A Child Without a Name," etc.
Religious Record of the Month.
Scripture Exercises for the Young.
Frontispiece. — " Abide with Me ; Fast Falls the Eventide."

THE FOREIGN CHURCH CHRONICLE AND REVIEW.

London, June.

Archbishop Magee on the Work of the Anglo-Continental Society.
The Oxford Movement.
Père Didon's " Life of Christ."
Bishop Reinken's Seventieth Birthday.
A German " Familienabend."
German Theology.
Armenian Rejection of Papal Authority.
The Fellowship of Churches.

THE NEWBERY HOUSE MAGAZINE.

London, June.

The Oxford Movement.
By Rev. Nicholas Pocock, M.A.
The Historical Churches of England.
  IV. Battle Abbey and Parish Church. Illustrated.
By Rev. H. Hayman, D.D.
" Virginie's Husband."
By Esmé Stuart.
" St. Bride's Well."
By Maggie Symington.
Prison Missions. By Anne Beale.
Welsh Weddings. With Facsimiles of " Bidding Letters." By Mrs. Somerset.
"Changed Lots ; or, Nobody Cares." Illustrated. Chapters XX. End.
By Frances Armstrong.
Stories of the Lives of the Saints for Children (concluded).
By Mrs. Molesworth
Sermon Outlines for June.
Biblical Questions for Competition.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD.

New York, July.

Literature of Missions.
  Missionary Money—Quality and Quantity. Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D.
  Letters from Abroad—II. Herrnhut : The Home of Moravian Missions.
  Delavan L. Pierson.
  The Present Crisis of Missions.
  The Relation of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor to the Church. Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D.
  The Epoch of Organization. Editorial.
  The Opium Curse. Jas. E. Mathieson.
  The Miracles of Missions. No. XIX. Hawaiian Islands. Editorial
  The Political Check in Japan.
  Rev. D. S. Spencer.
  Extracts and Translations from Foreign Periodicals. Rev. C. C. Starbuck.
International Department. Edited by Rev. J. T. Gracey, D.D.
  Shall We Have Another General Missionary Conference ? Editorial—J.T.G.
  Shall Islam Rule Africa ?
  Rev. Samuel C. Barnes, D.D.
  A Glance at Chinese Worshippers.
  Rev. J. L. Stuart.
  The Ribbon Missionary Map.
  Rev. G. L. Wharton.
  The Monthly Concert of Missions.
  General Missionary Intelligence.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, June.

Is the Apostolic Liturgy Quoted by St. Paul ?
Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D.
A Survey of the Synoptic Question. 5. New Hypotheses.
Rev. Prof. W. Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
Habakkuk.
The late Rev. Prof. W. G. Elmslie, D.D.
The Secret and the Reward of Constancy.
Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D.
The Aramaic Gospel. Indications of Translation (*continued*).
Rev. Prof. J. T. Marshall, M.A., Manchester.
Brevia :
  Book-jewels. 1 Kings x. 22. Isaiah xix. 18. Tatian's "Diatessaron."
  Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Canon of Rochester.
  Critical Note on Psalm cxix. 122.
  Rev. E. H. Sugden, B.A.

CONTENTS OF JULY MAGAZINES.

Harper's contains, as its frontispiece, a portrait of Oliver Wendell Holmes. W. D. Howells starts his new novel, "An Imperative Duty." Rev. J. M. Buckley, D.D., discusses "Christianity and Socialism." Theodore Child's South American paper for this month is "The Republic of Paraguay." Colonel Dodge has his third paper on "Some American Riders." Mr. Janvier contributes another local sketch, the scene of which is laid in the Spanish quarter of New York. "The Warwickshire Avon" series is concluded. Walter Besant writes of Saxon and Norman London. Mr. Du Maurier continues his "Peter Ibbetson." Brander Matthews has an article on "Briticisms and Americanisms." Mr. Curtis writes about Dr. Holmes.

Lippincott's has the following contents: "A Rose of a Hundred Leaves," by Amelia Barr; "Physical Culture," by Edwin Checkley; "A Surprise to Mr. Thompson Byers," by Richard Malcolm Johnston; "Rosebud and Rose," by Henry Collins; "The Future of Cuba," by Frank A. Burr; "Triumph," by Helen Gray Cone; "English and American Newspapers," by Alfred Balch; "A Shield and a Helmet," by Frances Courtenay Baylor; "Sunshine and Rain," by Charles Henry Lüders; "The Vengeance of Padre Arroyo," by Gertrude Franklin Atherton; "Talleyrand and Posterity," by C. R. Corson; "Some American Changes," by James W. Gerard; "Overthrown," by Charlotte Mellen Packard; "Death-Damp," by Felix L. Oswald; "Anger," by Douglas Sladen; "Captain Charles King and his Army Stories," by Major William H. Powell; "The Dodder," by Charles McIlvaine; "Some New Books," by H. C. Walsh; "With the Wits."

Scribner's for July continues its steamship series of articles with A. E. Seaton's "Speed in Ocean Steamers." Professor John H. Wigmore, of the University of Tokio, gives his impressions of the first national election in Japan. There is a posthumous story by John Elliott Curran, entitled "My Uncle Dick." Foster Crowell writes of "An Engineer's Glimpse of Hayti." Jacob A. Riis, author of "How the Other Half Lives," contributes a description of the Danish town of Ribe, where he was born. George L. Catlin, U S. Consul at Zurich, writes a Swiss village story entitled "The Chimes of Wallekikon." There are two sporting articles, Paul van Dyke's paper on "Izard Hunting in the Spanish Pyrenees" and Mr. Holdeis, on the Black Sea Bass Fishing on the Pacific Coast.

The Cosmopolitan has the following contents: "London Charities," by Elizabeth Bisland; "A Modern Crusade," by C C. Waddle; "Trout Fishing in the Lamentides," by Kit Clarke; "The Diamond Fields of South Africa," by E. J. Lawler; "Two Modern Knights Errant," by James Grant Wilson; "Submarine Boats for Coast Defence," by W. S. Hughes; "At the Dam of San Marko," by Alva Milton Kerr: "The Art of Embroidery," by Allda G. Radcliffe; "Ostrich Farming in California," by Emma G. Paul; "Country Life in Honduras," by Gertrude G. de Aguirre; "The Elixir of Pain (concluded), by H. H. Boyesen; "Falcons and Falconry," by T. S. Blackwell; "Current Events," by Murat Halstead; "Social Problems," by E. E. Hale; "Concerning Three American Novels," by Brander Matthews; poems by D. D. Ringeling, D. Osborne, and W. B. Allen.

Littell's Living Age The numbers of *The Living Age* for the weeks ending June 6 and 13 contain "The Rewards and Responsibilities of Medical Practice," *London Quarterly*; "Italian Secret Societies" and "Wit in the Pulpit," *Contemporary*; "Legal and Constitutional Aspects of the Lynching at New Orleans," by James Bryce, M.P., *New Review*; "Sarsfield: A Jacobite Rapparee" and "Through Chinese Spectacles," *Temple Bar*; "John Murray and His Friends," *Blackwood*; "Memoir of John Murray," by Mr. Gladstone, *Murray's*; "On Autographs," *Longman's*; "Statesmen of Europe: France," *Leisure Hour*; "The Mafia in Sicily, *Speaker*; "The Secret of Delphi," *Spectator*; "The Madeira of the Pacific," *Chambers'*; "Destruction of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt," *Academy*; "The Body of Sir Francis Xavier," *Times of India;* with instalments of "In the Park," "La Bella," and "Sweet Nancy," and poetry.

For fifty-two numbers of sixty-four large pages each (or more than 3300 pages a year) the subscription price ($8) is low; while for $10.50 the publishers offer to send any one of the American $4 monthlies or weeklies with *The Living Age* for a year, both postpaid. Littell & Co., Boston, are the publishers.

The Century has the following contents: Portrait of Horace Greeley, frontispiece; "A Day at Laguerre's," by F. Hopkinson Smith; "Provençal Bull Fights," by Joseph Pennell; "Restraint," by Margaret Crosby; "Mr. Cutting, the Night Editor," by Ervin Wardman; "Italian Old Masters:" Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli, by W. J. Stillman (with engravings by T. Cole); "Chatterton in Holborn," by Ernest Rhys; "General Miles's Indian Campaigns," by Major G. W. Baird; "July," by Henry Tyrrell; "Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln," an unpublished address by Horace Greeley; "The Squirrel Inn," III., by Frank R. Stockton; "Love Letters," by C. P. Cranch; "The Faith Doctor," VI, by Edward Eggleston: "Across the Plains in the Donner Party (1846)," by Virginia Reed Murphy; "Arrival of Overland Trains in California in '49," by A. C. Ferris; "A Fourth Survivor of the Gold Discovery Party;" "At the Harbor's Mouth," by Walter Learned; "The Force of Example," by Viola Roseboro'; "For Helen," by Grace H. Duffield; "A Lunar Landscape," by Edward S. Holden; "The Drummer" (pictures by Gilbert Gaul), by Henry Ames Blood; "Tao: The Way." an Artist's Letters from Japan, by John La Farge; "Paris, the Typical Modern City," by Albert Shaw. Under the "Topics of the Time" department are discussed: "A Nation for a Mortgage," "The New York of the Future," "Journalists and Newsmongers" again. The "Open Letters" are: "Conscience in Journalism," by Eugene M. Camp; "The Disputed Boundary between Alaska and British Columbia (with map)," by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore; "Similar Musical Phrases in Great Composers," by Richard Hoffman; "Talleyrand;" "An Incident of General Miles's Indian Campaigns." There is the usual clever and amusing "Bric-à-Brac."

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[Any of these books may be ordered through the Christian Literature Co.]

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Armknecht, O. Die Hoffnung der Kirche und ihre Bedeutung für das christliche Leben. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1891. Pp. iv., 132, 8vo, 1.50 mk.

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Babut, C. E. Sermons. 1re et 2e séries. (Le sommaire de la loi; caractères de la trenfaisance chrétienne; Agonie de Jésus à Gethsémané, etc.; Le Temoignage que Jésus-Christ se rend à luimême; Pecheurs d'hommes; les Liens de Satan; le Jour du salut; les Biens de Dieu et ceux du monde, etc.) Paris: Grassart, 1891. 2 vols. Pp. vi., 320; viii., 319, 16mo.

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CHRONICLE.

May 13. First Convention of Christian Endeavor Societies in England, held at Crewe, Cheshire.

May 21–June 1. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met at Detroit. The report of the Committee on the Revision of the Westminster Confession was received, and the changes recommended were referred to the Presbyteries for action. They will come up for final action at the next General Assembly. The report of Union Theological Seminary, New York, announcing the transfer of Professor Briggs, was referred to the Committee on Theological Seminaries, together with a large number of overtures from different Presbyteries, urging special action by the Assembly in disapproval of the appointment. The committee recommended that the Assembly express its disapproval of the appointment, and appoint a committee to confer with the directors of Union Seminary in regard to their relation to the General Assembly. After a long and earnest discussion on this report, and some amendments looking toward the delay of action by the

Assembly in view of the claim by the Seminary that the case did not come within the jurisdiction of the Assembly, the report was adopted by a vote of 448 to 60. The moderator of the Assembly was Professor William H. Green, of Princeton, and the chairman of the Committee on Theological Seminaries was President Francis L. Patton, of Princeton. The Assembly also decided in favor of the open Bible instead of the serpents on the cross as the central symbol of the Church's seal.

The directors of Union Seminary, at a meeting held soon after the close of the General Assembly, took action expressing their opinion that they must abide by their decision in regard to Professor Briggs. It is thought that this action foreshadows a separation of the Seminary from the General Assembly.

May 22. The full text of the Papal Encyclical on the Socialist and Labor Questions appears at Rome.

May 24. The General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was held at Lebanon, Pa. The most important question was that of the Catechism, in regard to which there had been much discussion, one party charging the other with sacramentalism, and the other returning the charge of rationalism. The so-called sacramentalists carried the day for a development of the catechism which should bind the Lutheran churches more closely together, though denying any favor to sacramentalism.

May 27. The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, which met at Princeton, Ind., declined to take any part in the preparation of a consensus of faith for the Presbyterian Church, and appointed a committee to consider how the theological seminaries may be brought under the control and supervision of the Assembly.

May 28. The Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly at Owensboro, Ky., resolved to co-operate with Presbyterian churches in the forming of a consensus creed, and declined to take up the question of the formal recognition of Jesus Christ in the National Constitution.

May 31. The Metropolitan Museum, in New York, opened to the public for the first time on Sundays.

June 4. The General Synods of the Reformed (German and Dutch) Churches convened, the former at Philadelphia, Pa., and the latter at Asbury Park, N. J. The most important action at each was the adoption of Articles of Constitution and Federal Union between the two churches. These articles preserve the individual character of the churches, but look toward the conduct of their home and foreign missions, Sunday-school work, literature, new educational enterprises and similar matters by an ecclesiastical assembly to be known as the Federal Synod of the Reformed Churches.

June 10. The Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church at Pittsburgh decided, by a vote of 95 to 37, to expel five ministers who signed a declaration that " Persons who make a credible profession of Christ should be received into church membership on the acceptance of our testimony and terms of communion without binding them to our explanation in the matter of political dissent and other questions." Immediately on the vote all the suspended ministers left the church. A number of other prominent ministers also announced their withdrawal from the Church.

June 13. A Roman Catholic priest, Father Mollinger, draws a large number of pilgrims to Pittsburgh, Pa., by his reputed gifts of healing.

June 18. The Rev. Dr. Isaac L. Nicholson, of Philadelphia, elected Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Milwaukee, on the eleventh ballot, about midnight. His election is regarded as a victory for the High Churchmen.

Remarkable religious interest in St. Louis, under the preaching of Dr. B. Carradine.

The Rev. Dr. Charles J. Little, of Syracuse (N. Y.), University, has accepted a call to the Chair of Historical Theology, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

The Rev. Melancthon W. Jacobus, of Oxford, Pa., has been called to the Chair of New Testament Theology, in Hartford Theological Seminary (Congregational).

The Rev. Dr. F. T. Gailor, Chancellor of the University of the South, was elected to the vacant bishopric of Georgia, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, but has declined.

A majority of the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church have approved the election of Phillips Brooks as Bishop of Massachusetts. It remains for the House of Bishops to give their consent.

At the Seventy-first General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem at Philadelphia word was received from the General Church in Pennsylvania that they must withdraw from the General Convention.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (South) met at Birmingham, Ala. The most prominent questions debated were as to the qualifications for licensure and ordination. Various Presbyteries have sought changes in the laws of the Church on these points, but they were declined.

The successor of the late Dr. Magee, in the archbishopric of York, is the Rt. Rev. William Dalrymple Maclagan, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield. Dr. Maclagan, who is a Scotchman, was appointed to Lichfield in 1878, to succeed Bishop Selwyn. The appointment is very well received in England.

OBITUARY.

Breckinridge, Judge S. M., at Detroit, Mich, May 28. He had just finished an address recommending the General Assembly to " disapprove " of the appointment of Professor Briggs in Union Theological Seminary, and as he uttered the words, " I feel that I have discharged my duty faithfully and I ask you to excuse me from further —" he fell dead from a stroke of apoplexy.

Berry, Rev. J. Romeyn, D.D., A prominent minister of the Reformed (Dutch) Church at Kingston, N. Y., immediately after taking a prominent part in securing Federal Union with the Reformed (German) Church, at Asbury Park, N. J., June 5th.

Knight, Rt. Rev. Dr. Cyrus Frederick, Bishop of Milwaukee at Milwaukee, Wis., June 8th.

CALENDAR.

July 7. There will be a meeting of Baptist young people in the Second Baptist Church, Chicago, to form a Baptist national organization for young people in Baptist churches; and to adopt measures to extend and develop State and local church societies, with the view to the education of our young people in denominational principles and work.

We invite societies of young people, of whatever name or organization, to send delegates to the convention, and Baptist churches having no young people's society are also invited to send delegates from their young people, for the purpose of forming such national organization. The number of delegates is not limited.

Let every Baptist young people's society and every church where no society exists send a large delegation. This will be a meeting of great interest.

F. L. Wilkins, D.D., Chairman; Rev. O. W. Van Osdel, Secretary; Mr. J. O. Staples, Treasurer of the Executive Commitee.

July 9. International Christian Endeavor Convention, Minneapolis, Minn.

July 13. International Congregational Council, London, England.

July 15. Tenth National Temperance Convention, Saratoga, N. Y.

August 12–16. The Nineteenth Congress of the Young Men's Christian Associations of all countries, at Amsterdam, Holland. Each country will send delegates in the proportion of one delegate to every five local associations.

August 18. Second National Temperance Congress, Prohibition Park, Staten Island, N. Y.

THE

MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. AUGUST, 1891. No. 5.

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

THE MINISTRY AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR FRANK HUGH FOSTER, PH.D., OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE higher criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures has been made a fresh issue in Presbyterian and Congregational churches by the recent inaugural address of Dr. Briggs upon assuming charge of the new department of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary. The address has been met with a storm of criticism and condemnation, in which only the New York *Evangelist*, among papers of repute for orthodoxy, has had much good to say for Professor Briggs. Most of this criticism has been crude and hasty, prepared under the necessity of treating the subject in the editorial of the coming week, and is really worthless ; and yet the views which Dr. Briggs holds, and which have found partial expression in the address, are sufficiently startling to one not accustomed by considerable study to a conception of the matters concerned quite apart from the traditional one. The tendency in the theological world is immediately to pronounce them impossible, because they seem to attack and seriously to imperil the very foundations of our belief in the Scriptures.

And, indeed, the higher criticism does directly attack the foundations of the usual argument for the divine authority of the Scriptures. That argument, as it has been conducted among us for now more than one hundred years, has been almost exclusively rational. It has begun with the need of man for a revelation, and the benevolence of God inclining him to supply every essential need of his creatures, as creating an antecedent probability that there will be a revelation. Then the genuineness of the various writings has been proved, including the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Then their authenticity. And then, upon the argument thus built up, their divine authority. Now, knock out the layer of argument comprised under the head of genuineness, as the higher criticism attempts to do with respect to the so-called writings of Moses, at least, and the whole superimposed argumentative structure falls to the ground. No wonder, then, that orthodox ministers should be eager to oppose a style of treatment of this momentous theme which seems forever to destroy that which is dearer to them than even life—the divine authority of the Bible, the Church, and religion. The case seems prejudged, and on the very best grounds, before it is fairly brought into court.

Now, it is evident that in this frame of mind an earnest man, who values his convictions, is unable to consider the question presented by the higher criticism, if such a question there really be, with an unprejudiced, candid, and impartial mind. There is such a question evidently ; for the earnestness of many men in promoting such studies must have some ground. Then, the appearance of Dr. Briggs, the product of one of our schools, and the pupil of Henry B. Smith, himself a man of warm evangelical spirit and of profound learning in widely separated departments of theology, as an advocate of the criticism, puts a new face upon the subject. It is no longer a Wellhausen, whose almost profane expressions at some points render it impossible to believe in his piety or qualifications for the task he has undertaken, who represents the science, and at the same time furnishes the best of reasons for doubting its soundness and value. The advocate is one of ourselves, who accepts the supernatural as fully as we do. Even if he accepts critical results which have at first sight the worst appearance to us, we must learn to put aside our repugnance to them, and examine them candidly ; and yet just this, the candid and impartial, unbiassed investigation, is what it is difficult, exceedingly difficult to give.

I wish, now, in the present essay to show that the alarm we all naturally feel when we see the criticism attacking the very foundations of the argument for the authority of the Scriptures is needless, because the criticism does not attack them. I shall endeavor to do this by showing that the whole style of argument adopted among us, and sketched above, is a false style of argument, that it is not that upon which, as an actual fact, we depend as Christians for our conviction that the Bible is the Word of God, and that consequently our alarm is unnecessary and illogical. And when I have thus removed our natural alarm, I hope to show that the criticism in one of its worst forms—that of Hermann Schultz—leaves us everything in the Old Testament which we want for our Christian system, and thus I hope we shall come where we can pursue the criticism, or permit others to pursue it for us, with candor and calmness, and with confidence that, in the end, all will come out as it should.

The style of argument which we have adopted is not that upon which, as a fact, Christians accept their Bible. The Bible is accepted by all classes of Christians—by the young, the illiterate, and the weak; for the most part by those who know nothing about the argument from genuineness and authenticity, and in fact never heard those words. Yet they are ready to venture their lives upon their faith, and have done so from the Bishop Polycarp to the slave Blandina. What does convince them? I reply, The testimony of the Holy Spirit.

When a man is converted he experiences a change in his knowledge as well as in the character of his choices. He comes in conversion, however it may be brought about historically, in contact with the real converting power, which is God. He experiences the doctrines of grace; knows he was a sinner; knows that he is a believer; knows the agency of God in bringing this about; knows the sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit; and knows of the judgment to come. These things, however conveyed to him, he knows by an independent and absolute knowledge.

Now there comes to him a book, the Bible. It is a unique book in the Church, and is at once recognized as such. He sees immediately in it these great truths which he has learned and now knows beyond a peradventure to be divine. He says that the Book containing them is also divine. He knows this at first in a general sense; but he studies the book, and from it new truths come forth which are also incorporated into his experience, and which become objects of independent and absolute knowledge. And thus, as he goes on in the Christian life, he becomes more and more sure that the Bible is as a whole, and without adulteration or exception, the Word of God, perceiving this just as he does that the driven snow is white or the springing grass green. The Spirit has illuminated him with the very light of God, and in that light he sees without argument that the Scriptures are the Word of God. It is a repetition of the ancient knowledge, which Jesus testifies his disciples had, when he says: "My sheep know my voice."

I have said that this is the actual argument upon which the Christian accepts the divine authority of the Bible; but I am now ready to advance to the statement that this is the great argument which our historic Protestant theology has till recently, with one consent, recognized and employed as its staple defence of the Scriptures. I might quote Augustine, who says that the Truth speaking within him, without organs of mouth or tongue, testified to the divine authority of Moses. But I will begin with the first great Reformer, Martin Luther. He at first accepted the Scriptures because they were undisputed in the Church, and waged his battle against the errors of Romanism by their help as accepted authority. But he soon saw that there was need of some other authority than that of the Church, since if he accepted such authority for the Scriptures, he must also accept it for their interpretation. Hence he sought a new basis for the doctrine, and he found it in the internal testimony of the Spirit. He says: "The true hearer of the divine Word can add thereto that it is not the word of man, but of a certainty the Word of God; for God teacheth him inwardly; he is drawn by the Father." And again he says: "I must have God's own Word; I want to hear what God says. . . . Therefore from the Word which God teaches none shall separate me; and I must know that as certainly as I know that three and two make five." *

The early systematic divines among the Reformers paid little attention to the proof of the Scripture. Melanchthon never discusses it. Calvin in the first edition of his Institutes said little or nothing about it. And so the doctrine of the testimony of the Holy Spirit received no further expression till, in his last edition of 1559, Calvin, who had implied it in former editions, now determined, with reference to the same

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* See Dr. Simon's article on *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, Bibliotheca Sacra, 1891, pp. 27ff.

claims of Rome which Luther had endeavored to meet by its use, to set it forth fully and finally. He wrote: "But with regard to the question, How shall we be persuaded of its divine original unless we have recourse to the decree of the Church? This is just as if any one should inquire, How shall we learn to distinguish light from darkness, white from black, sweet from bitter? For the Scripture exhibits as clear evidence of its truth as white and black things do of their color, or sweet and bitter things of their taste." Later he adds: "Let it be considered, then, as an undeniable truth, that they who have been inwardly taught by the Spirit feel an entire acquiescence in the Scripture, and that it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence, and ought not to be made [what a rebuke to the theological methods of the middle of the nineteenth century!]—ought not to be made the subject of demonstrations and arguments from reason; but it obtains the credit which it deserves with us by the testimony of the Spirit. . . . It is such a persuasion, therefore, as requires no reason; such a knowledge as is supported by the highest reason, in which indeed the mind rests with greater security and constancy than in any reasons; it is, finally, such a sentiment as cannot be produced but by a revelation from heaven. I speak of nothing but what every believer experiences in his heart, except that my language falls far short of a just explication of the subject." *

These words of Calvin gave the doctrine immediate symbolic authority, for we find it incorporated in the same year (1559) in the French Confession, and in 1561 it was introduced into the Belgic Confession. It was immediately taken up in Germany by the Lutheran divines, and Hunnius, Hutter, Hollaz, Baier, and others set it forth; while a long line of Calvinists upon the Continent culminated in Turretine and Heidegger; and in England Whitaker employed it in the same way as Luther and Calvin (1588), and was followed by Ussher, Lyford, and others, till in that country it was also made symbolic by its incorporation into the Westminster Confession. The Confession says: "The authority of Holy Scripture . . . dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God. . . . Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts." † And through the Confession it passed into our own New England Edwards.

I shall quote somewhat at length from Edwards, because, though Hopkins (1793) says that "the highest internal evidence is fully discerned only by the humble, honest mind, which is disposed to relish, love, and receive the truth. To such the true light shines from the Holy Scriptures with irresistible evidence, and their hearts are established in the truth. They believe from the evidence they have within themselves, from what they see and find in the Bible;" * and though Pond (1866) says: "This argument has more weight, probably, than every other with Christians in common life," † it may be said in general that the argument disappeared from New England theology with its statement by Edwards. Hopkins lays no weight upon it, Pond adds it as a mere appendage, Park never mentioned it, nor did Finney, I judge. Edwards, then, says: "He that truly sees the divine, transcendent, supreme glory of those things which are divine, does, as it were, know their divinity *intuitively;* he not only *argues*, but *sees* that they are divine. . . . Thus a soul may have a kind of intuitive knowledge of the divinity of the things exhibited in the Gospel; not that he judges the doctrines of the Gospel to be from God, without any argument or deduction at all; but it is without any long chain of arguments; the argument is but one, and the evidence direct; the mind ascends to the truth of the Gospel but one step, and that is its divine glory. . . . The true martyrs of Jesus Christ . . . cannot only say that *they think* the Gospel is divine, but that *it is divine*, giving it in as their testimony, because they have seen it to be so." And in the same connection he discusses the absolute necessity of such an argument, because the historical arguments are inaccessible to most Christians. He says: "Those who have not something of a general view of the series of historical events, and of the state of mankind from age to age, cannot see the clear evidence from history to the truth of facts in distant ages; but there will remain endless doubts and scruples. But the Gospel was not given only for learned men [and we may add to-day for those competent to form an independent opinion as to the genuineness of every book in Scripture]. There are at least nineteen in twenty, if not ninety-nine in a hundred, of those for whom the Scriptures were written, who are not capable of any certain or effectual conviction of the divine authority of the Scriptures by such arguments as learned men use. If men who have been brought up in heathenism must wait for a clear and certain conviction of the truth of Christianity until they have learning and acquaintance with the histories of politer nations, enough to see clearly the force of such kind of arguments, it will make the evidence of the Gospel to them immensely cumbersome, and will render the propagation of the Gospel among them infinitely difficult." * And so I might continue indefinitely almost.

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* Institutes, Bk. I., chap. vii.

† Chap. i.

* Works, I., 24.

† Christian Theology, p. 120.

Thus the argument for the Scriptures which has been standard in the great writers of our past, in Augustine, Luther, Calvin, the Westminster Confession, and Edwards, knows nothing about a slow process of creeping through genuineness and authenticity to divine authority. It comes at once to the point, to the divine authority, by spiritual illumination. And in doing this it removes the authority of the Scriptures out of the sphere of every attack which may be aimed against genuineness, because that argument is no longer essential to its proof. Therefore we can keep on with our Bible, even though we do not see our way to refute this or that actual critical theory.

It will, I hope, be an interesting inquiry, how the Puritan theology, which even so late as Edwards's time stood upon this high spiritual plane, has so completely forgotten its ancient supreme argument. Every theology bears the marks of the wars through which it has passed, and comes into the victory often with the loss of limb and of weapon. The Deistic controversy, which began in the very age of the Westminster Confession, for Lord Herbert of Cherbury died in 1648, forced the Puritans down upon a low plane in their attempts to meet it, even the plane upon which it stood itself, that of the denial of all such supernatural teaching of the Christian as is required for the testimony of the Spirit to Scripture, and they could not themselves quite return to the heights where they had once been so much at home. Our Unitarian controversy was a rationalistic one for the most part, and it left our theology tainted with rationalism, and exceedingly shy of the supernatural and the subjective. That spirit is upon us to-day; but it needs to be exorcised; and if the higher criticism shall help effect this change, it will be, like Paul's thorn in the flesh, a blessing in disguise.

Passing now to the criticism itself, it is evident that biblical criticism in the abstract is a legitimate science. Criticism is merely the attempt to get at the exact truth. There is an argument for the Scriptures derived from the authorship of the writings, from their correspondence to the facts about which they profess to speak, and from their uncorrupted preservation to the present time. But who are their authors? That is a question which cannot be settled by a guess, or by a tradition simply considered; for there are a great many traditions coming down from the past which are worse than worthless, as, for example, the tradition that Constantine gave the whole Western world to the pope as a temporal sovereignty—a tradition which has wrought inestimable harm by the power which it has lent to the claims of the papacy to universal dominion. The authors of the Scriptures must be ascertained by careful inquiry according to legitimate methods, and this is criticism.

The critics also rightly claim that criticism must follow the canons of historical investigation, and must be conducted in the historical spirit. The question of the authorship of the Gospel of John or of the Book of Joshua pertains as much to history as that of the authorship of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" or of the Epistle of Barnabas. In the historical sphere, *a priori* methods are altogether out of place. True, they are out of place in dogmatics as well; but they are without controversy out of place in history. To set out in the investigation upon the Pentateuch with the conviction that Moses *must* have written the book because, if he did not, the whole doctrine of the Scriptures goes by the board, is as false in method as it has been shown to be unnecessary in theory. The student need not be indifferent to the result of his investigations, but he may and must be determined to look at facts as they are, and see the truth when it appears. And he must follow the general methods in the study of biblical history that are to be followed elsewhere. True, there is an important difference. The supernatural may be expected to enter into the biblical history, whereas in post-Apostolic times we do not expect to find it in the same manner. But the *point where* the supernatural shall enter is to be determined *after* the study of the facts, not *before*. Till there is evidence to the contrary, the general law, that human nature is the same in all ages, and that the divine methods of Providence are the same, is to be scrupulously adhered to, and facts are to be judged in its light. The attitude of mind which looks upon the Scripture times as wholly removed from all contact with our own, and expects to find upon every page marvel after marvel, is as unhistorical as it is also unexegetical. Progress in religion, like progress in civilization, takes place ordinarily, according to the laws of development. Christ appeared in the world the perfect, the express image of the person of God. But even the disciples under his immediate training were slow to understand him ; and the Church has learned the meaning of what he spake and was only by the slow progress of historical development. It is at least probable that the same method of Providence was followed in the earlier period, in which the nation of the Jews was slowly trained in the fear and worship of the one God, Jehovah.

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* Works, V., pp. 178ff.

We may pass now to that form of the criticism which I have selected as an example of it, upon which to try the experiment of what it will do in one of its forms most repellent to the orthodox mind at first sight, that of Hermann Schultz. Professor Schultz was an associate and is, I suppose, the successor as Professor of Dogmatic Theology of Ritschl at Göttingen. He is in full sympathy with Ritschl, and may be said to be a joint-founder with him of that aggressive school which now has gained control of a large part of the younger generation in Germany. It spurns "metaphysics" from theology, lays great emphasis upon the historical revelation made in Jesus Christ, denies largely the present activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and refuses to enter into such discussions as that whether Christ was ontologically God. It is enough, says this school, that he "represents" God to us, or has for us "the worth of God." As to the criticism, Schultz follows Wellhausen, except that, while the latter is without a particle of respect for Christianity as a divine religion, Schultz is an earnestly religious man, and has softened Wellhausen's theories at several points, and opposed them at others. Still he believes that the early accounts in the beginning of Genesis of the Fall, of Noah, the Flood, etc., are "myths"—that is, consciously poetic productions—designed to convey religious ideas ; he makes the first traces of reliable history to begin with Moses, regarding Abraham and the patriarchs as heroic figures of a legendary character, like the figures in the *Niebelungenlied* in German literature ; the Sinaitic tabernacle he thinks to be an idealized representation, like a fictitious creation, suggested by the temple of Solomon, and designed to carry back what were really the conceptions of a later time to the hoary antiquity of the Mosaic epoch ; and accepts the view that the whole Levitical system of ceremonial laws was the slow growth of successive generations, finally perfected and completely codified by priests in the post-exilic period. Thus radical is his "reconstruction" of the traditional biblical history.

Now, what kind of a theological system is left in the Old Testament for such a man? I may perhaps best group what I have to say under several heads :

1. *Revelation.*—Schultz says :* "The religion of the Old Testament, like that of the New, has not emerged in humanity according to the mere law of a natural development of the spirit, but in consequence of the operation of the life of God upon the spiritual life of the people of Israel, to which it was imparted. . . . The divine spiritual life is appropriated in this religion with the immovable certainty of internal, immediate experience. . . . Wherefore the Old Testament religion can only be explained by revelation in the special historical sense of the word—by the fact that God raised up for this people men in whose original religio-ethical nature, aroused by the providences of their inner and outer life, there was a receptivity, by which they could understand the redeeming will of God in respect to man which was communicated to them, the liberating religious truth in its original purity, which was not a product of human wisdom and spiritual activity, but a free gift of divine grace." And he defines revelation as "the self-communication of the true God by means of God-inspired men, in whom, by God's creative power, in which the secrets of human spirits and of human gifts lie, an immediate certainty of the divine life was produced."

2. *Miracles.*—Toward these, as manifestations of that "ontological" sphere of which all Ritschlians are so much afraid, Schultz maintains a very cautious attitude. Yet he says :† "The real prophets had as little doubt of the possibility of miracles as any of the ancients, but they are as little inclined to lay weight upon miracles as such, as was the Founder of the new covenant. . . . Prophecy as such has no connection with miracle. Prediction of the future, on the contrary, which the Old Testament assumes as a reality, is as a whole

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* *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, ed. 1878, p. 60f.
† *Ib.*, p. 250f.

nothing but a miracle of knowledge. Consequently the Old Testament assumes without scruple that the prophets, as servants of God, perform miracles of knowledge and of power."

3. *Grace and Salvation.*—Upon these topics Schultz is exceedingly satisfactory and full. Many of his passages are of rare beauty, though difficult to reproduce in English. For example, he says :* "When we ask upon what foundation the Old Testament places this position of righteousness, this feeling of acceptance with God, . . . we have the decided answer that all salvation which can be conceived in Israel is referred to God's free goodness and grace. . . . According to the ancient Book of the Covenants, it is God who has chosen the people to be his people. . . . Not Israel's special power, goodness or cleverness moved him ; on the contrary, the people was a sinful people." And then in eloquent sentences he mentions the heroes of faith ; the first rise of Adam and Eve from their fall as an act of faith ; Noah ; Abraham ; Jacob ; and Moses, "who first by faith experienced salvation in himself, and then led the people in faith to accept it." The whole scheme of religion thus, in the Old Testament as in the New, was one of salvation by faith.

4. *Satisfaction.*—Here the theories of Schultz are in accordance with the Ritschl school, but they are founded not upon arguments peculiar to the results of the higher criticism, but upon exegetical considerations which are unaffected by the question of the origin of the document which may be in hand at any moment.

It may be well to pause long enough upon some examples of the methods of reasoning employed upon this topic, to exhibit clearly the proof of the statement which has just been made. The interpretation of "the meaning of sacrifice" begins upon page 416. The text, Lev. xvii. 10, 11, is quoted as emphasizing the holiness of the blood, and mention is made of the common inference that the blood "when it is offered to God always has the character of a means of expiation." "But," says Schultz, "this is to introduce the idea of expiation without justification ;" and then he goes on to infer from Deut. xii. 16, 23f. that the blood is always dedicated to God, and that when the blood is brought to the altar it is an expression of the fact that the animal to which it belongs is dedicated solemnly to God. Surely here, whatever has disturbed the calm paths of exegesis, it is not the criticism.

But upon page 422 the discussion of the meaning of the distinctive sin-offering is begun. Schultz refers to the belief of many theologians that a simple substitution of the life of the animal for that of the sinner takes place, but he for his part refuses to accept the explanation. It is not a punishment of the animal for that of the man, but the man, who ought to give up himself to the disposal of God, gives up a lesser thing, even the animal. The imposition of the hands is not indicative of the transfer of guilt, but is merely the general gesture of dedication.

Time fails to multiply examples, but they are all of this character. The exegesis may strike us as rather lame, but it is exegesis, not any peculiar product of theories as to the origin of the documents from which the passages are taken.

5. *The Doctrine of God.*—I have been unable to perceive that a single element of the doctrine of God, as contained in the Old Testament, was neglected by Schultz. His perfect unity, personality, spirituality, and holiness are brought out with great clearness. True, there is a development in the conceptions of Israel traced by Schultz. He thinks that there was, in the earlier periods, a tendency to view God as the God of Israel in distinction from the gods of other nations, and to treat the latter as if they had some real existence. But this is patent to any reader of the Old Testament. He says, however, expressly that pure monotheism, in the strictest sense of that word, was the original doctrine of the Hebrew religion. I quote :* "Therefore the particularism of the idea of God is only the protecting covering under which the pure monotheism of the Old Testament religion was permitted to unfold itself and come to maturity. The religion as such had from the beginning only this God."

6. *Original Sin.*—Possibly more interest may attach to the treatment of this doctrine, since it may at first seem impossible that a theory which makes the whole account of the first man and of the fall poetic fiction, should have a genuine doctrine of original sin. After having developed the universal sinfulness of man with as much faithfulness as any orthodox divine could, Schultz comes to a consideration of the narrative of Gen. iii. He says of it :† "The story . . . brings to us the eternal thoughts

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* *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, ed. 1878, p. 297ff.

* *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, ed. 1878, p. 455.

† *Ib.*, p. 636.

of the religion of revelation upon the relations of sin to humanity as such; it shows how, irrespective of the dominion of sin in humanity which we already know by experience and which reveals itself in many single developments, sin has attacked human nature as such, and subdued it to its power. It is, therefore, the fall of a humanity not yet sinful—or, better, the fall of pure human nature—which lies at the basis of all the manifold developments of sin in every individual, and precedes every such development." But I close with—

7. *The Prophecy of the Messiah.*—It is Schultz's conception that there was a successive development of the idea of the agent of the introduction of the divine kingdom in the latter days. In the first intimations of the final triumph of man over the forces of sin, which Schultz calls "a prot-evangel indeed," that made in the story of the fall, it is all humanity as such which is to gain the triumph. The seed of the woman—that is, all humanity—is opposed to the seed of the serpent—that is, all the forces of evil. I do not mean to say that I think this interpretation correct; I am simply rehearsing Schultz's ideas. There is, then, this general expectation. Later the promised agent is specified by progressive limitations of the prophetic intimations. It is the seed of Abraham which is to bless the earth. At last, the divinely chosen agent is a Davidic King. And in Isaiah Schultz sees him promised as "God." * Not God in the metaphysical sense, for that would be that "ontology" of which Schultz is afraid, but "names are given him which exalt this King in dignity and position far above all comparison with men."

I think I have already said enough, and quoted enough, to make the point clear which I wish to press. The criticism does not necessarily touch any doctrine of the Old Testament considered as a book for the teaching of what we commonly call "theology." The objections we have to make to Schultz are not to be ascribed to his critical views, for they are mere questions of exegesis, which are independent of the question of the origin of the books. If Oehler himself had the same dogmatic standpoint, he would teach the same doctrines as Schultz. And, when all criticisms have been made, there still remains in Schultz, with all the criticism and Ritschlism combined, the great mass of divine doctrine untouched and unimpaired. The history of Israel must, no doubt, be rewritten, if the criticism prevails; the method which God employed in his training of this prophetic people will be otherwise conceived, the law as given to Moses modified in our minds, the growth of the Levitical system made providential instead of miraculous; but these things do not touch what as Christians we are anxious to preserve, what are the foundations of the system of divine truth revealed in the Bible. If we can have clearly taught by God himself through holy men the following doctrines, it makes no difference from a dogmatic point of view whether they were revealed at an earlier or a later time. These doctrines are: the universality of sin, and its origin in a racial corruption of our nature; the divine plan embracing from the beginning the redemption of the race; real revelation; the real connection of Jehovah with a chosen people; a revelation of his will in law; the prescription of sacrifices as typical of the one great sacrifice; the prophecy of that sacrifice and of the divine servant of Jehovah; and the evident providential conduct of the chosen people to a place and time when that promised Saviour might be revealed in the flesh. Given these great and unspeakably precious truths, with some minor ones which this or that theologian might wish to have added, and we have the divine foundation of the truth as it is in Jesus. And we need no more. But these doctrines the criticism has not touched, and cannot touch. They are embodied in the Old Testament record, however it arose. Grant the single idea of revelation in connection with the history, and all these doctrines follow of necessity.

What, then, is the attitude which Protestants, who believe in accepting all truth, should adopt toward the criticism as represented by Professor Briggs? I reply, Not that of alarm, for no cherished doctrine of our faith is imperilled by it. Not that of suspicion, for that is not the spirit which brethren should have. Not that of empirical and hasty settlement of the questions involved, for they are too delicate for the careless treatment of any who is not an expert. Not that of diplomacy, which would befog the issue, and seek to gain a victory for some cherished view by manœuvring. It should be that of candid, patient investigation, or where time and ability fail for that, of patient waiting till the evangelical critics have brought in their results. Then in the end, surely we all may know them by their fruits.

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* *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, ed. 1878, p. 727.

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

THE QUESTION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF 1789.*

BY N. WEISS.

(*Condensed translation from the French by Clemens Petersen, M.A., New York.*)

When the question of religious liberty was discussed by the National Assembly of 1789, in the two memorable sittings of August 22d and 23d, at Versailles, more than two and one half centuries had passed by since that very question was raised for the first time in France. To any one, however, who has had an opportunity to study the peculiar movement of ideas, it will not seem strange that man should strive to assert his right to his own opinions in the field of religion long before he ever dreamed of making any such claims in literature or politics.

Indeed, from Francis I. to Lewis XVI. thousands of Frenchmen stigmatized with the name of Huguenots fought for this independence as an inalienable right, and they fought unintermittingly, before the courts and in the prisons, on the battle-fields and in exile, on the banks of the galleys and at the stake, thereby illustrating in a most impressive manner how true are those words: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," for to them the world offered nothing but the derisive confutation of their most cherished dreams, and a harsh denial of their most ardent expectations.

Nevertheless, so sure were they in 1789 of having at last reached the goal that, on June 7th, more than two months before that discussion of which I propose to give a rapid survey actually took place, the Protestants of Paris decided to celebrate publicly, in Rue Mondétour, the worship which had been prohibited in the capital for more than two and a half centuries.† They were a little too hasty, though, as we shall see.

There is a fact which, though generally ignored, ought to be emphasized from the very outset, and it is this: directly and formally the question of the liberty of conscience and worship was never put under discussion in the National Assembly. Not that it was overlooked. On the contrary, everybody thought of it and talked of it, but nobody had the courage to apply the knife.

Four years earlier, in 1785, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, a son of Jean-Paul Rabaut, the pastor of the desert, had settled in Paris. He supplicated and negotiated, he spoke and he wrote, letters, memoirs, even an historical novel—*Le Vieux Cévenal*—all for the purpose of creating a public opinion which should prove irresistible. In 1787 he obtained the Edict of Toleration. But it was only a piteous result of almost superhuman exertions. Girded all around as the edict was with lamentable restrictions, it barely allowed those who did not share in the religious faith of the majority of Frenchmen to be born, to live, to be married, and to die in France.

August 12th, 1789, a committee of five was appointed to prepare for presentation to the Assembly a declaration of the rights of man. Rabaut Saint-Étienne, determined to catch the ball while bounding, drew up an outline of such a declaration, had it printed and distributed.* It contains the following paragraph: "Man is not responsible for his thoughts and feelings, and consequently accountable to no one for their sake. Conscience is free; consequently none has a right of compulsion in this sphere, and everybody has the right to profess that creed which seems to him to be the best one." But this draft, like a score of others, was laid aside.

Among the clergy many even demanded the revocation of the Edict of Toleration of 1787, and, August 19th, the Assembly accepted for discussion a proposition comprising twenty-four articles which maintained religious uniformity purely and simply.† Art. XVI. reads: "As the law cannot reach the secret offences, it must be supplemented by religion and morals, and for the good order of society it is necessary that both of these latter shall be free." Art. XVII.: "The maintenance of religion requires a public worship, but respect for the worship established is indispensable." Art. XVIII.: "No citizen who does not give offence to the established worship shall be disturbed in his peace on that score." Evidently respect is demanded here only for one religion, for one system of morality, that of the majority.

Of course a manœuvre so unworthy of men assembled in the name of universal liberty and equality could not succeed. To blow out the sun it is not enough to ignore his existence. nor is it enough to suppress liberty, simply to avoid mentioning her name. As soon as the debate on August 22d reached the three articles above quoted, Count de Castellane, a Roman Catholic, took the floor. The pith of his speech* is clearly recognizable from the following sentences : "France is certainly Catholic, but, as certainly, not all Frenchmen are Catholics ; nevertheless, those who are not have exactly the same rights as those who are." He consequently demanded a "declaration of the first, the most sacred of all rights, the liberty of religious opinions, which necessarily involves, as belonging to every man, the right to serve God according to his own conscience ;" and moved that one single article should be substituted for the three original ones, reading thus : "No one shall be disturbed on account of his religious opinions or restrained from exercising his religion."

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* This essay was read before the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris, Nov. 4, 1889, and, later, printed in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.*

† A. Lads: *L'Église Réformée de Paris pendant la Révolution*, 1889.

* *Projet du Préliminaire de la Constitution Française, presenté par M. Rabaut de Saint-Étienne*, 14 pages.

† *Proces-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale*, in the National Library: Lc^{27} 10, vol. iii.

We are not used to hear a Roman Catholic defend those whom his own Church has always condemned, and it may be that Count de Castellane in so doing was not in perfect harmony with the principles of that Church, but he certainly was with those of Christ, and he deserved well of France and of the French Protestants. Nevertheless his motion was lost.

It was strongly opposed by the Bishop of Clermont, who wanted the principles of the French Constitution to be drawn from religion—that is, from the Roman Catholic religion. This hint roused M. de la Borde. He spoke for toleration, and the mention of the word toleration immediately brought Mirabeau on the tribune. "Liberty," he said, "to exercise one's faculties is an unquestionable right, and since there are diverse opinions, you let them manifest themselves freely and you may sleep in peace." This is the argument of the freethinker, who knows nothing about the sacredness of a conviction, and to whose religious indifference such an argument probably does not cost so very dear. Nevertheless with him who has no faith it is still a merit to plead for the freedom of those who have. But the right, comprising nearly all the members of the clergy, remained unyielding, and, in spite of the protest of the great orator, an adjournment was demanded and obtained.

August 3d, 1789, was a Sunday, and the anniversary of that day when, in 1572, the last preparations were made in the centre of Paris for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The first strategical movement of the clerical party consisted in separating the articles of the draft, so that only the last of them—"No citizen who does not give offence to the established worship shall be disturbed in his peace on that score"—would actually be discussed. Thus the question of a non-conforming worship could be left entirely out, and even the liberty of conscience would thus be threatened, for it would always be easy to prove that those who did not partake in the established worship gave offence by their very withdrawal.

Mirabeau spoke. He would hear nothing about a ruling worship. "Nothing rules here but justice, and everybody has a right to do whatsoever can be done without harm to anybody else." He was followed by M. de Castellane. "There is only one argument against this right, and that is the might of the stronger. But it is hardly in the spirit of this Assembly to apply that ; and if it is true that man has a right to not be annoyed on account of his religious opinions, he has certainly also the right to offer God that worship which he thinks he owes Him." Very happily he reminded the Assembly that, if these simple principles had been duly followed, there would have been no civil wars and no horrors of persecution. "But when we destroy the tyranny which presses on us from all sides, let us not retain the most grievous, the most absurd part of it—the tyranny of conscience." The Assembly, however, became more and more excited. The speaker found it prudent not to ask more from it than part of the whole right, and he concluded his speech by declaring himself willing to retain only the first clause of his motion : "No one shall be disturbed on account of his religious opinions," and drop the second, "or restrained from exercising his religion." It was an enormous concession, but even Mirabeau acceded to it, and simply demanded that to the express affirmation of the liberty of conscience there should be added the words "nor restrained in the private exercise of his religion," which preclude an authorization of a non-conforming worship.

Meanwhile the excitement was still increasing in the Assembly, and M. Dillon, a priest, curate of Vieux-Pouzauges, took advantage of the circumstance to lead on the reserve, which was destined to strangle religious liberty sooner or later. He proposed the following amendment : "No one shall be annoyed on account of his religious opinions, provided they do not disturb public order." This was a little too much for the liberals. Robespierre cried out: "To add such a restriction to a principle so simple as that of the present motion is to bury it under a heap of arbitrary interpretations." But M. de Virien answered that a manifestation of opinion ought always to be subject to certain regulations. It is, indeed, apparent from this parliamentary uproar that the two camps into which France found herself divided at that time knew very well what they wanted. The minority demanded religious liberty, perfect and complete, but the majority would grant only a liberty subject to the good pleasure of the State-Church. There was no obscurity of spirit either one way or the other, and in order to put a stop to all kinds of equivocation in the debate Rabaut Saint-Étienne, true captain as he was, rose at the decisive moment and spoke.

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* National Library, Lc^{39} 154.

There was a time, it would seem, when Rabaut Saint-Étienne enjoyed even a greater reputation than Mirabeau. The *Huguenot des Cevennes* for November 1st, 1889, contains a letter dated July 14th, 1789, and signed by one Sabatier, in which we are told that "there is no man in the National Assembly who distinguishes himself so much as M. Rabaut de Saint-Étienne. . . . One day when Count de Mirabeau spoke with his usual enthusiasm and vehemence, he was time after time interrupted, and finally some one said aloud to him, 'Don't make such a noise! You think you are the one great orator here, and you are only the shaft of the shovel (*un demi-rabot*),' which pun was very much relished." At all events, the speech of Rabaut Saint-Étienne on August 23d made a deep impression. It was immediately printed,* and the *Moniteur* of that time pointed out its author as a man "made for a legislator of the eighteenth century." Here follow a few extracts from it:

"The last speaker admitted that no man has a right to penetrate into the recesses of another man's thoughts. It is perfectly true. But the truth is not so very remarkable nor so very profound either. For there never was a tyrant who did not know that in front of a man's secret thoughts there is a bar which any force may fail to break down, so enslaved that he could not enjoy in full that liberty which the last speaker thinks it fit to accord to free men."

"But he added that the utterance of thought may easily become a very dangerous affair; that free speech is just the means by which new religions get themselves established; that the law ought to prevent people from uttering their thoughts too freely, and he barely fails to propose the establishment of a tribunal charged with a superintendence of this kind."

"It is this language which the party of intolerance always holds. It is these maxims on which the Inquisition rests. In words always smooth and always guarded we are told that, of course, we cannot be attacked in our secret thoughts; that we are perfectly free in our opinions as long as we do not utter them, but that the law, since the utterances can disturb public order, must exercise the most minute supervision over them. It is on the basis of these principles that the party of intolerance has assumed to itself a power of control which, for many centuries, has enchained and dwarfed and suppressed human thought."

"If the ancient pagans had acted on these principles, which by no means were unknown to them, there would be no Christians now. If they had carefully supervised the manifestations of new opinions and persistently declared that they disturbed public order, Christendom would never have come into existence. It is, therefore, on other principles, nearer to you, gentlemen, I shall ask you to declare by one single article that every citizen is free in his opinions; that he shall not be disturbed on account of his religion; that he has the right to worship in freedom. . . .

"But do not suffer yourselves, gentlemen, and do not suffer this free and generous nation to be quoted as an example of intolerance and mixed up with those nations you despise, because they have forbidden your own worship in their countries. Because they are intolerant and unjust nations, it does not follow that you shall be one of them. You were not born to follow an example. You were born to set the example. And shall examples be chosen for imitation, then take the Americans, who have put universal religious liberty at the head of their civil law; the Pennsylvanians, who have declared that all worshippers of one God shall enjoy full citizen's rights, the Philadelphians, who have seen twenty different temples built and twenty different worships instituted in their city; they owe the liberty they have conquered to their profound knowledge of what liberty is."

This is the kind of preachers whose language Voltaire liked to take a fling at, and this particular preacher is the man who four years later laid his head on the block* because he would not do "his part of the tyranny" by voting for the execution of Lewis XVI.

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* *Opinion de M. Rabaut Saint-Étienne sur la Motion de M. de Castellane*, Versailles, 1789.

* Rabaut Saint-Étienne was guillotined Dec. 5, 1793.

As indicated by the above extracts, Rabaut Saint-Étienne did not content himself with the first clause of the Castellane motion, but insisted upon the whole motion, freedom of worship as well as liberty of conscience ; and when the curate of Vieux-Pouzauges took back his amendment, the Assembly was compelled to discuss and vote upon the motion in its original form. Could it have been put to a vote at that very moment it might have been carried. But the right offered an obstinate resistance, and the two bishops of Lydda and Langres undertook to unmask the last battery of their party. After a long declamation, pointing back to the sixteenth century : "To our brethren in error, indulgence and compassion ! But, free in their opinions, they must manifest their free opinions without disturbing public order. Let us therefore try to draw a line of demarcation which at the same time shall comfort our brethren and defend the worship of the ruling Church against any injury. According them to worship in common, let us content ourselves with forbidding a worship in public which would be aggravating to the prestige of the Catholic worship. . . ." The Bishop of Lydda concluded by proposing the following amendment, "Provided their manifestations do not disturb the order established by law."

The Assembly was now almost in a state of dissolution. Twice the president, M. Clermont-Tonnerre, a liberal, offered to vacate the chair, and finally, in order to reach a conclusion somehow or other, he put to a vote an adaptation of the Castellane-Rabaut motion with the Dillon-Lydda amendment. Still the fight went on. Every word of the proposition had to be conquered from the clerical coalition. Nevertheless they did not succeed in preventing the taking of a vote, and, completely exhausted, the Assembly incorporated the following Art. X. with its Declaration of the Rights of Man : "No one shall be annoyed on account of his opinions, even on religion, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the order established by law."

Thus this memorable parliamentary contest ended in an explicit affirmation of the principle of the liberty of conscience, but coupled it with an implicit denial of the principle of the freedom of worship. The situation was very well understood by both parties. Two months later, when the Protestants of Paris thought of moving from Rue Mondétour and taking up their quarters in another part of the capital, Rabaut Saint-Étienne advised them* "to wait for the grand decision, which will be more favorable." Mirabeau wrote in the *Courrier de Provence:* "We cannot but feel sorely grieved when seeing how the National Assembly, instead of utterly destroying the germs of intolerance by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, has seen fit to leave them a hole to hide in." Camille Desmoulins had the courage to say in the *Lanterne:* "If the clergy had not had three hundred members in the Assembly, the motion of M. Rabaut Saint-Étienne would have been carried." Nor did it last much more than half a year before the clerical coalition made its first attack on the liberty of conscience which it had been compelled to concede.

February 13th, 1790, the Assembly sitting in Paris, and the subject of the debate being the real estate held by the Roman Catholic Church in France, Dom Gerle, a Carthusian, took up an amendment which the Bishop of Nancy had proposed the preceding day but immediately dropped, and which read this way : "The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the national religion of France." These words occasioned a very sharp encounter, during which M. d'Estourmel had the audacity to remind of the day, January 25th, 1677, when Lewis XIV., in sight of Cambray, made an oath that he would maintain the Roman Catholic religion and never allow the establishment of a non-conforming worship or the construction of a dissenters' church in France, and to prove that the Assembly should simply maintain the constitutions and privileges of the cities and provinces as sworn to by the king. Mirabeau saw the point and answered : "If I, too, may be permitted to quote history in this matter, I shall beg you not to forget that here, from this tribune, that window can be seen from where, driven on by an execrable faction of his subjects, who mixed purely secular, political interests with the sacred interests of religion, a king of France fired the gun which gave the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. . . . There it is !" Every eye in the audience followed the outstretched arm. Deep silence fell upon the hall. The attack had failed.

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* Letter dated Versailles, Oct. 14, 1789, addressed to M. Marron, the Protestant pastor of Paris.

THE DIVINE LIFE IN MAN.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL AT LONDON, JULY 16TH, 1891, BY R. W. DALE, D.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 16, 1891.

We are assembled in the presence of God, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the ministers and representatives of Christian Churches planted in many lands—in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland; in the United States of America; in Canada; in the West Indies; in South Africa; in Madagascar; in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand; in the islands of the South Pacific; in India; in China; in Japan; and in several of the countries of Continental Europe. Most of us inherit the ecclesiastical traditions of the Separatists who, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, revived in this country the polity of the Apostolic Churches. In their courageous fidelity to the trust which, as they believed, they had received from God, some of them suffered long and cruel confinement in the Fleet prison—on part of the site of which stands the Memorial Hall in which we met yesterday. Some of them suffered death at Tyburn, not far from the place where we are meeting to-day. But the Congregational Churches of Norway and Sweden to whose representatives, I venture in your name to give a special welcome, have a different history. They have grown into sudden strength during the last thirty years as the result of a special manifestation of the power and the grace of God; and they found the Congregational Church order for themselves in the pages of the New Testament.

The churches we represent have a common polity, and that polity has its roots in the central contents of the Christian Faith. For the theory of Congregationalism rests upon the belief that in Christ the very life of God has been given to man; and that when those who have received that life are gathered together in Christ's name, Christ who died, but is risen again, is in the midst of them. We are Congregationalists; but we rejoice in our kinship with all who recognize in Christ the Son of God and the Lord and Saviour of Men. We give a hearty welcome to the representatives of other Christian communities who have honored us with their presence this morning. We pray that in their ministry as well as in our own the great power of God may be revealed, and that their churches may, all of them, be manifestly the temples of the Holy Ghost.

The subject announced for this address is not my own choice. It was proposed to me by the English section of the committee which arranged the proceedings of this Council, and, though I was conscious that it lies far beyond the limits of my strength, and requires for its adequate treatment a far deeper and richer religious experience than my own, I felt that it was my duty to meet their wishes. In discussing it, I speak for myself. Although you have done me the great and undeserved honor of placing me in this *chair*, you have given me no authority to speak in your name. With a common faith in Christ as Son of God, Brother, Lord, Redeemer, Judge of Men, there are wide divergencies among us in our intellectual construction of the contents of the Christian Gospel. The responsibility for what I may say lies with myself, and myself alone.

The Committee did not inform me of the reasons which led them to the selection of this subject; but I can imagine that they judged it desirable that our deliberations should begin in those high and sacred regions, where all to whom the grace and power of the Christian redemption have been revealed, meet on common ground and their ecclesiastical and theological differences are forgotten. For it is the faith of all Churches and of all theologies that can be called Christian that the end for which the Lord Jesus Christ came into the world is the realization by man of the righteousness, the blessedness and the glory of the life of God. Here we are at one with great religious communities with which we and our fathers have had grave and sometimes fierce and bitter controversies for many generations—controversies on the nature and polity of the Church and its place in the spiritual order; on the methods by which the divine grace effects the salvation of men; on the ideal and discipline of Christian perfection; on the authority which should determine the faith and practice of those who confess that Christ is their Saviour and Lord. Among the men from whom we are divided by these cruel conflicts, but from whom our hearts should never be estranged, we recognize a saintliness shining with a glory that has its fountains in God; in their very contention and argument for errors which seem to us to obscure the light and impair the power of the Christian Gospel, we catch an accent which is the sign that they too are children of the Eternal. If they maintain with passionate earnestness a doctrine of the priesthood and of the sacraments which appear to us to be irreconcilable with the whole spirit and substance of the Christian faith, if they regard those who reject and assail this doctrine as the worst enemies of the human race, it is because for them the sacraments, when duly administered, are the appointed means by which the grace of God first originates and then sustains the divine life in man. It is this which in their judgment makes the sacramental and sacerdotal controversy so critical, so awful. In that controversy, as they suppose, the whole power and glory of the Christian redemption are at stake. They are contending for the sacredness and efficacy of the institutions by which they believe that the eternal life of God is made the actual possession of mankind.

I.

Whatever may be the nearer fortunes of that great conflict which has now extended over many centuries, it is not unreasonable, I think, to hope that the Church is on its way to a deeper and richer theological conception of that supreme truth which to all serious persons gives to the conflict its infinite importance. For it is apparent that during the last thirty or forty years, the mystery of the Incarnation, with all that it reveals concerning God and man, has been exerting a new power both over speculative thought and over the religious life. There is a conviction which has grown immensely in strength during the present generation that the solution of the greatest and most oppressive problems concerning God, concerning individual man, concerning human society and the history of our race, and even concerning the material universe itself, are to be found in the Person of Christ. The deeper currents of theological thought have set in that direction. But any account of the Person of Christ as he was revealed in the visible and natural order must rest upon some conception of his eternal relations both to the Father and to the whole creation; and it is in those august and sacred heights that we are to find the real interpretation of the truth concerning the divine life in man.

The Christian conception of this truth rests on the Christian conception of the divine nature itself. It is immeasurably remote from that theory of the universe which affirms the existence of an Eternal Power—or an Eternal Spirit—whose nature is absolutely one and simple, and whose presence is revealed in the order and beauty of the visible creation and in whatever is fair, noble and gracious in the life of man. Pantheism, if it appears to have some correspondence with the Christian doctrine, is in its deeper elements wholy alien from it.

The divine life in man according to the Christian Gospel is the life which dwells eternally in the Son of God who was in the beginning with God and who was God; by whom all things were made and without whom was not anything made that was made. It is a life which, because of its eternal relations to the life of the Father, could be manifested in submission and obedience to the Father's will. Theologians have spoken of the eternal subordination of the Son, and have sometimes so spoken as to suggest that they attribute to the Son an inferior glory. I shrink from speaking of subordination. But the Incarnation is a real revelation of God—a revelation interpreted and confirmed by the most certain experiences of the Christian life in every age. A reversal of the relations between the Father and the Son illustrated in the Incarnation and in the whole movement of the divine love for human redemption is inconceivable, and these relations bear witness to eternal mysteries in the life of God.

For us the Son is no secondary Deity. He was in the beginning with God and he was God. It could never be said that he was not, or that he began to be. We attribute to him no inferior glory. But in the Incarnation his Eternal life and perfection were revealed in obedience and submission, as the eternal life and perfection of the Father are forever revealed in Authority. Obedience, submission—these also are divine. If in the Father there is the assertion of the supreme sovereignty of the eternal Law of righteousness—if his will is the authoritative expression of that Law—if this is his characteristic glory—the free acceptance of that sovereignty is the characteristic glory of the Son. In the Spirit there is the synthesis of the two forms of perfection; and in the power of the Spirit Father and Son have a common blessedness and are eternally one. It is the life of the Son that God has made the inheritance of our race; and we know that this life reaches its complete union with the Father and its perfect blessedness through the communion and grace of the divine Spirit. Our relations to God are grounded on the eternal relations of the Son to the Father, and the life of the Son and the communion of the Holy Ghost have been made ours that we may realize our Sonship.

II.

I have said that this life, according to the divine will and purpose, has been made the inheritance of the race. As the Incarnation is no afterthought of the divine mind occasioned by the entrance of sin into the world, neither is the gift of eternal life in Christ a mere expedient for recovering men from the power of sin. That man should live his life in the power of the life of the eternal Son was included in the divine idea of man. This was the perfection to which according to the original constitution of our nature we were destined. Through sin we have all fallen short of the glory of God, missed, forfeited the transcendent honor, righteousness and blessedness for which we were created ; but it remains true that we were created in Christ Jesus, and through the infinite grace of God and the power of the Christian redemption all that was possible to us through our creation may yet be recovered.

There is a passage in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians in which the truth concerning Christ's relations to the universe, a truth which is sometimes attributed to John as though it had been revealed only to him, is most wonderfully expressed "in Him," that is in the Son of God, the Son of his love "were all things *created*, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers ; all *things* have been created through him and unto him ; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist," or hold together in their divinely determined order. That is the Christian account of the universe. Who can doubt that Paul found in it the strong support, the ultimate interpretation, of that mystery which had been concealed through all ages and generations, but was now manifested to the saints, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs of the great promise which had been made to the Jews, and had their part with the descendants of Abraham in the unsearchable riches of Christ ? To Judaizing teachers who insisted that heathen men could not share the blessedness of the divine redemption and the divine kingdom unless in some sort they became Jews, I can imagine Paul saying : "Ah, you are strangers to the real glory of Christ. When I stand up to preach in these great heathen cities, in Ephesus, in Corinth, in Rome, I see above me the same shining heavens that bend over Jerusalem—in Christ they were created, in Christ they endure. I see the same sun whose light falls on the temple in which our fathers worshiped ; its fires were kindled by Christ—apart from Christ those fires would die down and be extinguished. At night there shine the same stars that shine over the hills of Judea—it is in the power of Christ that through age after age their solemn movement is unbroken and their splendor undimmed. When I travel through heathen lands, I see around me everywhere the manifestations of Christ's presence and power and goodness—in mountains, and forests, and shining streams, in the vine and the fig-tree and the ripening corn, in every flower that blossoms from the earth, in every bird that sings in the air. The winds are his, and the rain and the dew. In Christ were all these things created ; in him they are held together ; separated from him they would fall out of their order and the universe would become a chaos. But if the heavens which are stretched over these heathen men and the earth beneath their feet were created in Christ, and the wheat from which they make their bread, and the water which they drink, and whatever else sustains their life and adds to its comfort and delight, in whom were the heathen men themselves created ? If it is only in Christ that these visible and material things endure, in whom is it that the men —men of every race and every tongue—endure ? Have they an independent life ? Does their existence rest on another foundation ? Are they defended and sustained in being by some inferior Power ? No, the men like their country were created in Christ. In Christ is the common root of the life of the race.

III.

Man was to find his perfection in sharing the life of the Eternal Son ; the Eternal Son was to reveal his own perfection, and achieve ours by sharing the life of man. I suppose that the consummate union between man and the Son of God would not have been possible apart from the consummate union effected in the Incarnation between the Son of God and man. Even if we had not sinned, I suppose that *He* would have come to *us* in order that *we* might come to *Him*. The fellowship, the partnership, between him and us was to be a fellowship, a partnership on both sides. If the branches share the life of the Vine, the Vine also shares the life of the branches. He would not let us go when we broke away from him in revolt against the divine authority and grace. He clung to us still ; and so he came into the inheritance of all the woes that had followed from our sin. The fellowship, the partnership, I repeat, between him and us was to be a fellowship, a partnership, on both sides. He had to share our sorrows, as we were to share his joy. He had to be assailed by the power of our sin—tempted, hard pressed to maintain his fidelity—as we were to become perfect in the power of his perfection. He had to pass into the awful shadow of the world's sin, to endure the agony of Gethsemane and the desolation and death of the Cross, as we were to inherit through the golden ages of our immortality the blessed relations to the Father, which illustrate the glory of his righteousness. When I have discovered that by the very constitution of my nature I am to achieve perfection in the power of the life of Another—who is yet not another, but the very ground of my own being—it ceases to be incredible to me that Another —who is yet not another—should be the atonement for my sin, and that his relations to God should determine mine.

IV.

"God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." It is a gift to the world, as Christ is the propitiation for the sin of the world. But it is a free, ethical, spiritual life that is given; and such a life must be actually lived if a man is to possess it. It cannot be passed into a man like a stream of electric force—the man himself remaining passive. No sovereign act of the divine power can effectively give it, apart from a free consent to receive it. What we call the potency of life, its germ, may be conferred by a divine act; but if the life is to be more than a potency, more than a germ, we must live it. God himself cannot make thought actually ours except as we ourselves think, nor penitence for sin, except as we ourselves are penitent; nor love, except as we ourselves love. And the eternal life which he has made the common possession of the race in Christ cannot be actually ours unless we live it.

This life is not an indefinite force; it has certain ethical and spiritual qualities, which witness to its origin and its power—where these are the life is; where these are not, the life is not. In their highest form they are manifested in the transcendent perfection of the Lord Jesus Christ; but they are also manifested, though with less of completeness and of power, in all that have received the life which God has given us in Him. And so that divine sonship which is our inheritance in Christ, and which has its roots in the eternal relations of the Eternal Son to the Father, is always represented in the teaching of Christ and of the Apostles, as unrealized where the ethical and spiritual conditions of its realization are absent. There are sharp contrasts drawn between those who are the children of God, and those who are not. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God; and such we are. For this cause the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not." "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not." "In this the children of God are manifest and the children of the Devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God." And the realization of the sonship, like the realization of the life, is associated with faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. "As many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name." "Ye are all sons of God—through faith—in Christ Jesus." "He that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life." In Christ God is the Father of all mankind. This is the glorious discovery of the Christian Gospel. This, according to the Christian faith, is the very foundation of the order of the world and of human life. To this truth Christ bears witness in baptism, which declares that every child is by birth not only the heir of infirmities and sorrows and perils and sins of the race, but also the heir of the life and love and righteousness and joy of God. To this truth we bear witness in our preaching; for we do not tell men that God will *become* their Father as the result of their repentance and their belief in his mercy revealed through Christ, but that because he is already their Father, they should repent and believe. Yes! on the divine side, the relationship of Fatherhood stands firm; but on the human side the relationship of sonship and the participation of that divine life which is inseparable from sonship has to be freely realized by every man. Deny that God is the Father of all men—limit his Fatherhood to those who are already trusting in his infinite mercy and are already endeavoring to do his will, and you disturb, if you do not destroy, the very grounds of that faith in him, in the power of which men receive the forgiveness of sin, and enter into the actual possession of the blessedness for which they were created in Christ. But, on the other hand, tell men—all men—the covetous, the untruthful, the sensual, the profane, the proud, the envious, the uncompassionate, the revengeful—that they are already the sons of God, and you reduce divine sonship to a merely natural relationship; you obscure its real ethical and spiritual character; you contribute to the most fatal illusions; you encourage indifference to the august claims of righteousness; you suppress the most awful warnings of prophets and apostles and of the Lord Jesus Christ himself; and you paralyze the urgency of those mighty motives which should induce men to make it the supreme end of life, that the great place and the great inheritance to which God has destined them in Christ, may be actually theirs.

V.

The divine life which God has given us in Christ—this is the point on which for the moment I am insisting—must be actually lived, it must be a power in character and conduct, or it is not realized. There are some who live it and realize it; there are others who do not. This is one of the ultimate principles of the Congregational polity. It has a place not merely in the historic creed of Congregationalists; it is one of the foundations of the Congregational Church Order. I said earlier in this address that when we are considering the divine life in man we occupy ground common to Christian men of all Churches; and yet it is precisely here that we find imperative reasons for our own polity. Indeed, I should regard with deep distrust any ecclesiastical or doctrinal peculiarities of Congregationalism which were not rooted in the common faith of Christendom. The only adequate justification of what is distinct and characteristic in the creed or polity of any particular Christian community is the desire to assert in the most effective form the truths in which all Christian communities agree.

We are at one with all Christendom in acknowledging that it is the glory of Christ to have made the divine life the inheritance of the human race. We are overpowered with awe and wonder by the transcendent greatness of the gift. For us the supreme question in relation to every man is whether he has made this life his own. That he professes a true creed; that he has been baptized into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that he is zealous in the discharge of what are called religious duties; that he bestows all his goods to feed the poor; that he gives his body to be burned—all this is nothing. Has he received the divine life? Is he living in the power of that life? It is this which divides those in whom the gracious thoughts of God concerning mankind are being fulfilled from those in whom they are being defeated; those who have received the forgiveness of sin from those who are still unforgiven; those who have received authority to become the sons of God from those who have not; those who have been translated into the divine light and the divine kingdom from those who are in darkness and in peril of eternal destruction. And it is this which, if we have rightly understood the mind of Christ, should divide those who are within the Church from those who are without. We may not be able in the confusions and perplexities of human life to secure the perfect realization of this ideal of the divine society; but for us on whom the splendors of that ideal have shone, to surrender it would be ignoble and base. We cannot be unfaithful to the heavenly vision.

We have often been told that, according to Christ's own teaching, the wheat and the tares are to grow together till the harvest; but he interpreted his own parable. The field in which the wheat and the tares are to grow together is the world; it was not Christ's habit to speak of the world when he meant the Church. We have often been told that it is impossible to draw into the membership of the Church all those in whom the life of God is present, and impossible to exclude those from whom it is absent. We admit the impossibility. There was a Judas among the Twelve; and yet, according to the ideal of the apostleship, the apostleship was for the friends of Christ, not for traitors. Divine ideals have never yet been realized either in the life of individual saints or of societies. For us and in this world the divine is always the impossible. Give me a law for individual conduct which requires a perfection within my reach, and I am sure that the law does not represent the divine thought. "Not that I have already attained or am already made perfect; but I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended of Christ Jesus"—this from the beginning has been the confession of saints. Give me a church polity which is what men call practical—a polity which in its completeness can be realized—and I am sure that it is something different from the ideal polity of Christ.

The Church—this is the Congregational ideal—is a society larger or smaller, consisting of those who have received the divine life and who, with whatever inconstancy and whatever failures, are endeavoring to live in the power of it. All that is characteristic of Congregationalism lies in that ideal. The responsibilities and the corresponding powers attributed to the commonalty of Christian people are directly related to the assumption, that they have received the life that dwells in Christ, and that they are one with him. When they are gathered together in his name, whether they are but two or three, or whether they are a thousand, Christ himself is in the midst of them ; one of the company, inspiring their prayers, guiding their decisions, so that their prayers are his, and their decisions his rather than theirs. If the ideal were realized, what things soever they bind on earth would be bound in Heaven, and what things soever they loose on earth would be loosed in Heaven, and whatever they agree to ask would be done for them of the Father. All this would be true if the ideal were realized. It is actually true in the measure in which the ideal is realized.

VI.

It is a glorious conception of the Church, and should create in all those who are intrusted with it a calm and reverential enthusiasm and a devout, patient, laborious fidelity. I wish to ask in conclusion a few questions which are not definitely raised in the programme of our proceedings—I shall put them very briefly—as to the extent to which the Congregational ideal has authority over our thought and life.

1. As the Eternal Father and the Eternal Son are one in the Eternal Spirit, all those who have received the life which God has given men in the Son, achieve their union with the Father in the power of the same spirit. The divine life—the life which has its fountains in Christ, and which is ours because of our union with him—is consummated in its perfection by the grace of the Spirit. Is it quite certain that this truth holds the great place that it should in the Congregational churches of this generation ? In this country—I do not know how it may be in other parts of the world—there have been held during the last thirty years numerous assemblies of Christian men and women associated with different Evangelical Churches, many of them associated with our own, for the express purpose of seeking a larger measure of the power of the Spirit of God. These assemblies, which are usually called Conventions for Promoting the Spiritual Life, have of late been held in all parts of England ; some of them have been attended day after day by many thousands of people. It is no part of my present duty to offer any criticism upon them ; but they seem to me to bear witness to a prevailing sense of want and dissatisfaction. Are we sure that in our churches generally there is a deep and vivid consciousness that the Church is the temple of the Holy Ghost ?

2. It was the aim of our ecclesiastical ancestors who revived the Congregational polity in England three hundred years ago, to realize in the Church the communion of saints. This communion, as they believed, could not be realized unless church membership was limited to those who had received the divine life. It was their conviction that every man in whom that life dwells can contribute something to the light and power and joy of his brethren. The meetings of the church were, therefore, in part, meetings for mutual instruction, counsel, warning, exhortation. It was the duty, not of the elders merely, but of private members, to admonish the disorderly, to encourage the faint-hearted, to support the weak, to see that none rendered evil for evil, to follow after that which is good one toward another and toward all. I suppose that never since apostolic times were so large a number of Christian people personally engaged in rendering service of many kinds to those who are outside the Church ; but I wonder whether there is a corresponding earnestness in the internal edification of the Church—in what Paul calls the " building up" of the body " in love."

3. I should like to ask whether, in our relations to the controversies of our times, the Congregational idea of the Church has exerted its proper and adequate influence. We believe that a church is a society of men possessing the life of the Eternal Son of God, and having direct access through him in the power of the Spirit to the Father ; of men knowing for themselves at first hand the reality and glory of the Christian redemption ; of men to whom the truth of the Christian Gospel is authenticated by a most certain experience—the experience not of the individual life merely, but of a society. Is this consistent with the agitation, the heat, the panic created by the assaults of critics on the historic records of the Jewish and the Christian revelations ? We of all men should keep calm. These controversies leave untouched the strong guarantees of our faith. For us

every church is a society of original and independent witnesses to the grace and power of Christ. For us the immediate manifestations of the eternal life that dwells in Christ are found not merely in the words and deeds and sufferings recorded in the four Gospels, but in the company of the faithful. We know that Christ is alive from the dead, for he lives in them.

The divine life in man—this is a truth to which in common with the holy Catholic Church throughout the whole world we bear our testimony, and, as we think, our testimony receives emphasis and strength from the very polity of our churches. In that life we who are assembled at this Council are all one. We serve God and his people under different skies; we have been separated from each other, and shall be separated again, by the breadths of vast continents and of immense oceans; but in our common union with Christ we are one. In our intellectual account of the contents of the Christian Gospel there may be wide differences among us; and yet we are one. For us Christ is the Eternal Foundation, and the only Foundation, of the Church as well as of the individual life. I trust that the meetings of this Council may assist us through God's grace to build on that Foundation—not wood, hay, stubble—but gold, silver, costly stones. "For each man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it . . . and the fire shall prove each man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work shall abide which he built thereon he shall receive a reward; if any man's work shall be burned he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire." May God grant that both we and our work may endure the trial of that great day.

SOME REASONS FOR BECOMING A CATHOLIC.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

From *The Christian Register* (Unit.), Boston, June 18, 1891.

HAVING been asked by the *Christian Register* to state my reasons for becoming a Catholic, I will try to do so, although it is not easy to set them down in few words. Brevity sometimes appears to leave gaps in the line of thought, which are not intentional and do not really exist in the writer's mind. Besides, there is a vast number of critics who, upon this particular subject of belief, seem actually to seek and prefer misunderstanding rather than fair comprehension or comparison of views. What I am about to write is neither an apology nor a challenge. It is merely a short record made in good faith, which, if others take in bad faith, they may do so to their own detriment, but hardly to mine.

In the churches of man I found, at last, only weariness, and so came as though inevitably—yet not weakly, but with my whole understanding—into the Holy Catholic Church, the Church of God founded by Christ. Baptized and confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal communion, as a boy of fifteen, I drew much good from it. Yet, from the first, I was troubled by the difficulty which Anglicans and Episcopalians seemed to have in making out clearly a divine commission to their Church; the laboriousness with which they toiled over their Apostolical succession, and produced a mass of historical details which, at the best, was not very coherent, and never became at all inspiring. After some years of devout communion, what appeared to me the shortcomings and inconsistencies of Episcopalianism became still more oppressive. It was a gentlemanly, cool, respectable form of religion; but, with all its Apostolic claims, it somehow did not disclose in itself the great, ever-growing spirit of Christ. Although it acknowledged the virgin-birth of Jesus, it nevertheless treated his mother, the Blessed Virgin, with a chilliness approaching disdain, that gave me shame for it and myself, and even cast a sort of shame upon her. It confessed the Communion of Saints; yet that communion was practically as dead to it as the saints themselves were in a physical sense. To some extent, the High Church made up for the deficiencies of the Low by a certain purity and beauty of services, exaltation of worship, and sometimes a kindly mingling of rich and poor in one congregation. But the High Church dwelt in isolation; and it suffered, as the whole Episcopal organization appeared to, from limitedness,—a lack of height, breadth and depth, a want of firmness as well as of universality.

Much latitude of individual opinion was allowed in the Episcopal Church; but latitude of that sort does not constitute universality. For universality needs to have a central and all-comprehensive view, depth, fixity, and simplicity of principles, as well as harmonious correspondence between the whole and the parts. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians I had known well for a long while before my baptism and confirmation. I had gone to their services innumerable times, heard their expositions of doctrine publicly and privately, and for two years attended a Presbyterian Sunday-school and church. But now, when the Episcopalian faith and forms and general position continued to seem so inadequate, I revisited from time to time some of these other organizations, hoping still that, with further experience, and with an intelligence matured at least by the passage of a number of years and by considerable thought, I might yet see in them some outline of that great realization, that living embodiment of true Christian religion, which every one in the very nature of the case has a right to expect. I even went often to the Unitarian meetings, not despairing of the possibility that, even where the divinity of Christ and the triune nature of God was in whole or in part denied, the flower of perfect faith might still be found springing up unawares. Finally, for a number of months, I attended a Congregational church.

Here let me say explicitly that I did not give up my faith, and that I had no intention whatever of formally " joining" any of these religious associations; for to me, at least,—and on this point I used my own intelligence, so far as it went, with honest purpose and earnest sympathy,—they all seemed very partial, and far from fulfilling the idea of a universal Church. Yet I thought that, if I could find in any one of them that which I would have been glad to see,—namely, a serene ardor, a sincere humility, a true devotion coming somewhere near the ideal of a great Christian Church,—I could at least worship with them happily. None of them, on re-examination, offered even that much to my mind. The congregations of these churches, although they included a great number of good, true, cultivated, or uncultivated pious people of admirable character, whose virtues I might emulate for a lifetime, perhaps, without being able to equal them, were so full of their own independent personal judgment and sufficiency to themselves that they could not humble themselves completely before God. For all their words of contrition, self-abasement, and filial dependence, they treated with God rather at a distance, as though with a lurking dread that, if they gave in to His great power too much or too openly, it might somehow encroach unwarrantably upon their dignity, their integrity of private judgment, their rights as human beings. I do not say this in the way of a sneer, but because it is my candid conclusion, to which I was brought much against my will and desire, simply by observing them and trying to share in their service with a reverent mood. These churches interposed man between the soul and God,—always man, man, man. A man in the pulpit who *disclaimed* infallibility of interpretation on his own part, and denied that it existed anywhere, still preached his own views or opinions with an absoluteness which, in fact, *presumed* his infallibility. And he so preached to men and women in the pews who, also *disclaiming* infallibility on their part, made themselves *practically infallible* by rejecting or accepting what he said, in a spirit of absoluteness equal to his, and at their own pleasure.

The Bible was the one rule of faith, and was admitted to be infallible. But there was no acknowledged rule or system of interpreting it. Any one might believe or disbelieve, privately, as much or as little of that infallible rule as he chose. What does an infallible rule amount to, when there is no certainty in the interpretation of it ?

The account, then, so far as Protestants —and semi-Protestants, such as the Anglicans or American Episcopalians—were concerned, stood something like this : On the positive side, a general belief in one intelligent God, and a general belief in Christ, with great variety of views as to His relation toward God and man. On the negative side, inconsistency, dissension, lack of true and complete humility in worship or deed, and total absence of certainty as to interpreting the assumed infallible rule of faith. I had been so thoroughly imbued with dislike and dread of the Catholic Church that I confess I clung to an *a priori* conclusion that it would be even less able than these other religious bodies to supply anything satisfactory to the mind and heart; although I meant some day to investigate it, since a man should look into everything if he wishes to be well informed.

Meanwhile, I had had some contact with German speculative philosophy, which certainly is interesting. But it appeared to me very much like a squirrel's rotary cage, in which the captive, by incessant industry, may travel seemingly an endless number of miles, yet arrive nowhere, and will find himself at last cooped exactly in the place from which he started. With the progress of modern natural science I sympathize intensely now, as I did during the long period of which I speak. A few of the eminent and brilliant men connected with that progress I have had the good fortune to meet or to know intimately; and I think God must take delight in them, because of the splendor of their intellects, their marvellous industry, and the wonders and beauties they have disclosed to us in the creation. If God made and loves the stars, surely He must love the great men of science, even though they sometimes throw out careless or inadequate utterances about the divine and moral constitution of His universe. What they had to utter on this subject, whether in books or privately, I listened to always with much attentiveness and good will. Huxley said once, during a conversation in which I ventured rather actively to combat his view, that he believed in "a malevolent God;" but I was totally unable to discover that any wholesome or constructive faith, or even a sound system of morals, could spring from this belief. Then there is Tyndall, with his theorem that matter contains "the promise and potency" of all life; and so perhaps it does, of all the life which we can see with the human eye. But where does matter come from? whence did it get that promise and potency? On the other hand, the late Prof. Asa Gray, perhaps the most eminent botanist of his generation, published a monograph in which he reconciled the Darwinian theory with the generally received Biblical account of the creation. John Fiske, the brilliant American expositor of Herbert Spencer, has issued two remarkable little books on "The Destiny of Man" and "The Idea of God," wherein he develops from natural science and sociological study a distinctly religious conception, ending with these words: "The everlasting Source of phenomena is none other than the Power that makes for righteousness. Thou canst not by searching find Him out; yet put thy trust in Him, and against thee the gates of hell shall not prevail." Herbert Spencer himself brings us up to the point of perceiving that natural science, when it comes to consider what even the visible universe is made of, terminates in a mystery,—a mystery, it strikes me, as complete as that of the Trinity or of Transubstantiation. So these philosophers and students differ widely among themselves in their conclusions or non-conclusions; and, even when they evolve the submissive, reverent religious idea, they fail to give us any sure connecting link between the natural and the supernatural. Why? Because they have not the means, and never will have, so long as they deny or decline the divine mediation through Christ.

Protestantism is the Faubourg St. Antoine of religion, always on the eve of revolt or in open rebellion. I despaired of finding there the realization of order, the stability of a complete and governing truth. Yet, when I began inquiring into Catholicity, I expected to find in it only the opposite extreme of a bigoted and somewhat unreasoning conservatism. History, of course, had made me aware that much and perhaps the most of our modern enlightenment and civilization originally sprang from the Church,—the revival of learning, the glory of painting and sculpture, many of the first shoots of physical science, and the grandest architecture the world has known; that of the cathedrals. Protestant literature still echoed much of the Church's inspiration, and Protestant poets wrote of her lessons and legends with a fervor and beauty seldom aroused by their own religious associations. Great numbers of men gifted with the highest intelligence and ability in various lines of learning, practical business, public affairs, were Catholics, both in former generations and in the present, even in non-Catholic countries. Still, so tough is the prejudice planted in one's mind by books, periodicals, friends, and old associations all hostile to the Church, that I still dreaded this great institution, with a terror of holy water and the sign of the cross, such as is said to be felt by a certain unpleasant personage. And, indeed, a Protestant, brought up in the system which is always denying some part of Christianity, stands perilously near the mood of Mephistopheles,—*der Geist der stets verneint* ("the spirit that ever denies"). The Catholic Church, in place of denial, is always affirming and renewing faith. Hence the instinctive recoil from it of the negative party. But, further, I had always been a firm believer in, a determined adherent of, political freedom; as I still am. The advancement of the masses in education, liberty, their attainment of the utmost human happiness, cannot be dearer to any one than it is to me. I had been taught, in many quarters, to suppose that the Catholic Church was a menace to these things and to American popular institutions. Now that I know something about it, I am quite at ease on that point.

The Catholic Church was also generally accused of narrowness and arrogance in consigning to perpetual punishment those who do not enter its fold. Examination proved that it does not even attempt anything of the kind. It is not Calvinistic, but recognizes God's mercy as infinite, like all His other attributes,—not measurable even by His Church on earth. It presupposes that this mercy will be exercised toward all men, according to the light which they really were able to obtain, and the sincerity with which they lived up to that light. The Church itself, however, has a clear function to perform,—*i.e.*, to point out and lead to the way laid down by Christ; to guard that path against assault, to remind all men that it is the single, true way prescribed, and to see that those who enter upon it walk straight and fulfil the duty they have assumed. At the same time, while it prays for itself and its flock, prayers go up every day from Catholic shrines and altars all over the world for heretics, unbelievers; not only for the many pagans of modern society who masquerade under a thin pretence of Christianity, but also for needy souls of all times and generations. As to her own children, the Church actually expects that they will be held to a stricter account and judgment, all the more strict and searching because they have received more light than other people; but, if they have been true to this, they will endure the judgment notion, that the Church decrees salvation better, and get their reward in richer measure. I cannot imagine a faith or doctrine more logical and just, nor more divinely and humanely, deeply gentle. And so the common bugaboo for her own adherents, and arbitrarily condemns every one else without qualification, turns out to be what Charles Lamb would call a "popular fallacy."

Most intelligent persons hold it to be a self-evident truth that the human race cannot attain to the finest development in religion and spirituality,—or in healthful, abiding social and material prosperity,—either through tyranny or mob-law or excessive individualism (which is another form of license), but that it must proceed by a wise balancing of authority with freedom. With that principle I fully agree. Yet Protestantism insists upon extremes of individualism in religion. Socialists and Anarchists uphold the same tendency in secular affairs, while also proposing to join with it a new sort of collective tyranny, and attempting to enforce their views by violence; *i.e.*, by mob-rule. In trying to form some impartial estimate of the Catholic Church, from the outside, I naturally sought to apply to it, as tests, the foundation principles of liberty and law, and to see, by these tests, how it bore upon the progress of our race to the hoped-for highest plane of religious, social, civil existence.

In the first place, the Church embodied moral law and distinctly maintained the absolute, unceasing need of authority. Every one, of course, knows that. But it also undertook to bridge that chasm between the natural and the supernatural which the philosophers of mere natural science cannot cross. How? The other so-called "churches," it is true, accept in the main the mediation of Christ as a path over the gulf, but with so many limitations, exceptions, and attenuations that their bridge becomes at last as insubstantial as the rainbow-bridge upon which heroes were supposed to walk into the Norse Valhalla. The Catholic Church, however, provides a solid structure, by means of the spirit and teaching of Christ present in it to-day, as received from Him and from His apostles, and brought down through the constant living words of a great body of successive living men;—the solidity of a direct tradition, fortified by ample documentary evidence from the early Fathers. It does not flinch nor evade, but brings to us that spirit and teaching in vital completeness. The Bible is, for it, an inspired book, but only a partial record of revelation, because the Church itself holds the living revelation of the new law intrusted to it by Christ, and continues to be the embodiment of that truth, the authorized and infallible interpreter of the partial written record. This authorization it derives from Him; and, surely, it is a better one than the assumption of certain men that every man should be an infallible judge for himself. Dr. Briggs, the Presbyterian, now attacks the Bible itself,—which, hitherto, was supposed to be an unimpeachable rule of faith for Protestants,—and says it is full of error; a conclusion which would set individual interpreters even wider adrift than they are now. Prof. J. H. Thayer, of the Harvard Divinity School, on the 20th of last April read to the Universalist Club an essay on "The Change of Attitude toward the Bible," in which he pointed out that the Scriptures were not originally the chief source of spiritual light and life, and that the Church lived for generations without them, before they were written and compiled. The Church made the Bible, instead of the Bible having made the Church. This was heralded in some quarters as "the new view of the Bible;" but it is, in fact, the view which the Roman Catholic Church has always held and holds to-day. Prof. Thayer urged that the Bible, in view of its origin, should be understood and used "in the light of history." But where *is* the light of history, and *what?* Surely, the Roman Catholic Church, which has always maintained that the Bible was a document to be interpreted by the living truth confided to the Church, carries that light of history as handed down to her. In this case, it is the light of Christ. And so, in their attacks upon the Bible as the sole rule of faith, Prof. Briggs and Prof. Thayer simply support the Catholic view; for they put that sacred volume in the place which the Church has always assigned to it.

As to the right of the Roman Catholic Church to define the truth for Christendom, we come at once to the primacy of Peter and of Rome as the centre of authority. On this I shall not waste words. Scripture texts which cannot be explained away support the original commission of Peter with much force; but, still more, the early instances of disputes referred to the Roman See, and settled by it. It is, in part, a question of historic detail, over which men may wrangle till the end of time, if they choose. But the gradual, steady, enduring growth of the Roman pontificate as the head of the Church, while maintaining through good and ill report, and in prosperity or disaster, the firm, clear, simple principles of Christ, is to me —with the corroborative evidence—assurance enough that it has carried with it the original sanction of Christ. Those who lose themselves in controversy over disputed details appear to me to be quarrelling about husks, while the lifegiving fruit is close at hand to be enjoyed by them all.

In like manner, whatever may be said about possible or asserted or actual abuses within the Church, in the past or present, about rival popes or wicked popes, priests, etc., I, for my part, would reply as follows: Political corruption, civil war, the shame of great abuses like slavery, the possible or actual seating in the presidential chair of a man not really elected to the Presidency of the United States,—all these things do not and cannot absolve us Americans from loyalty to the ideal of our country. The citizen who, because of these things, real or imagined, should renounce his allegiance to the republic, would be universally denounced by the whole civilized race as a coward, a traitor, and probably as an arrant fool. Since this is the case, as regards one's love and loyalty toward his country, one's fidelity should at least be quite as strong toward the Church that unites him with God through the actual indwelling of Christ and his original commission.

In the second place, the Church asserts the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which thus becomes a sacrament justified by His words literally, and forms a substantial link, spiritually and scientifically, between God and ourselves. Before going further, let me cite what the novelist Balzac, a Catholic and one of the greatest minds in literature, says in "Seraphita." It will help to explain the only rational mode in which matters infinite and spiritual have to be considered, if we are to apprehend them in any sense approaching truth. Speaking of the creative Word of God, he says, "That Word you scoff at, you men, although you know well that all visible works, societies, monuments, deeds, passions, proceed from the breath of your own feeble word, and that without that word you would resemble the African gorilla, the nearest approach to man." Then he goes on: "You firmly believe in Number and in Motion,—a force and a result both inexplicable, incomprehensible. . . . This numeration must be *absolute*, like all else that is true in itself; but it is purely *relative*: it does not exist absolutely, and no proof can be given of its reality. . . . Thus you will never find in Nature two objects identically alike. In the Natural Order *two and two never make four*: to do so, four exactly similar units must be had, and you know how impossible it is to find two leaves alike on the same tree or two trees alike of the same species. This axiom of your enumeration,"—*i.e.*, that two and two make four, —"*false in visible nature, is equally false in the invisible universe of your abstractions*, where the same variance takes place in your *ideas*." Hence neither mathematics nor ordinary modes of reasoning will suffice to explain infinite mysteries.

Yet, as we have to accept and act upon formulas that sum up all our ordinary knowledge, so we have to accept formulas of extraordinary truth. Otherwise, we never would be able to act at all or to perform our common duties in this life. If we look at Christ, to begin with, simply as a man, He was at least the supreme man in all that is best. Therefore, being supremely above the average man, He partook more of the divine nature, or God, than any other creature. Viewed in that way alone, He was conjoined with God. There is a Power greater than ourselves, which controls our life and all its conditions, as even agnostics admit. The greater must include the less. The whole is, at least, equal to the sum of its parts, and contains all that is in them. The power outside ourselves, which Catholics and many others call God, includes all that *we* have. We possess personality. Therefore, that greater power, God, must possess personality. Christ, as the one being uniting God and man in superlative degree, possessed personality, both divine and human. Thus we have two persons of the Trinity,—God and Christ. The Holy Spirit, as included in these two and emanating from them, is attested sufficiently, to me, by Holy Writ, by its presence in the Church, and by its evident working in the world. This Trinity of Persons, forming one God, nevertheless remains a mystery. But it may be partially apprehended by reflecting that each one of us human beings contains in himself the three elements called "reason," "will," and "instinct." These three seem entirely distinct when we look at them in one way. At different times we are controlled, as we think, by one or the other of them separately; yet we recognize that, somehow, they are connected and related. They are like three distinct persons in us; but we know that they are all one with our individual identity. And so each man carries about, in his own body and soul and mind,—and in his instinct, reason, and will,—a type of the Trinity. It does not, therefore, seem so very hard to apprehend the Trinitarian mystery.

Now, then, the Catholic Church brings Christ, our Lord, one with the Father, actually present before us and to us in his body and blood, at mass and communion. This, too, is a mystery, and cannot be grasped fully by the ordinary sense. But we have Christ's explicit word for it,—which the hundred various interpretations adopted within some years after Luther's Reformation cannot even yet obscure,—and we have the tradition and teaching of the Church. There is, also, if we need to use it, an obvious train of analogy in physical science, and in the general belief professed by all Christians as to the presence of God in all portions of His universe. Nothing in our daily experience is more mysterious or astonishing than the chemical changes which take place at every turn, at every moment, when one substance comes in contact with another, when a liquid or a vapor is condensed into a solid or a solid substance is converted into gas, or when bread changes to sugar on being taken into the mouth. These changes may be defined, so far as we have been able to trace them; but they cannot be fully explained. They remain, largely, mysteries. We do not even know really what matter is, what air is, or what water and electricity are. Yet all of us who admit the existence of God say that He is present in every part of His creation, and may or must be present, in some way, in the very atmosphere around us at any moment. Why may He not, then, be really present as the actual yet glorified body of His Son Jesus Christ, in the Blessed Sacrament, under the form of consecrated bread and wine? If you imagine anything else, you imagine something far more difficult, because it is vagueness and leads to nothing. Emerson said, "To eat bread is one thing: to love the precepts of Christ, and resolve to obey them, is quite another." True, so far as it goes. But Christ said, "Take, eat: this is my body." And the Church accepts and believes the words of Christ, in preference to those of any human moralist, essayist, philosopher, or poet, however pure or illustrious as a man and author. Far from there being any grossness or materialism in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence, it is the supreme triumph of spirituality over materialism, by annulling the mere appearances of matter and recognizing that God as Christ is present under those appearances, according to His promise.

To some persons, belief so absolute and literal and ideal, though thoroughly in accord with the mysteries of natural science, will appear foolish. But, as Saint Paul remarked to the Corinthians, "The foolishness of God is wiser than men."

In other things, the Catholic Church demands from believers an equal perception of the reasonable, an equal faith and trust. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin comes to us from the Fathers, and has been constantly held by the Church, although not defined until 1854. It is logical to conclude that, since she was chosen to be the mother of the God-Man, Christ, Mary herself must have been conceived in freedom from original sin. That is what the dogma of Immaculate Conception means; and, so far as I can discover, the whole civilized world, including non-Catholics, has practically admitted the truth of that dogma, century after century, by the respect paid to the Blessed Virgin, even by those who have been afraid to reverence her or ask for her prayers. As God honored Mary by making her the mother of Christ, so we human creatures should, in our turn, pay honor to her, and for no other reason. But this is a good reason. We hear much, in Protestant denominations, about the need of becoming "as little children," in order to enter the kingdom of heaven. But Protestants never become sufficiently like little children to reverence the Virgin Mother, although they may call their own mothers "angels," and worship them even to the point of kissing their mere pictures when those mothers are dead. Nor can Protestants be so childlike as to ask departed Saints for prayers of intercession to God, although they do not hesitate to ask for similar prayers from their mothers, friends, and preachers who may happen to be alive on this planet. Childlike submission is also needed before one can undergo the ordeal of the confessional and profit by the purification of conscience with which it prepares one for sharing in the Blessed Sacrament of Communion. But this childlikeness of confession —the simplicity, beauty, and strength of which no one can ever know who has not gone through it—is denied to himself by the Protestant who denies so many other things.

It remains for me here to mention only two other matters,—that of Indulgences and that of Papal Infallibility.

Indulgence is not a pardon for sin, either committed or contemplated, and is, indeed, as far as possible from being that. It was, originally, the remitting of certain severe penances which sinners had undertaken to perform for days, months, or years; and this remitting was allowed on condition that they would say prayers, do charitable works, etc., instead of performing other penance. In this way there came to be attached to prayers a number of days of "indulgence," —*i.e.*, remittance from other penitential service; and such prayers may be offered either for the soul of him who prays or for the souls of the departed. But it is not assumed that they are efficacious unless the prayers be sincere. The number of days attached is proportional only, and is not construed as a finite measure of the infinite. Of the infallibility of the pope, it is hardly necessary for me to repeat what has so often been explained, and was patent in the dogma itself as defined,—that his infallibility is not personal, but simply *ex cathedrâ*, when he speaks for the whole Church as to faith and morals. The definition of this dogma, like that of some others, came in the course of time, when it was needful to bring it out clearly as a safeguard of the Church. If the Church were a mere relic, a fossil, it would have no occasion to explain itself, and, in fact, would have no voice to utter. But, as it is living in great strength, and always has lived in great strength, it meets the necessity of every period by defining its doctrine and position toward each question that may be put to it. This does not mean that it alters and adds to the faith of Christ, but simply that it develops more and more clearly the doctrines of that faith. If it were no more than an embodiment of "mediævalism," as people sometimes hint, it would have little to say, and would not keep abreast of the times. The actual "mediævalism" in the case seems to me to be that of the critics who keep going back to the discussion of some phase of the Church's past history in the Middle Ages; while the Church itself strides onward and applies the truth of the Master to every generation. Nothing struck me with greater surprise, or impressed me more powerfully, than the preaching of Catholic priests. As the soul, in their Church, was allowed to come face to face with God, through the mass, and as the congregation bowed itself humbly before him, so the priests were effaced in his majesty, and, when they spoke from the pulpit, their words—instead of flowering out discursively in general essays, intricate erudition, or sensational discourses—seemed to be wholly subordinated to the Lord and imbued with his spirit, in simple unconsciousness of self. For the first time in my life, I felt as though I was in the presence of the apostles and breathed the atmosphere of the early Christian Church, yet an atmosphere that belongs to the present also and must remain the same for all time.

Nor can I possibly describe the reality of the supernatural influence which this true Church diffuses, so soon as one comes into accord with it. To speak in a manner comprehensible by the cynic or the secular philosopher or the Presbyterian who is anxiously waiting for the next revision of his creed, it is this great outlet toward God, this great breath of holiness from Christ, which one feels in the Catholic Church, that makes it so unlike the rotary cage of German metaphysics or the sluggish pool of Episcopalianism and the ebbing tide of Protestant dissension. But even to say this by way of illustration seems half irreverent toward that Catholic faith and ritual which, amid so much of malice and stupidity on the part of the world, go on meekly in mingled humility and gloriousness from age to age.

So much, at present, for law and authority in the Catholic Church. As for liberty, it here—as we find in every other sphere or function of our existence—grows directly out of law, and is strengthened and enlarged by it. The firm foundation gives the soul a buoyant and elastic movement; renewing it for good, supporting it against the evil in one's self or others; opening to it a field of pure, free, healthy, hopeful action through the broad area and to the whole circumference of human life. This liberty is instanced in the great and constant variety of devotions open to every one ; the freedom allowed for reading and discussion, combined with the dignity of obedience to principle ; the vast range of beneficent activity afforded to different temperaments and capabilities, in the great orders ; the happy independence of laymen, acting freely as citizens in every direction, yet drawing refreshment—at all turns, at all hours, on all days—from the ministrations of the Church and Christ's presence in it. A power such as this,—wisely conservative of order, yet setting morals and virtue above all mercenary aims ; solving for men some of the greatest and most pressing problems, on lines of combined faith and reason, carrying out divine inspiration by the unending sacrifices and good deeds of priests and Sisters of Charity ; progressing with the times, yet fixed in affirmation of truth even at the cost of being accused of bigotry,—such a power is not likely to hurt humanity. Catholicity, indeed, flourishes best in a free country, and, if treated without coercion or prejudice, will produce the best citizens in the world. Oliver Wendell Holmes has said that, according to his observation of Catholics on their death-beds, it is a good religion to die by. And so, too, it is the best to live by. For it brings heaven into the heart, makes Christ real to us, and holds men up to a sincere, uncompromising, robust, yet ideal faith, which, if they are true to it, must make them simpler, stronger, gentler, and will surely bring about the spiritualization of the race.

If I were asked why I " embraced Catholicism," the shortest answer would be : I didn't *embrace* it at all, for the same reason that I do not embrace the sky. Catholicity is so universal, like the encircling heaven through which earth moves, that I found it also included me. Some persons say they would be Catholics, if anything, but that they have never " felt the need of professing a faith." This, to me, appears about as reasonable as for any one to say that, while he is grateful for air and sunlight, he does not feel the need of acknowledging it, or for an American to remark that he has never felt the need of declaring his loyalty to the republic.

FROM ROMAN CATHOLICISM TO UNITARIANISM.

A Recent Convert's Experience.

From *The Christian Register* (Unit.), Boston, June 18, 1891.

When a man emerges from the mists of superstition into the full light of religious freedom, one of two motives can be ascribed to him,—moral or intellectual, or, it may be, both. In the case of a Catholic, it is seldom, if ever, acknowledged by his former associates to be the latter. Moral degeneracy alone is said to be the cause. Indeed, the seceder himself chiefly gives to the world as his reason moral disgust. The abuses of the Roman priesthood form the subject of many harangues. As a rule, these " converts" have reached the grand meridian of life, and not a few are in the declining stage. Yet not one of the vast crowds who throng to hear them ever dream of asking : " Why is it that, if Rome is so horribly corrupt, you could spend the best years of your life in its communion ? If the priesthood is bad, why is it that you remained in its ranks so long ?" In truth, those who speak and write in this strain *do not leave the Church.* An investigation, I think, would prove that Rome was well rid of them. They were either suspended or so severely reprimanded for some offence that their wounded pride forced a change. The torrent of vituperation which they heap upon their former faith is evidence of this. Abuse is no argument : it is the only weapon of the beaten man.

I have been asked to give an account of my transition from Catholicism to Unitarianism. Let me state, plainly, that my reason was solely intellectual. Yet I would say a word on the moral, not in confirmation of what has been so often said,—God forbid !—but rather in extenuation of the few—comparatively speaking, the very few—cases of degeneracy that have occurred. In this, I fear, I shall disappoint many ; for anything that flows from the pen of one in my position is devoured with avidity, in the hope that new fields of scandal will be opened up, and, through all, that the writer's pen will be steeped in gall. No word of bitterness will intentionally fall from me. I heartily detest and utterly abhor the Boston Music Hall style of putting the case, because—it is only in open fairness I say it—it is grossly unjust, and—if papers report correctly—flagrantly untrue. Whatever else may be said of the Catholic clergy, it is *not* a debauched body. On the contrary, as one who has lived among them for some years, I feel it my bounden duty to pay it the highest tribute : it is a good, a holy, a pure priesthood. If now and then the world is shocked by an isolated case of scandal, it were better for the world to pause, ere it condemns or traffics on this misfortune, to consider the nature and multiplicity of the allurements. No outsider can know the real life of the priest with its multitudinous dangers. With what caution must every step be picked! with what prudence his every word selected! A priest is a man made up of the self-same component parts as other men; and, God knows, it is hard for flesh and blood to be always on the alert, to be always wound up to the highest pitch of fervor and watchfulness. Hence it happens, in a moment of thoughtless weakness, he who was thought to stand is sadly fallen! Once on the downward grade, oh, how hard to climb back to the former height of sanctity! But I put it in another way. You may look upon the fallen as many intelligent, good (!) people regard the entire priesthood,—*i.e.*, as intrinsically vile and bad. What then? Will you be so illogical as to argue from the particular to the general? Nay: for the sake of argument, I will go still further,—grant that every priest is bad, or, if you will, that the pope and all the sacred college of cardinals get drunk and have a dance every night. "*Quid inde?*" Would this tell against the *truth?* Truth does not depend on one man or any body of men: it is eternal as God himself. At most, it would prove *that they were unholy ministers of a holy cause.* Nor would it tell against the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff. Infallibility does not preclude peccability.

Do not, then, storm and strive to batter down the citadel of Rome because of the sins of men. Such blows are spent in air. It is as the rush of the angry waters upon the solid rock: they only fall back, baffled and broken, whence they came. So much, then, for the moral sore.

I now pass to the intellectual phase. Here charity would be misplaced. We cannot gloss over blasphemy. We should not be silent where libellous views of God and unworthy views of man are concerned. Let us lay bare and hold up to a thinking world the hateful thing,—this system of would-be infallible dogmatism,—though not in any polemic or controversial spirit. Ours is not the object to insult or vainly triumph over the opinions of such as are separated from us. Error is not to be treated with derision or wantonly sported with: it should rather be feelingly compassionated. God deliver us all from prejudice and unkindness, and fill us with truth and virtue! May he graciously enlighten the minds of all, that they may see the clear, beautiful light of his holy truth, and inflame all hearts, that they may assume courage to follow its salutary guidance.

The great scholastic Augustine once used the expression, "Non intelligo ut credam sed credo ut intelligam;" and in this he not only spoke for himself, but he concisely, though not quite accurately, defined what must be the state of every Catholic mind. He should have said, "*Non licet mihi intelligere ut credam,*" etc., or some phrase equivalent. Here, then, lies the issue: faith does not, or cannot, come through the intelligence, but rather are the powers of intellect and reason to be kept in abeyance until the soul has been illuminated by the light of faith. I can only touch lightly upon the various points, because I am limited in space. But, if you will bear the above saying in mind, you will see the incongruity of the Catholic position without much effort of mine.

The primary and fundamental article of the Church is the miraculous revelation of religion. Her teaching here is at variance with that revealed in the works of God and approved by our reason: there is a constant struggle between the two. To escape from this, the Church, wise in her generation, insists that revealed religion is a matter beyond the province of reason, and is to be conceived by faith only; and she tells us this faith cannot be acquired, that it is a special gift of God. Faith must not be confounded with belief. It is a matter of feeling rather than reason, and is in its nature analogous to conscience, or sense of duty.

Conscience does not supply the standard of right and wrong: it merely requires us to do that which we believe to be right, after we have ascertained it to be so from other sources. So neither does faith supply the truth of what we believe: it merely gives sanction and life to the belief we have arrived at from inquiry or authority. Now, it is in judging of the completeness of this inquiry or the sufficiency of this authority that the necessity arises for an appeal to reason. If God unequivocally and unmistakably reveals anything to his children, it is not so much piety as common sense to believe, not impiety, but madness, to deny. If all things have, indeed, been revealed, then it were folly to dispute. But is it not lawful—nay, is it not our duty—to ask for certainty of such revelation? To reveal means to discover, to make known; and we ask, where is it made known? In the Bible? Alas! men have put the Bible on a false pedestal. They have set it up as an infallible oracle,—all alike inspired, each and every word the word of God, every sentence, on whatever subject, a little divine proposition. Thus one would incur eternal reprobation if he doubted the accuracy of the Biblical statement that "Tobias' dog wagged his tail." It can well be demonstrated from external and internal evidence that all this is too great a tax on our credulity. If all that the book contains be true, then modern science is wofully incorrect. Writers divinely inspired, though they might not see fit to impart astronomical or geological truths, would at least, I think, have taken care not to state anything inconsistent with those truths. But consider who it is that dogmatized on this matter,—miraculous revelation. What is the authority that has pronounced the Scriptures divinely inspired? The Church. But whence is the authority of the Church derived? From Scriptures and tradition, which is matter of evidence. We cannot, therefore, accept the inspiration as an article of faith on its authority: it would be to argue in a circle.

Next in order comes the treatise "De Ecclesia,"—*i.e.*, the origin, pretensions, power, and authority of the Church. Much has been written on this,—notably, Dr. Martineau's excellent book, "Seat of Authority in Religion." But the whole edifice can be swept away by one little sentence. The Church first props up the Scriptures, and then itself leans upon them for support! No wonder that those of her children who dare to think break from her bonds to breathe the life-giving air of freedom. The evidence of her claim would not be admitted in any court of law. Yet millions make it the *raison d'être* of their religion. I would not speak disparagingly of the members of the Church; but it is an acknowledged fact that—well, they do not form the cream of intellectual life. There are many able minds among them. But, when we remember that it is not lawful to read what one may wish, that to study books which are *ex professo* heretical would be to incur censure, how is the truth to be got at? In all matters of doubt, the perplexed one is referred to this infallible tribunal. The Church is the final appeal: her word must settle all. "*Ecclesia locuta, causa ergo finita.*" Throughout the centuries this Church has been telling us secret, mysterious things. How, pray, has it learned them? When and to whom, for instance, did God reveal that he was three in one? We cannot understand the nature of God. No finite intelligence can form an adequate conception of the Infinite. I say, boldly, then, in spite of all decrees, we are not justified in believing whatever we are told about him. On the contrary, we are in duty bound to question the reason and the authority for any statement made on so dread a subject. Is faith, then,—simple, childlike faith,—unassisted by reason, nay: faith, I should say, in matters glaringly antagonistic to reason, the path, the only path, by which we are to come to the eternal possession of our true home? Shall reason be dethroned, and man become the mere sportive toy of a fellow-man, who professes to be the infallible guide of mortals here and possessor of secrets beyond the grave? or shall man, standing erect, confront this arrogant usurper of supernatural authority, and demand his credentials? Infallible authority, whether it be invested in man, Church, or book, must be repudiated. There is nothing to substantiate the claim. If to establish this, as theologians declare, was the mission of Christ, then all I can say is that the manner in which he performed his work is evidence enough that he was not only not God, but, intellectually, of a very poor order of humanity. I mean no disrespect, but any of us could have done the work much more creditably. It only needed a few plain words: *e.g.*, "I, who am God, came to redeem and save a fallen humanity. I institute my Church, which is to continue my work, the head of which will be my representative; and all his teaching, pertaining to faith and morals, will be guarded from error. He will be infallible!" But no: this was not the mission of Christ to earth. Nowhere have we evidence of his regarding man as degraded, fallen from a former high estate. His great heart went out in love and sympathy to all; and it was his special delight to gather round him little ones, through whom he taught the most beautiful of lessons,—"the kingdom of heaven is made up of such." This does not look as if he thought they were "tainted by Adam's Fall." Repentance and amendment of life was what Jesus insisted on, not points of doctrine. The religion which he preached and enforced by his example was fitted to accommodate itself to the spirit of succeeding ages and to advance with the progress of human nature. It was summed up in one word, "Righteousness."

But what are the chief tenets of this infallible Church? The Trinity, the Incarnation, the Immaculate Conception, the Origin of Man, his supposed Fall and Redemption, the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Sacramental system, the Future life, the doctrine of Predestination; *i.e.*, election and reprobation.

Up to April, 1885, I would have offered my heart's blood in defence of any of these dogmas. Early in that year I studied the treatises "De Deo Uno et Trino" and "De Verbo Incarnato." Oh, who can know the pain of a mind agitated, distracted by doubt! Toward the end of the year, after vainly striving to silence the demands of reason by the soothing voice of faith, I went, heart-broken, to a dear and valued friend. He received me tenderly, and for a time caused me to fondly delude myself, telling me that other souls were called upon to pass through this terrible ordeal. "It is the last effort of the Evil One," he said. "If he cannot get the soul to yield to sin [he mentioned the kind], he at last attacks their faith. Pray, dear child, and do not seek to lead yourself." Prayer is the golden key of God's own heart. Oh, how I strived to unlock it! How I prayed God not to let me see as others saw, but to clear the mists and let in upon my soul the full light of His Holy Truth. Four long, weary years,—it was God's own time,—and the answer came. The cry that had so often escaped me during the day and also through the silent, solemn hours of night, "Fiat Lux," brought a reply. The thick, dark, lowering clouds were chased away by the glorious sun of Truth and Light. But the joy and indescribable peace that then came to me were not unalloyed. The mental agonies and physical pain I endured no one can imagine. The gradual drifting and final transition, the heart-breaking scenes with nearest and dearest, is a chapter not to be set to paper. But Truth exacts much of her followers, and he is a craven who dares not give.

It was diligent study of the Incarnation that struck a death-blow at my faith in the Trinity. How? Elaborately as that treatise has been written, it failed to convince me of the Divinity of Christ. The Scriptures no longer spoke to me with a Divine voice. Of all, that attributed to John had least weight with me. Its genuineness and authenticity could not be sustained. Yet on this Fourth Gospel lay the great burden of proof of this most vital dogma. I could not regard it as historical: it seemed to me rather a philosophy of Christianity written obviously at a much later period than the other Gospels,—the author a person of extraordinary genius and thoroughly imbued with learning and philosophy of the Alexandrine school, Hebraistic, Platonic, and Pauline. One of the "seven words" that Christ spoke on the cross has always been to me very significant,—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" If in Christ there were two natures, the nature of God and the nature of man, there could be no fraction of a moment when the Godhead could absent itself from the humanity, as the *Hypostatic Union* teaches. Christ in His dereliction calls upon God, and the cry in that awful moment proves beyond doubt his great need of Divine solace and comfort such as other men.

For the Trinity, it is claimed (*a*) we have no right to question or reject: it is the old story,—"Non intelligo ut credam." (*b*) We have need of these three persons, who render us distinct services. In the name of God, the Infinite, the All-perfect One, I protest against this teaching. El Shaddai the Hebrews called him; and rabbinical commentators say the word means the All-sufficient, "because in his Godhead there is sufficient for the whole creation,"—a false etymology, perhaps, but sound theology. "We need three persons!" If gods are to be multiplied according to our needs, we should want room for all the Pantheon of India or of Greece. I need more than I can tell or than I know. I need mercy, care, and guidance, food and medicine,—everything; for I have nothing of my own. I am dependent on the Spirit of Life more than is the new-born baby on the mother. But I have no more numerous needs than had the men of old, who found the one God equal to every demand. (*c*) As God is divided into three persons, so history into three stages or divine reigns. To such a thing there are no facts which correspond.

The Immaculate Conception.—It will surely suffice to say of this that the greatest theologian the Church has ever produced, Thomas Aquinas, did not teach it. When I was studying in the University at Rome, a Dominican Frate, who was busily employed bringing out a new edition of Saint Thomas, told me that in a certain convent he came across manuscripts of the great theologian, and he noticed that a small piece had been cut out from the centre of one parchment. He subsequently discovered that this was a sentence offending against the dogma. Saint Bernard, too, the great ascetic, was in accord with Aquinas.

Man.—In speaking of the nature of the origin of man, the Church insists that he sprang into being by an instantaneous stroke of Divine energy. Science, however, tells us he reached his present status through the slow unfolding process of evolution, and that in his first introduction into the world he was *not* a more perfect being than at present. This dispenses with a solution of the problem of the supposed

Fall. We must discard the Biblical account and accept the unanswerable proofs of science.

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.—Apart from the supposition of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, this is incapable of proof. But supposing the Church's teaching to be true here,—*i.e.,* the resurrection of a supernatural and Divine person,—it would afford no conclusive argument in favor of the resurrection of human beings conceived and born in the ordinary course of nature. The resurrection *of the body* is now almost universally given up by intelligent Christians, and the miracle, therefore, proves too much. "Qui nimis probat nihil probat."

The Future Life.—"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man," etc., yet the Church, as by some magic touch, would fain draw aside the veil that shuts out this mysterious world!

The Sacramental System.—The definition of a sacrament is an outward sign of inward grace ordained by Christ, by which grace is given to the soul. The essence of a sacrament lies in its *matter and form.* But this is determined not by Christ, but by the Church,—*ergo,* etc. I merely want to refer to two of these sacraments,—baptism and penance. The former cleanses the soul from original and actual sin. It is absolutely necessary for Eternal Life. What of those who die unbaptized before they reach the use of reason,—infants? They of themselves have done no sin, and cannot, therefore, be justly punished. The Church, without dogmatizing, recognizes this, and consigns them to a "place of rest,"—*Limbo,*—yet eternally excluding them from the "beatific vision." What I want to point out is the barbarous teaching of one of the greatest theologians, indeed the greatest, on the subject of "Grace," Saint Augustine. He emphatically holds that such infants go to hell! The Church throughout her theologies largely cites Saint Augustine as an authority. What will she do with him here? The Sacrament of Penance, with its auricular, specific, and numerical confessions, cannot be supported even by the Bible. "Whose sins you shall forgive," etc., cannot be twisted and distorted out of shape to mean this. Indeed, we have no evidence that this kind of confession existed in the primitive ages. If it is necessary, *ad salutem eternam,* that the sinner should verbally confess with specific and numerical exactness, what of the man who is suddenly struck down in the midst of his sins, and, though unconscious, does not die before the arrival of the priest? The Church commands the priest to absolve. It may be explained by saying the absolution is given *conditionally,* and that the man, if he recover, is bound to confess. But the Church would give it in the case of moral certainty that the man would *not* recover, therefore showing its own belief that absolution may be valid without confession. It is the same with the deaf-mutes. According to the dogma, they are not *compelled* to write, and the priest may not understand their signs, yet they are absolved!

Just one more point,—*predestination; i.e.,* election and reprobation. The Church repudiates the Calvinistic theory, yet does not censure the teaching of the same great scholastic, Augustine! His doctrine of *ante prævisa merita* is the most atrocious libel possible on the attributes of God,—his love, goodness, mercy, and paternity. God is here made a monster more horrible than earth has ever seen. Away back in the eternal decrees of heaven it is known to God that myriads of his creatures will be irretrievably lost, not so much from any overt act of wrong, but because, forsooth, the Creator, God himself, had not willed that they should be born within the reach of certain influences, or because during their earthly career they had not adopted certain formularies, the existence of which they had never known. What a religion! Fancy God creating children in a moment of pleasure, and then, in a subsequent second of anger, dooming them to eternal reprobation. Is it a matter of marvel if any thinking, unbiased mind should shake off the fetters of such a headless creed and look longingly for light? The light which bedecks the Church's faith is not the clear, majestic light of truth, but rather the deceptive glamour of superstition. Her tenets are hollow and unsubstantial. They are gilded nothings,—fair to the eye, but rotten at the core: they delectate the sense, but disgust the reason. What is there in Unitarianism? To me it is wonderfully sweet and good. It puts man in his right relation with the world, himself, and with his God. It contains no slanders on the All-holy One. It has no creed or authoritative confession of faith. It leaves to man the fullest exercise of the noble faculties God has endowed him with,—intelligence and reason. It is her privilege to promulgate doctrine which all acknowledge, but which most confuse,—the Unity of the Godhead, the humanity of Christ, the brotherhood of man. She says but little of the future life, because she professes to know but little. This is the glory of the Unitarian: if he is right in the conclusion he arrives at, his adversaries must be utterly wrong in asserting *what is false.* Whereas, if he is wrong, it is *only by defect.* All he asserts is undoubtedly *right,* and all churches are indebted to him for his insistence on truths too easily and too generally overlooked. For doing my utmost to promote these truths I am declared anathema—that is, accursed—by this infallible authority. We are all—all the so-termed heretical members—branded. Well, the lightning of ecclesiastical wrath may flash, her thunders of excommunication may roll in terrific fury against us, but they only recoil helplessly back, and we advance in our grand onward march of freedom, bearing in our hands to light us on our way the clear-burning torch of Truth. No power can dim her lustre. Intellectual, scientific research only enhance her brilliancy. As to-day, so forever, her shining is bright, beautiful, eternal.

HOW AND WHERE SHALL WE PUT UP THE BARS?

BY PROFESSOR RICHMOND MAYO-SMITH, COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, July 2, 1891.

It is very evident that we have not yet reached a clear solution of the question of immigration. However much we may wish to maintain the traditional American policy of the perfect liberty of the individual to go and come as he pleases, and to make his home where he likes, the events at New Orleans and the influx of large numbers of criminals and paupers show that that policy is breaking down. It is worse than mere carelessness on our part, it is almost criminal, to shut our eyes to the fact that the immigration of these elements adds greatly to the complicated problems of our social life. The question is how we shall modify our policy of perfect freedom of migration without destroying the advantages of international intercourse and amicable relations with other nations, which are the best fruit of our present civilization. We want neither Chinese exclusiveness, which means a stationary civilization, nor a recrudescence of the spirit of knownothingism, which means national vanity, bigotry and narrow-mindedness.

To my mind the mistakes we make in trying to solve this problem are in approaching it from the standpoint of the individual nation instead of treating it as an international matter. We declare that we will not admit certain classes of persons to our shores, and when they come they are sent back. For instance, a Dutch steamer landed at the port of New York, a few weeks ago, a band of Turco-Armenians entirely destitute, some without even shoes and stockings, incorrigible beggars, probably thieves, entirely ignorant of our language. Those people had come across the Mediterranean and landed at Marseilles, thence they were taken across France and shipped to America. Rejected by our inspectors on account of their poverty they were returned by the steamship company to France, thence to make their way home as best they could. Here were three or four nations interested directly or indirectly in the wanderings of these men. The United States did not want them, France, doubtless, did not want them, nobody wanted them. But they were carried thousands of miles only to find the door shut in their face and they compelled to retrace their weary steps. Each nation takes only the negative position of rejection.

Another striking example is the case of the Russian Jews. Russia expels them solely on her own authority, and treats with contempt the protests of philanthropic people in England and America. The outcasts come to London and take the bread from the mouths of the British workmen, until public sentiment is demanding exclusion. The charitable Jews of London try to solve the problem by paying the passage of these people to America, but that only removes the grievance to another nation. What shall we do with them? Shall we send them back to England? and then shall England send them back to Russia? But suppose Russia refuses to receive them? Are human beings to be knocked about from one nation to another like shuttle-cocks, never to find a resting place? It is evident that the mere negative policy of each nation rejecting the persons whom they dislike is the crudest and most cruel form of regulating human relations.

The true solution of the question is to put it on an international basis. In old times the stranger or foreigner was an enemy and had no rights. By the growth of international law the foreigner is protected by his home government, and Italy is quite right in asserting that the Federal Government is in a very unfortunate position in not being able to vindicate the treaty rights of foreigners. But the protection of travelers and merchants has become an unimportant question compared with that concerning the relations of persons who leave their own country for the purpose of making their permanent home in another. And if the whole machinery of the diplomatic and consular service has often been set in motion for the sake of vindicating the right of an American or Englishman in Turkey or Egypt, why would it not be an object worthy the attention of statesmen to regulate the more important relations brought about by modern immigration? The movement of these great masses of men is of importance both to the country losing them and to the one gaining them, as well as to the countries they pass through on their way to their destination. Emigration and immigration in their modern proportions are international questions of the highest importance, and deserve recognition as much as the question of the neutrality of an interoceanic canal or the smuggling of arms out of one country for the use of a revolutionary party in another.

There is no doubt in my mind that the question of immigration and emigration will soon be regulated by international agreement. When that is done the following principles, already observed more or less in practice, will become distinctly recognized.

In the first place each nation will be expected to take care of its own unfortunates—its criminals, paupers, malcontents, etc. It will be an unfriendly act to encourage or even permit these undesirable persons to emigrate to another country. This rule certainly has a sound basis both in politics and in ethics. If the discontent or misery is due to bad government the government should be reformed. If it is simply the "seamy" side of the civilization which on the whole is good, then the bad should be taken with the good and the poverty of some should be relieved out of the abundance of others. If the social and political condition of Italy, for example, should be such as to make the entire suppression of brigandage and violence impossible, she cannot on that account justly demand that we should receive her criminals. If the land system of Ireland results in filling her poorhouses, she cannot solve the land question by emptying her poorhouses upon us. Social ethics certainly demands that each nation shall provide for that "residuum" of suffering and crime which accompanies its own civilization.

In the second place international law will recognize the absolute right of each country to put what restrictions it likes upon immigration. As a matter of fact, it does so now, and no nation complains when we send back criminals or paupers. Each nation must be sovereign over its own territory and have the right to exclude aliens if it like. But in the future nations will be expected to exercise their right more carefully and more rigidly and severely. Each nation must protect its own civilization if it sees it threatened by the introduction of elements incompatible with it. So long as the restrictions apply to the immigrants of different nationalities alike no nation can justly feel aggrieved.

But, in the third place (and this is the hard point), we must recognize, together with the right to restrict immigration, a corresponding right to restrict emigration. If we, for instance, demand of the nations of Europe that they shall not permit certain persons to be sent to us, they will demand that certain persons shall not be received by us. Emigration and immigration can be regulated by international agreement, but we must offer a *quid pro quo* if we expect hearty co-operation from European countries. What the Continental nations demand is that emigration for the purpose of evading military service should be stopped. There is a sentiment in America that compulsory military service is a tyrannous oppression, and we are apt to look with lenient eyes upon the youths who emigrate to avoid it. I believe this to be a false sentiment. In a constitutional country where compulsory military service rests upon all alike it is unpatriotic to avoid it, just as it is wrong to evade taxation. It is throwing upon others an additional share of the burden which should rest upon all.

But it is objected that recognizing the right to restrict emigration, and making it effective by international agreement, would destroy the last refuge from political tyranny and oppression. Patriots with revolutionary aspirations would be completely at the mercy of existing governments, and constitutional progress would be made impossible. Here, again, we are living in the ideas of the last century, where liberty was unknown and revolution was necessary to gain freedom of thought and speech. But all modern civilized governments allow such participation in public affairs that revolution is no longer necessary for the vindication of human rights. Reform, not revolution, is the true line of progress.

Recognizing, then, frankly that an emigrant may have duties which he owes to the mother country which has reared him, and that the mother country shall have the right to demand that these duties shall be discharged before he is allowed to depart, the regulation of emigration and immigration by international agreement becomes feasible. Every person who meditates a permanent change of domicile, an act which affects both the country he is leaving and the country to which he is going, and an act which is certainly one of the most important of his life, should give due notice of his intention and take out a certificate permitting him to emigrate. This certificate should be issued conjointly by the officials of the home government and the consular representative of the country to which he is going. It should certify to the fact that he has discharged his duty to his fatherland and that he will be received by the new country. No emigrant should be allowed to depart without such certificate and no immigrant be allowed to land without one. The expense of inspection and examination should be borne by the emigrant, and if it be so heavy as to deter thoughtless and unconsidered migration, so much the better. Both nations would be interested in the impartial and honest enforcement of such an agreement, and international migration, which is such an important phenomenon of modern life, would be placed where it belongs, as one of the most important subjects of public international law.

SOME " HERESIES " WITH RESPECT TO HERESY.

BY DAVID JAMES BURRILL, D.D., PASTOR OF THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 9, 1891.

WE never thought when we leaned over our desks in the old village school, tracing along the pages of our copy-books with wearisome iteration the alliterative legend " Many Men of Many Minds," that under our cramped fingers we were formulating the rationale of intellectual progress. This is a broad world we are living in, broad enough for all sorts and conditions of men ; but it takes a large-minded man to give elbowroom as well as take it. The secret of peace is to agree to differ. We may be as dogmatic as we please, providing we allow the same privilege to others. All earnest people are pursuing the same quest ; but their paths are not parallel. At the crossroads comes the danger ; however, there is no danger even there if, in deference to God's truce and the right of way, we doff our beavers with " Good-morrow, friend. State your argument and let us pass on." Nothing is gained by blows, nothing by logomachy, certainly nothing by billingsgate ; but everything by frankness, forcibleness, and keeping sweet.

This by way of *caveat*, for the writer sings the Heretic in a minor strain, and, but for the foregoing, might be reckoned a bigot, which God forbid !

One of the current misjudgments as to heresy is found in the question " What is it ?" the implication being that it cannot be defined. Not that lexicographers are at fault ; Webster makes it " a fundamental error in religion," and Stormonth " a religious opinion opposed to Scripture as interpreted by the doctrinal standards of any particular Church ;" but the difficulty lies at the bar of arraignment. A technical defense may lay Webster or Stormonth like acid on alkali and dissipate the whole issue in effervescence. But to infer therefrom that there is no genus *heretic* would be as unwarranted as to say that thievery is a myth because a considerable majority of our thieves manage to squeeze through the meshes of the law. The " whisper" ascribed by Priestly to Bishop Warburton, " Orthodoxy, my lord ? Orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy is another man's doxy," has come to be a strident proverb, but absolutely there is nothing in it. Heresy has as distinct outlines as arson or forgery or any other sort of moral crookedness. How, then, is it that the trial of an alleged heretic is so apt to be like a game of blind-man's-buff ? This lies in the nature of the case.

Given, a human court, an influential culprit and a Philadelphia lawyer ; and hoodwinked Justice has ever a hard time of it. In civil cases the Canada line is early sought ; in ecclesiastical cases it is, alas ! the *pis aller*. When all else fails you may get out of your denomination by night and be safe from extradition. The civil culprit is much more particular as to means than the average heretic. No prison was strong enough to hold Jack Sheppard, but, to his credit be it said, he never in his life held his pursuers at bay while he discussed with them the question whether or no there is such a thing as highway robbery. He dug his way out like a man ; but your ecclesiastical Artful Dodger does not scruple to escape through a loophole in the law or a definition ajar. Yet, back of it all, everybody knows what heresy means. The standard of denominational orthodoxy is as clearly set forth in the various denominational symbols as civil loyalty is outlined in the Constitution of the United States. But beyond this, and more to our purpose, there is a broad definition held in common by all branches of the Universal Church of Christ. It is furnished by the historical consensus, which is better than a hundred dictionaries. The Church is founded on Jesus Christ as set forth in the Scriptures, on the Word incarnate as portrayed in the Word written; and Orthodoxy, by universal and immemorial consent, is loyalty to this binomial Word of God. Whatever else and above may be required in any particular body of believers, this is the maximum of requirement and the minimum as well in that world-wide fellowship which we call the Holy Catholic Church.

A second error, in this connection, is the association of heresy with "honest doubt." No one questions that there is such a thing as honest doubt, however much we may deplore it. The most vigorous defender of the faith probably has his modicum of it. But the Heresy that walks about with a feather in its hat and a chip on its shoulder, airing its vast pretensions and hooting, owl-like, at the simple-hearted devotees of old-fashioned truth, is to Honest Doubt as Don Quixote posing in the guise of a puissant knight to sweet Jeanie Deans plodding afoot with tears and misgivings to open a dungeon door. Honest Doubt is modest to a fault. It knows the tremendous value of a truth, and ever fears to belittle or molest it. There is nothing of flippancy in this quarter, nor of impertinence, nor of supercilious bravado. It never smears the face of a creed with phosphorus, and stands off to make sport of it, for it knows that *credo* is the very basis and shibboleth of character. It scorns a band-wagon, and posts no bills to say "Come and see me leap through a blazing hoop!" And Honest Doubt is honest, above all. It breaks no ordination vows nor quibbles with them, but, mayhap, outgrowing its environment, moves on with charitable grace to other fields. It would die of shame if forced to sit in a professor's chair and eat stolen bread from a dead man's larder. And Honest Doubt is hopeful. Its function is not to demolish for the sake of hearing a crash, but to clear the space for a new temple. Its twilight is not the gloom that settles into an Egyptian darkness, but the twilight of the morning when all is hushed to catch the earliest song of the skylark and the voice of labor in the dewy fields. Honest Doubt is ever helpful, too; not snatching away the crutch of the poor cripple who "just knows, and knows no more, his Bible true;" but lending a hand to every earnest seeker after truth. "For God's sake," wrote bewildered Goethe to a skeptical friend—"for God's sake tell me no more of your unbeliefs. I have enough of my own. But if you know anything, if you have discovered any truth, let me share it with you." There is deep wisdom in what James Russell Lowell says:

"O thou whose days are yet all spring,
Faith, blighted once, is past retrieving;
Experience is a dumb, dead thing;
The victory's in believing!"

A third error worth noting lies in the assumption that heresy goes cheek by jowl with progressive thought. There are some things which the controversies of the past have settled; they were problems once, but they are postulates now; and the part of wisdom is to take advantage of such results. He who insists on demonstrating the axioms of Euclid will be gathered to his fathers before he has reached the Pons Asinorum. Time spent in proving God and immortality is love's labor lost, and worse than lost; for it crowds out the consideration of truths lying further on. A heretic is one who refuses to accept the fundamentals until they shall have been brought forth *seriatim* out of his own labor pains. The toil of past centuries in his behalf goes for nothing. A housewife who should put her sewing-machine into a corner to await the result of her investigations with a perforated fishbone would scarcely be called a progressive seamstress; and a farmer who put aside his gang-plow until he had worked up along all the processes from an Egyptian forked stick, might pass in his own esteem for a progressive husbandman, but the world would think him something of a fool. Why, then, should we applaud a certain class of theologians for rejecting the labor-saving products of the past? The cheapest notoriety in the world is to be had by calling the *credenda* in question. Here is a man who doubts God, doubts inspiration, doubts the atonement of Christ; let him but proclaim his doubts from the platform of faith, and the claqueur gather about him. "Lo, the progressive thinker! Mark how he frees himself from the shackles of creed and symbol; how he towers above the bondslaves of dogma. He is a hundred years ahead of his time." A progressive thinker, forsooth! He's a relic of the paleozoic age. The only progressive thinker in this world is the man who thinks further than his forbears, and who, to that purpose, climbs upon their shoulders and looks away on ever-broadening landscapes of spiritual and eternal truth.

A fourth error is in the statement, lately much hackneyed, that "the heretics of yesterday are the orthodox believers of to-day." A recent book by Dr. S. E. Herrick, bearing the title, "Some Heretics of Yesterday," presumes to appropriate for its uses the sacred names of Wiclif, Huss, Savonarola, Latimer, Cranmer, Melanchthon, John Knox, Calvin, Coligny, William Brewster and the Wesleys! It is a libel against the dead mighties. These men fought for a creed, adventured their lives for orthodoxy, and without exception lifted up voices of thunder against the current heresies of their times. They "stood in the ways and asked for the old paths, and cried: 'Walk therein, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.'" Our Lord himself has been called a heretic; yet who does not know how vigorously he defended the old landmarks of truth? Or who does not remember the fierce woes which he fulminated against the vainglorious and irreverent rabbis who had presumed to improve upon old-time precepts by overlaying them with heretical innovations? If we would find the real heretics of yesterday we must pursue our search in unconsecrated graveyards. There are Hymenæus and Philetus, Celsus, Arius and Pelagius, Volney, Bolingbroke, Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Hosea Ballou, Joseph Priestly, Theodore Parker, and numberless others whose names are moss-grown on the marble. All such in their day sprang up and flourished like mushrooms; but they never overtopped the tall trees which grew in the Lord's forest, though some—and possibly they themselves—thought they did. Some of their kin are living now, still claiming a monopoly of culture, still insisting that this is a poor, hide-bound world, and that they are the only freemen in it. For, as Tom Moore says:

> "Mad as Christians used to be,
> About the thirteenth century,
> There's lots of Christians can be had
> In this, the nineteenth, just as mad."

One more error with reference to heresy; to wit, that it is popular. It is, indeed, sensational and that in the worst sense. It revamps old fads and worn out sophisms, and makes them look so fresh and lifelike that Mrs. Jarley herself could scarcely tell them from living truths. It elbows reverence aside and jostles past the scholarship of the world, shouting "I am Sir Oracle, and when I ope my lips let no dog bark!" It prates fluently of progress and the *Zeitgeist* and seems to be making great headway; but when its numerical results are spread before the public gaze they remind one of Caracalla's plate of nightingales' tongues. At this moment Heresy has hold of the rope that works the whistle, but Truth is still running the Engine. The alarm brings fluttering to many hearts. These heretics are a disturbing people. We are afraid lest they devour the heritage of the Lord; but until they can muster more than their present corporal's guard at Andover the superannuated old lovers of a trustworthy Bible may hope still for a brief respite from death. A little girl, whose pet dog was barking lustily at the militia, called to her mother in great trepidation, "Oh, Mamma, come quick! Gip's going to bite the army!" But at last accounts the army was safe, and Gip had gone indoors to curl himself up on his rug. The thing which hath been shall be. There are noises in the sky above and in the earth beneath; but God reigns, the truth is safe, and the world grows better every day.

THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

BY REV. A. W. DRURY, D.D.

From *The Interior* (Pres.), Chicago, June 18, 1891.

No church in the United States, numerical features being considered, is so imperfectly known as the church of the United Brethren in Christ. The history of the churches of Europe throws no direct light upon it. It sprang up in America through newly awakened evangelical life, and not as the result of schism. No great controversies attended its origin, and no singular or obtrusive elements have marked its polity or history. Moreover, it originated with the Germans, who stood in a measure apart from the general population. The church has been confounded with the Moravians, with whom it has no historical connection, and it has sometimes been designated a Methodist body, though in origin and history it has ever been entirely distinct.

About 1766 a general religious movement among the Germans in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania sprang up, having Rev. William Otterbein, an ordained minister of the German Reformed Church, and Rev. Martin Boehm, a recognized preacher of the Mennonite Society, as the principal leaders. Both of these leaders had separately for some years been preaching the doctrines of experimental religion. Those who united with their societies were designated the "unsectarian." But in the year 1800 the religious movement fully assumed the character of a church. From this time annual conferences were regularly held. The first general conference, held in 1815, revised the confession of faith previously in use and authorized a printed book of discipline. About 1830 the English element in the church began to prevail over the German. At present only about three per cent. of the membership are German. Beginning with Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, the church has established itself chiefly in the middle and western states, though in other portions of the United States and also in Canada it has extended its work. The increase in membership has been mostly by conversions from all classes of our population. This fact, together with the fact that a laying aside of differences was a prominent feature in the founding of the church, has caused all other characteristics largely to be sunk in an intensely evangelical and aggressive spirit. The general conference of 1841 adopted a constitution without submitting the same for ratification. Much controversy and strife afterward rising in the church are to be traced to the questionable authority, extreme provisions, and conflicting interpretations of this instrument.

The polity of the church is composite, combining Episcopal, Presbyterial and Congregational elements. The general conference, which is the highest ecclesiastical court, is composed of delegates elected by a general vote of the membership, and convenes quadrennially. Changes in the constitution are also to be ratified by a vote of the membership. Bishops are elected for a term of four years. The method of ministerial supply is through the itinerant system, the plan, however, being sufficiently liberal to leave much to the option and occasions of the conferences and congregations. In doctrine, the church is Arminian, without being committed, however, to minute expressions or special types. Practical elements have from the first been put into the foreground. Some representatives of the church have advanced the claim that Christian assurance, the basis of these practical elements, as occupying from the first a peculiar and controlling place, is to be regarded a distinctive anticipation of the doctrine of religious certainty as now heralded from all centers of religious thought. Liberal and conservative extremes in doctrine have not as yet made themselves prominent. Large freedom in conception and presentation of doctrine, provided it has an evident useful aim and does not make itself obnoxious by conceit and destructiveness, would doubtless not be provocative of alarm or opposition.

While the United Brethren Church represented in its origin a coming together from different sources, it was a coming together of individuals and not of organized bodies. Between 1809 and 1814 there was an effort to effect a "union" more or less close between the United Brethren and the Methodist Episcopal Churches, but nothing further was accomplished than arranging "terms of accommodation" for the use of places of worship, and so forth. Overtures were early made and have at different times been renewed looking to a union with the Evangelical Association, but without result. Propositions or advances have likewise been made in the direction of a union with the Wesleyan Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, but nothing has been accomplished in any of these lines.

Up to recent years the cohesive principle has been specially strong in the church. The spirit of conciliation and agreement was prominent in the founding of the church. The subjects of total depravity, infant baptism, and slavery, at different periods, menaced the peace of the church, but moderate counsels prevailed and unity was preserved. A crisis not thus to be averted was brought on by a position which had early been taken on the subject of the exercise of discipline for connection with secret societies. Largely through the large proportion of members coming from Mennonite and kindred sources. a disposition to be minute in regulating the outward life of members was fostered. Beginning twenty-five or thirty years ago, a demand came to be made with ever-increasing earnestness, that a discrimination be made as to membership in the different orders. A conservative party, at first largely in the majority, stood out in favor of the indiscriminate exclusion of all members of secret societies, including members of the Grand Army and of all secret temperance and benevolent societies. For a term of years, no measures could be proposed without their coming under the domination of this question. The conservative leaders, relying on their supposed ability to command a support, and on an extreme and technical construction of the "constitution," placed themselves against all proposed modification, and, by almost necessary consequence, against all change in other respects as menacing to their position. Thus the question came to be much larger than the secrecy question, involving in fact the very life and usefulness of the church. But life could not be held by iron bars, and the event has proved that laws and precedents, both civil and ecclesiastical, themselves having their origin in the advancing requirements of a living organism, cannot be turned into engines of repression and destruction. A past that was itself a living something has no shackles for the limbs of the living present.

At the general conference convened at Fostoria, Ohio, in 1885, a commission was appointed to prepare revised forms of the constitution and confession of faith, the same to be submitted for approval to a general vote of the membership of the church. While many thought that the constitution and confession, which had had no other approval than that of the general conference, were subject to any change that a general conference might make, yet the manner of submission for the approval of the church was according to the reasonable and only feasible construction of the article on amendments as contained in the old constitution. The obstructing party claimed that the confession of faith never could be changed, but the restriction in the old constitution was evidently a restriction upon the general conference acting alone, and not a restriction upon the church. Thus the appeal to the church, while not deciding questions of the past, would settle the question of authority for the future. This was precisely the effect of the course pursued by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1890. The vote of the membership taken in 1888 was overwhelmingly in favor of the revised constitution and confession, and the general conference which met at York, Pennsylvania, in 1889, declared the regularity and validity of all the steps in revision and ratification. Thereupon fifteen delegates, three of whom were unseated as the result of a contest, withdrew to another hall and organized another conference, claiming to be the true conference. As a result of these conflicting claims, the civil courts have been appealed to, and thus far three full trials have been had, resulting in favor of those adhering to the revised standards. The basis of all these decisions has been the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case Watson *versus* Jones, which declares that in all ecclesiastical matters the decision of the highest ecclesiastical court is binding upon the civil courts, and that the civil consequences of such ecclesiastical decisions are to be enforced by the civil courts. On no other ground could the independence and freedom of the churches in America be maintained. If the United Brethren Church, by the resort that it has been compelled to make to the civil courts, shall make this principle clearer and better known, it will do no small service for all the churches of the land. The result of the withdrawal is likely to be a new denomination under the name Radical United Brethren, with a membership of 10,000 or 15,000, or a union with some one of the smaller religious bodies having like principles.

It should be borne in mind that the revision movement was not the movement of a few erratic thinkers, or of a few wayward and extreme leaders, but of a whole people feeling the weight of the commission that was upon them, and conscious of their rights and of the pressing need of adaptation to new demands. Order and not lawlessness is the result of such effort at reconstruction. The revised constitution provides for lay delegation in the general conference, and by clearer and fuller provisions obviates difficulties and promotes speedy and effective action. The revised confession presents a more orderly and mature, and therefore more serviceable, statement of doctrine, without any changes involving a departure from the doctrines historically received.

Considered altogether, the work of the church is prosperous and the outlook encouraging. As before indicated, there have been crucial struggles, but struggles are better than stagnation. Besides, all Christian churches have their critical stages through which they must pass. The enumeration for 1890, which does not include those who have gone off in the defection, shows a membership of 197,123. Since these figures were obtained more than 22,900 conversions and more than 21,500 accessions have been reported to the church periodicals. In the year 1890 about 150 churches were erected. There are enrolled in Sunday-schools 245,000 persons. The amount collected for missions last year was $80,000. The mission on the west coast of Africa is one of the most flourishing missions in the dark continent, having a native membership of over 6,000. The mission in Germany has a membership of over 700. The Woman's Board has opened a mission in China, and is sustaining a prosperous mission in Africa. This board is now arranging to send four additional missionaries to Africa and two additional missionaries to China. The church has under its control nine colleges, five academies and one theological seminary, the total enrollment of students for the past year being 2,308. These institutions, while doing a good work, would accomplish vastly more if better equipped and endowed. One year ago there was founded a denominational young people's society called the Young People's Christian Union, which has now a membership of 15,000. The church publishing house, located at Dayton, Ohio, publishes nine periodicals, English and German. During the last year, including periodicals, lesson helps, books and pamphlets, more than six million pieces were printed and distributed. In addition to the agencies named, the efforts of the church are concentrated and directed through general church erection, Sunday-school and educational boards. The general conference of 1889 authorized the licensing and ordaining of women as ministers of the gospel, and under this authorization fourteen women have been licensed, six of whom have been ordained.

There never has been a time in the history of the church when there has been a more earnest and intelligent church spirit —when the church consciousness has been clearer, and the purpose to employ the church with all of its influence and agencies for the advancement of Christ's kingdom has been more resolute. From being a rural people without educational equipment, the church is everywhere with encouraging success establishing itself in the towns and cities, and has made decided progress in the direction of a better qualified ministry, and a more intelligent and effective lay service. Free from the trammels of the past, with face set to the future, with heart and hands ready to serve the living present, the United Brethren Church would present service for Christ and faithfulness to him as her credentials for a recognized place in the sisterhood of churches until the church general, if God thus wills, shall be one, even as the divine kingdom is one.

THE CONFIRMATION OF BISHOPS.

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, July 3, 1891.

THE great majority of Churchmen, we fancy, would find a difficulty in explaining what is meant by the Confirmation of a Bishop. And yet it is an ordeal through which every Bishop has to pass, and it is conducted with all publicity. For the Southern Province, the ceremony is performed in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, otherwise St. Mary-on-the-Arches, that church, which gives its name to the Arches Court, being a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury. For the Northern Province, it takes place in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The manner of performing this ceremony has lately been described in the *Times* by Lord Grimthorpe, who, in that choice diction of which he is a master, calls it "this tremendous and mendacious humbug," adding that it is unfit to be performed "*coram populo* in the great Northern Cathedral or a London church."

As described by his lordship, it undoubtedly does appear as though a very unmeaning and futile business is transacted at every Confirmation; but the strange thing is, that his lordship apparently does not see that his learned brethren in the law are responsible for whatever is farcical about it. A religious rite or ceremony, if handled by a lawyer, becomes lifeless and unmeaning in no time. His delight is in legal fictions, which are the ghosts of what were once edifying symbols. We all know what is the conception of our Liturgy formed by the legal mind, whenever the acumen of legal luminaries has exercised itself upon it. The Prayer Book in their view is a dry and rigid formula, a mere law-document, without warmth, life, beauty, sentiment. It has in it no principle of growth and expansion, no adaptability to the varying needs of each generation: it is not linked to a great and interesting past, it has no forward tendency. It is an appendage to an Act of Uniformity, nothing more. Its interpretation is not according to the spirit, in which it is in harmony with the professions of the whole Catholic Church, but according to the bare letter, and "the letter," as we know, "killeth, but the spirit maketh alive."

Lord Grimthorpe, who seems to entertain a natural aversion for the customs of the Church, argues for the abolition of Confirmation on the ground that it has been made ridiculous by dull and unedifying proctors, doctors, and smaller legal fry. It is too much to expect that his lordship should dream of useful restoration; his rôle is to pull down. The great achievement of his life is a masterpiece of ruin. To us, however, it appears that what he would have ended at once might better be mended. The "tremendous and mendacious humbug," of which his lordship justly complains, is an accretion upon a reasonable and ancient and Catholic institution, and is no essential part of it in any sense whatever.

The appointment of Bishops is a matter of supreme interest to Church-people, and it is quite certain that every year the interest evinced in their appointment is increasingly exhibited. The power of the Prime Minister to recommend a clergyman for promotion by the Crown is in some sense a form of popular election, the Prime Minister being himself the delegate of the people. The more the interest in the choice of nominees for bishoprics is displayed, so much the more careful are the Prime Ministers to recommend on each occasion one who is likely on the whole to be a *persona grata* to the Church at large and his future diocese. It is conceivable, however, that under some circumstances an appointment might be made, as was the case when Dr. Hampden was selected for Hereford, which would arouse a feeling of indignation in the minds of Churchmen, who, whatever are the prerogatives of the Crown, have the right to be considered. Popular indignation, it is true, might be expressed in the public journals and in the form of public protests, but in the ceremony of Confirmation—always keeping out of sight the " tremendous and mendacious humbug" of the lawyers—we have a witness, even if it has been reduced to being a silent witness, that the Church has the right and the duty of judging of a man's unfitness for the high office of a ruler. Popular election of Bishops has never been much more than theoretical, the power of appointing having been variously in the hands of the Metropolitan, the Comprovincial Bishops, the Emperor, the cathedral clergy of the vacant diocese: but though the *Suffragium de persona* is withheld from the people, the *testimonium de vita*, that is practically the power of veto, lasted on. For this reason the Metropolitan, before giving his consent to the consecration of a Bishop, holds, or causes to be held, a court, whereat the faithful may allege just cause or impediment, if they know of any such, why the elected person should not be consecrated. Lord Grimthorpe, the warm advocate of the aggrieved parishioner, should be the last to rejoice if the laity are deprived of the right to complain in the present Court of Confirmation, when they can do so justly. He seems, on the contrary, to find ground for satisfaction in the fact he alleges, that opposers, who are accused of contumacy if they do not appear when bidden, cannot, according to the ruling of the Queen's Bench, be heard if they do appear. The most they could do, he says, is " to dispute the formality of the election, which would not matter in the least, because the Crown can proceed by letters patent, even if there were no election at all."

Now, granting that all this is as Lord Grimthorpe asserts it is, here is distinctly a case where reformation, not destruction, is needed. Even at the worst, we imagine that the presence of opposers at a Confirmation, and all the more the absurdity of refusing a hearing to those who are pronounced contumacious if they do not speak out their objections, would, now that the Bishops are emancipating themselves from the Erastian idea of the Church so disastrously impressed upon them by the late Primate, cause the Metropolitan and the Comprovincial Bishops to hesitate before proceeding to consecrate an unfit person. The consequences of refusing to consecrate a nominee of the Crown, who has been accepted by the Dean and Chapter, are, doubtless, tremendous, and all the more so because they are left to the imagination to picture them; yet we may be certain that among our Fathers in God there are those who would not hesitate to face them. The letters patent, which sound extremely imposing, would effect very little, if there were no consecrating Bishops forthcoming. For it must not be forgotten that the Crown does not make a Bishop. It can recommend for election, or in some cases can directly appoint, its nominee to the episcopal office, but it cannot confer the spiritual power. That rests always with the Church. That the Church can give or withhold as she will. The conveyance of that power is through the laying on of episcopal hands; the right to protest against its improper conveyance is the birthright of the faithful. Confirmation as at present conducted is very far from being what it should be; and we are really grateful to Lord Grimthorpe for calling attention to the existence of the legal mummeries that have come to be associated with it. Still, there it is, notwithstanding, a due and constitutional process, by which, according to the ancient usage of the Church of England, and the custom of Christian antiquity, the voice of the Church claims to be heard in protest against unworthy elections. Now when the spiritual claims of the Church are better understood, when the long-silenced Convocation is a living power among us, when the motto " let the ancient customs prevail," is superseding the maxims of lawyers, and the Royal Arms are giving place to the

Sign of Faith, it would be the height of absurdity, it would be suicidal, to talk of abolishing the Confirmation of Bishops. It rather behooves us, by all means in our power, to make it a reality, to divest it of all that savours of solemn fooling and profanity, to use it for the purpose of solemnly giving or withholding assent to the appointment of our spiritual rulers. Time was when the mockery was perpetrated of a Vicar-General going down to an office, summoning the Convocation to assemble, and declaring its session prorogued, no one actually appearing or being permitted to appear. *Nous avons changé tout cela;* we may yet live to see the Confirmation of Bishops restored to its rightful purposes.

BROWNING'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.

From *The British Weekly* (Non-conformist), London, June 25, 1891.

THERE is no writer whose opinions are at once so much worth knowing, and so difficult to ascertain, as Robert Browning's. The difficulty arises not altogether from his obscurity of language, or his determination to write "not what the many might, instead of what the few *must*, like." His poems he frankly compares to ortolans served in toast and sage:

"First comes plain bread, crisp, brown, a toasted square,
Then a strong sage leaf:
First, food—then, piquancy—and last of all
Follows the thirdling:
Through wholesome hard, sharp soft, your tooth must bite
Ere reach the birdling.

Digest these, and I praise your peptics' state,
Nothing found wrong there."

But even though we can claim this sound digestion, and are sufficiently confident of reward to crunch through the crisp and merely screw our face at the bitter, yet, when we reach the ortolan, is the flavour the natural taste of the bird or wholly due to the cook? In other words, although a little practice enables the reader to glide easily through all the poet's harsh grammar, and to skip over his abrupt ellipses as freely as a bare-legged boy hops from tussock to tussock of grass without once coming to grief in the bog; yet our work of interpretation is only begun, and the question remains: What is Browning's own opinion, and what does he utter merely because in keeping with the character he happens to be depicting? For our poet is essentially a dramatist; and to ascribe to himself all the opinions his characters utter, is to suppose that Mrs. Siddons was a woman of outrageous passions because she played *Lady Macbeth.* Browning is always on the stage, changing parts with infinite versatility, but as much at home, as easy and as natural when playing the villain as when playing the hero, when undermining faith by the subtlest innuendoes as when propping it with the most solid substructure.

And thus it comes to pass that while some critics declare that he is "the greatest Christian poet we have ever had," and dwell with pleasure on "his profound, passionate, living, triumphant faith in Christ, and in the immortality and ultimate redemption of every human soul in and through Christ," other critics deny that any such beliefs can legitimately be ascribed to him.

There are, however, two positions which I think may safely be held: first, that irrespective of Browning's own belief, it is certain he has so stated the case for many of the convictions essential to Christianity that he has immensely aided faith; and second, although he is characteristically a dramatist, there are poems of his which reveal himself and are more or less autobiographical.

Let us try to verify these two propositions. And first let us see how he uses the idea which underlies Christianity and is its essence, the idea of the Incarnation. No thought is more constantly present to Browning's mind, none so dominates his entire system of thought, and none has more completely fascinated his imagination. Its most distinct expression is probably that which we find at the close of the "Epistle of Karshish":

"The very God! Think, Abib; dost thou think?
So the All-great were the All-loving too—
So through the thunder comes a human voice,
Saying, 'O heart I made, a heart beats here!
Face, My hands fashioned, see it in Myself.
Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of Mine;
But love I gave thee, with Myself to love,
And thou must love Me who have died for thee.'"

Now, it is quite true that we can scarcely ascribe too much to the imaginative sympathy of genius. George Eliot can enter into the soul of a horse-couper or a peddler, and from some mere fragment of conversation or character which she has come in actual contact with, she can construct a completely filled-in scene or personality as easily as an Owen can construct *ex ungue leonem.* So it is possible that Browning, picturing in his imagination the mind of *Karshish,* merely utters the fascination which the idea of the Incarnation must have exercised on a mind first brought into contact with it in those primitive days. But it seems to me that Browning is himself haunted by the idea, and so fascinated by it as to obtrude it where artistically it has no right to be. In "Saul," for example, he puts into David's mouth an anticipation of the Incarnation which transcends anything in David's own writings, and is an almost conscious anachronism :

"Would I suffer for him that I love ? So wouldst Thou—so wilt Thou !
So shall crown Thee the topmost, ineffablest, uttermost crown—
And Thy love fill infinitude wholly, nor leave, up nor down,
One spot for the creature to stand in. It is by no breath,
Turn of eye, wave of hand, that salvation joins issue with death ;
As Thy love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved
Thy power that exists with and for it, of being Beloved.
He who did most, shall bear most ; the strongest shall stand the most weak.
'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for ! my flesh, that I seek
In the Godhead ! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee : a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, for ever : a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee ! See the Christ stand."

No one knew better than Browning that to put such language into the lips of David was artistically inadmissible. It is an anachronism legitimated by its beauty and truth, and elicited from Browning by his own irrepressible love of the theme. Is it possible that a man who had no belief in the Incarnation should thus obtrude it, and should show, what many theologians have failed to see, that the very idea of God involves the Incarnation ?

But there is further proof. In "Christmas-eve and Easter-day" it would seem as if Browning intended to depict the growth of his own religious thought. The poem opens with its inimitably realistic description of the worship of those who regard neither learning nor ritual. The poet's taste and insight are offended by their worship, and he denies their arrogant claim to be the normal worshippers :

"Why paint over their door, 'Mount Zion,'
To which *all* flesh shall come, saith the prophecy."

He flings out into the open air, and under the wide sky declares, "in *this* church," *i.e.,* in nature, my faith sprang first. But the God he finds in nature is not the God disclosed by nature exclusive of man, but the God discerned in nature by a being who cannot own God as mere power :

"For the loving worm within its clod
Were diviner than a loveless God
Amid His worlds, I will dare to say."

Then follows the great vision :

"All at once I looked up with terror.
He was there.
He Himself *with His human air.*"

And the poet recognises that the private worship of nature by the individual is not that which has the promise of fullest revelation :

"I remember He did say
Doubtless, that, to this world's end
Where two or three should meet to pray,
He would be in the midst, their friend."

He sees, that is to say, that God in Christ, human and loving men as they actually are, is truer Divine than God in nature. He sees that in despising the greasy, damp, steaming, smelling, diseased, worn, ignorant, vulgar worshippers in the conventicle

"Folly and pride o'ercame my heart.
I thought it best that Thou, the Spirit,
Be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth,
And in beauty, as even we require it ;
Not in the forms burlesque, uncouth,
I left but now, as scarcely fitted
For Thee : *I knew not what I pitied.*"

We have here a mind growing past belief in mere impersonal power to belief in a loving, and therefore personal, God ; and the mind thus growing is, I believe, Browning's own. But even were it not so, the "Voice" and the "Form" and the "Robe," which guide and teach the mind whose history is traced in this poem, belong to the God of the Incarnation, to Christ. And it goes without saying that what Browning puts into the mouth of this figure, he must believe to be true. And this is what the Voice says to the tardy believer in the Incarnation :

"What doubt in thee could countervail
Belief in it ? Upon the ground
'That in the story had been found
Too much love ! How could God love *so ?*'
He who in all His works below
Adapted to the need of man,
Made love the basis of the plan—

Did love, as was demonstrated ;
While man, who was so fit instead
To hate, as every day gave proof,
Man thought man for his kind's behoof,
Both could and did *invent* that scheme
Of perfect love—'twould well beseem
Cain's nature thou wast wont to praise,
Not tally with God's usual ways."

One more instance of the fascination this idea has for Browning may be mentioned. To the remarkable poem, "A Death in the Desert," an epilogue is added, although why there should be an epilogue is not apparent. And as one reads it, the only explanation that can be given is, that here again the poet was impelled to utter his belief that Christianity is identical with the Incarnation :

" If Christ, as thou affirmest, be of men
Mere man, the first and best but nothing more—
Account Him, for reward of what He was,
Now and for ever, wretchedest of all !"

But although the Incarnation is to Browning a necessary outcome of the Divine nature, he has also intensely concerned himself with the historical evidence of Christianity. This is the theme of several of his poems, and especially of that just quoted, "A Death in the Desert," in which John sees himself

"Left alive
Like a sea-jelly weak on Patmos strand
To tell *dry* sea-*beach gazers* how I fared
When there was mid-sea and the mighty things."

He anticipates the time when in no scoffing spirit readers of his gospel may plead :

" Here is a tale of things done ages since ;
What truth was ever told the second day ?"

This Christ is a mere projection from man's mind. His power, it is said, was demonstrated by miracle ; but "the *new* question's whisper is distinct : 'Wherefore must all force needs be like ourselves ?' and 'If miracles were then performed, why not now ?' "

Browning does not leave these objections unanswered, but replies that man was made to grow, and that help he needed once, he needs not always. Miracles, he says, are like the twigs set round a bed where flowers are sown : when the flowers spring up they are no longer needed. So

"This book's *fruit* is plain,
Nor miracles need prove it any more.
Doth the fruit show ? Then miracles bade 'ware
At first of root and stem, saved both till now
From trampling ox, rough boar, and wanton goat."

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Browning either finds faith easy or thinks it can become so. Indeed, no passages of his writings are more characteristic or more helpful than those in which he shows that perfect faith is probably impossible in this life, and possibly undesirable. Like the swimmer in "Fifine," the element we live by we cannot wholly live in. Perfect unbelief, he maintains, is also impossible. *Bishop Blougram,* in response to *Mr. Gigadibs,* throws over for the nonce all his beliefs, and then rounds on him thus :

" And now what are we ? Unbelievers both,
Calm and complete, determinately fixed
To-day, to-morrow, and for ever, pray ?
You'll guarantee me that ? Not so, I think.
In nowise ! all we've gained is, that belief,
As unbelief before, shakes us by fits,
Confounds us like its predecessor. Where's
The gain ? how can we guard our unbelief,
Make it bear fruit to us ? The problem *here*—
Just when we are safest, there's a sunset touch,
A fancy from a flower-bell, someone's death,
A chorus-ending from Euripides,—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
As old and new at once as Nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring,
Round the ancient idol, on his base again,
The grand 'Perhaps !'
All we have gained then by our unbelief
Is a life of doubt diversified by faith,
For one of faith diversified by doubt ;
We *called* the chess-board white ; we call it
black.''

The passage in which Browning most fully utters himself on faith is in the same poem. To the objector who says, "As well be Strauss as swing 'twixt Paul and him," he replies :

" Softly, my friend ! I must dispute that point.
Once own the use of faith, I'll find you faith.
We're back on Christian ground. You call for
faith :
I show you doubt, to prove that faith exists.
The more of doubt, the stronger faith, I say,
If faith o'ercome doubt. How I know it does ?
By life and man's free will, God gave for that !
To mould life as we choose it, shows our choice :
That's our one act, the previous work's His own.
You criticise the soil ? it reared this tree—
This broad life and whatever fruit it bears !
What matter though I doubt at every pore,
Head-doubts, heart-doubts, doubts at my fingers'
ends ;
Doubts in the trivial work of every day,
Doubts at the very bases of my soul
In the grand moments when she probes herself—
If finally I have a life to show,
The thing I did, brought out in evidence
Against the thing done to me underground
By hell and all its brood, for aught I know ?
I say, whence sprang this ? shows it faith or
doubt ?
All's doubt in me ; where's break of faith in
this ?
It is the idea, the feeling, and the love,
God means mankind should strive for and show
forth

Whatever be the process to that end—
And not historic knowledge, logic sound,
And metaphysical acumen sure!
'What think ye of Christ,' friend? when all's done and said,
Like you this Christianity or not?
It may be false; but will you wish it true?
Has it your vote to be so if it can?
Trust you an instinct silenced long ago
That will break silence and enjoin you love
What mortified philosophy is hoarse,
And all in vain, with bidding you despise?
If you desire faith—then you've faith enough."

This imperfect faith which Browning vindicates involves an uncertain expectation of immortality. Through *Bishop Blougram* he defends what at first sight appears no better than Secularism:

"I act for, talk for, live for this world now,
As this world calls for action, life and talk—
No prejudice to what next world may prove,
Whose new laws and requirements, my best pledge
To observe then, is that I observe these now."

He makes game of the man who loses true life by perpetually trying in his present sphere to live half-way into the sphere that is to succeed:

"As when a traveller bound from north to south,
Scouts fur in Russia; what's its use in France?
In France spurns flannel; where's its need in Spain?
In Spain drops cloth; too cumbrous for Algiers!
Linen goes next, and last the skin itself,
A superfluity in Timbuctoo.
When through his journey was the fool at ease?
I'm at ease now, friend——"

But, then, for present satisfaction, life *with God* is needful. And it is thus he cuts the ground from the mere naturalist. He dares him to live out his scheme of life. The man who professes that moral habits are but the result evolved from the rudest, brutal antecedents, yet has instincts which keep him moral. Well, says Browning:

"You own your instincts; why, what else do I,
Who want, am made for, and must have a God,
Ere I can be aught, do aught? no mere *name*
Want, but the true thing, with what proves its truth,
To wit, a relation from that thing to me,
Touching from head to foot—which touch I feel,
And with it take the rest, this life of ours."

So that Browning's secularism is only apparent, and is continually broken through by anticipations of a future life. Indeed, immortality is required by the view of this life which is normal with Browning. Impersonal immortality is nowhere more witheringly scouted than in "Cleon":

"'But,' sayest thou (and I marvel, I repeat,
To find thee tripping on a mere word), 'what
Thou writest, paintest, stays; that does not die:
Sappho survives, because we sing her songs,
And Æschylus, because we read his plays':
Why, if they live still, let them come and take
Thy slave in my despite, drink from thy cup,
Speak in my place."

In fact, it is one of Browning's ineradicable, constant convictions that this is a reasonable world—a world made not to torture or to mock, but to sift bad from good, to convert and educate the bad into good, and justify its course by its end.

"God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world,"

is not only the unconscious creed of the innocent *Pippa*, which reflects such sudden dismay and despair into the guilty *Sebald*, but it is the consciously-held and slowly-formed conviction of the poet himself.

For Browning is before all else an optimist. But how does he reconcile his optimism with the actual state of the world, with misery, wickedness, disease, death? These evils, so far from being impracticable and irreconcilable excrescences, are with him *the essential material of a best world.* For love is the best thing, and self-sacrifice is the best part of love, and without the needs and sorrows of others there is no room for sacrifice. Alike in God and man, the highest can only be developed in presence of suffering. "Perfect through suffering," is the radical idea of all moral development.

"Life, with all it yields of joy and woe,
And hope and fear,
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,
How love might be, hath been, indeed, and is."

And love in its supreme form we cannot learn, save in contact with distress and need. So that the sorrows and strivings of earth are not exceptions to a rule of good, but themselves the very essence of that rule. With all its darkness and shadows, and *by reason of them,* this world is a perfect world:

"Wide our world displays its worth, man's strife, and strife's success,
All the good and beauty, wonder crowning wonder,
Till my heart and soul applaud *perfection*, nothing less.

"Only, at heart's utmost joy and triumph, terror
Sudden turns the blood to ice; a chill wind disencharms
All the late enchantment! What *if* all be error—
If the halo irised round my head were, Love, thine arms."

That is to say, supposing all his interpretations of life be wrong, and all the suggestions he throws out be error, what does it matter if Infinite Love encompasses him and upholds the universe?

With this view of the world agree all his many suggestions of man's great future. Disappointments, struggles, defeats, he sees in plenty; but gradually his eye, piercing through these, reads man's greatness and hope. Were man less than he is, and destined to less, he would not know failure nor striving.

"Let the mere starfish in his vault
Crawl in a wash of weed, indeed,
Rose-jacynth to the finger-tips:
He, whole in body and soul, outstrips
Man, found with either in default.
But what's whole can *increase* no more,
Is dwarfed and dies, since here's its sphere."

Again,

"Imperfection means perfection hid,
Reserved in part to grace the after-time."

Thus to Browning's eye all that torments in this life is evidence of human greatness and capacity of growth: all doubt, all disappointed affection that demands a future, all present defeat that speaks of aspirations greater than attainments. These are the things that differentiate man from the lower animals:

"I prize the doubt,
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark."

Naturally we shrink from great temptation, and pray, Lead us not into it:

"Yea, but, O Thou whose servants are the bold,
Lead such temptations by the head and hair,
Reluctant dragons up to who dare fight,
That so he may do battle and have praise."

Naturally we shrink from the ills of life, but when we understand that "when pain ends gain ends,"

"Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit, nor stand, but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive and hold cheap the strain!
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe."

And so by his incomparable exhibition of the significance of life he has brought many with himself to the conclusion:

"And so I live, you see,
Go through the world, try, prove, reject,
Prefer, still struggling to effect
My warfare; happy that I *can*
Be crossed and thwarted as a man.
Not left in God's contempt apart,
With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart,
Tame in *earth's* paddock, as *her* prize."

In short, Browning's interpretation of life is the Christian interpretation. In his poems an endless procession of characters passes before the mind, an infinite variety of situation is depicted for the trial and development of these characters, but the determining idea is Christian. It is the Christian view of God and the Christian view of immortality that guide the poet as he scrutinises the dark and hidden depths of human life and conduct. And his reader can return to him his own words:

"I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ,
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee,
All questions in the earth, and out of it."

ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR. ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER, BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, POPE LEO XIII.

(*Official Translation.*)

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE, POPE LEO XIII. VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

(*Continued from July number.*)

But the Church, not content with pointing out the remedy, also applies it. For the Church does its utmost to teach and to train men, and to educate them; and by means of its Bishops and clergy it diffuses its salutary teachings far and wide. It strives to influence the mind and heart so that all may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of God. It is precisely in this fundamental and principal matter, on which everything depends, that the Church has a power peculiar to itself. The agencies which it employs are given it for the very purpose of reaching the hearts of men, by Jesus Christ Himself, and derive their efficiency from God. They alone can touch the innermost heart and conscience, and bring men to act from a motive of duty, to resist their passions and appetites, to love God and their fellow-men with a love that is unique and supreme, and courageously to break down every barrier which stands in the way of a virtuous life.

On this subject We need only recall for one moment the examples written down in history. Of these things there cannot be the shadow of doubt: for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things—nay, that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before, or will come to pass in the ages that have yet to be. Of this beneficent transformation, Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose ; as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred. For when, by the light of the Gospel message, the human race came to know the grand mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of man, the life of Jesus Christ, God and Man, penetrated every race and nation, and impregnated them with His faith, His precepts, and His laws. And if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and Christian institutions. When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it is, to recall it to the principles from which it sprung ; for the purpose and perfection of an association is to aim at and to attain that for which it was formed ; and its operation should be put in motion and inspired by the end and object which originally gave it its being. So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease ; to go back to it is recovery. And this may be asserted with the utmost truth both of the State in general and of that body of its citizens—by far the greater number—who sustain life by labor.

Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests temporal and earthly. Its desire is that the poor, for example, should rise above poverty and wretchedness, and should better their condition in life ; and for this it strives. By the very fact that it calls men to virtue and forms them to its practice, it promotes this in no slight degree. Christian morality, when it is adequately and completely practised, conduces of itself to temporal prosperity, for it merits the blessing of that God Who is the source of all blessings ; it powerfully restrains the lust of possession and the lust of pleasure—twin plagues which too often make a man without self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance :* it makes men supply by economy for the want of means, teaching them to be content with frugal living, and keeping them out of the reach of those vices which eat up not merely small incomes, but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.

Moreover, the Church intervenes directly in the interest of the poor, by setting on foot and keeping up many things which it sees to be efficacious in the relief of poverty. Here again it has always succeeded so well that it has even extorted the praise of its enemies. Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians that numbers of those who were better off deprived themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren : whence *neither was there any one needy among them.** To the order of deacons, instituted for that very purpose, was committed by the Apostles the charge of the daily distributions : and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the faithful to the poorer Christians. Tertullian calls these contributions, given voluntarily by Christians in their assemblies, *deposits of piety ;* because, to cite his words, they were employed *in feeding the needy, in burying them, in the support of boys and girls destitute of means and deprived of their parents, in the care of the aged, and in the relief of the shipwrecked.*†

Thus by degrees came into existence the patrimony which the Church has guarded with religious care as the inheritance of the poor. Nay, to spare them the shame of begging, the common Mother of rich and poor has exerted herself to gather together funds for the support of the needy. The Church has stirred up everywhere the heroism of charity, and has established Congregations of Religious and many other useful institutions for help and mercy, so that there might be hardly any kind of suffering which was not visited and relieved. At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, blame and condemn the Church for this beautiful charity. They would substitute in its place a system of State-organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity, as a virtue, belongs to the Church ; for it is no virtue unless it is drawn from the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ ; and he who turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ.

It cannot, however, be doubted that to attain the purpose of which We treat, not only the Church, but all human means must conspire. All who are concerned in the matter must be of one mind and must act together. It is in this, as in the Providence which governs the world ; results do not happen save where all the causes coöperate.

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* " *The root of all evils is cupidity.*"—1 Tim. vi. 10.

* Acts iv. 34.

† *Apologia Secunda*, xxxix.

Let us, now, therefore, inquire what part the State should play in the work of remedy and relief.

By the State We here understand, not the particular form of government which prevails in this or that nation, but the State as rightly understood; that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right, reason, and natural law, and to those dictates of the Divine wisdom which We have expounded in the Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of the State. The first duty, therefore, of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper office of wise statesmanship and the work of the heads of the State. Now a State chiefly prospers and flourishes by morality, by well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public burdens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land—by everything which makes the citizens better and happier. Here, then, it is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and amongst the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; and this by virtue of his office, and without being exposed to any suspicion of undue interference—for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good. And the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them.

There is another and a deeper consideration which must not be lost sight of. To the State the interests of all are equal, whether high or low. The poor are members of the national community equally with the rich; they are real component parts, living parts, which make up, through the family, the living body; and it need hardly be said that they are by far the majority. It would be irrational to neglect one portion of the citizens and to favor another; and therefore the public administration must duly and solicitously provide for the welfare and the comfort of the working people, or else that law of justice will be violated which ordains that each shall have his due. To cite the wise words of St. Thomas of Aquin: *As the part and the whole are in a certain sense identical, the part may in some sense claim what belongs to the whole.*[*] Among the many and grave duties of rulers who would do their best for the people, the first and chief is to act with strict justice—with that justice which is called in the Schools *distributive*—towards each and every class.

But although all citizens, without exception, can and ought to contribute to that common good in which individuals share so profitably to themselves, yet it is not to be supposed that all can contribute in the same way and to the same extent. No matter what changes may be made in forms of government, there will always be differences and inequalities of condition in the State: Society cannot exist or be conceived without them. Some there must be who dedicate themselves to the work of the commonwealth, who make the laws, who administer justice, whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace, and defend it in war. Such men clearly occupy the foremost place in the State, and should be held in the foremost estimation, for their work touches most nearly and effectively the general interests of the community. Those who labor at a trade or calling do not promote the general welfare in such a fashion as this; but they do in the most important way benefit the nation, though less directly. We have insisted that, since it is the end of Society to make men better, the chief good that Society can be possessed of is Virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted States it is a by no means unimportant matter to provide those bodily and external commodities, *the use of which is necessary to virtuous action.*[†] And in the provision of material well-being, the labor of the poor—the exercise of their skill and the employment of their strength in the culture of the land and the workshops of trade—is most efficacious and altogether indispensable. Indeed, their coöperation in this respect is so important that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of the workingman that States grow rich. Justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create—that being housed, clothed, and enabled to support life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable. It follows that whatever shall appear to be conducive to the well-being of those who work should receive favorable consideration. Let it not be feared that solicitude of this kind will injure any interest; on the contrary, it will be to the advantage of all; for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to secure from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

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[*] 2a 2æ Q. lxi. Art. 1 ad 2.

[†] St. Thomas of Aquin. *De Regimine Principum*, I. cap. 15.

We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammelled action as far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others. Nevertheless, rulers should anxiously safeguard the community and all its parts; the community, because the conservation of the community is so emphatically the business of the supreme power, that the safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but it is a Government's whole reason of existence; and the parts, because both philosophy and the Gospel agree in laying down that the object of the administration of the State should be, not the advantage of the ruler, but the benefit of those over whom he rules. The gift of authority is from God, and is, as it were, a participation of the highest of all sovereignties; and it should be exercised as the power of God is exercised—with a fatherly solicitude which not only guides the whole, but reaches to details as well.

Whenever the general interest or any particular class suffers, or is threatened with, evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them. Now, among the interests of the public as of private individuals, are these: that peace and good order should be maintained; that family life should be carried on in accordance with God's laws and those of nature; that Religion should be reverenced and obeyed; that a high standard of morality should prevail in public and private life; that the sanctity of justice should be respected, and that no one should injure another with impunity; that the members of the commonwealth should grow up to man's estate strong and robust, and capable, if need be, of guarding and defending their country. If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace; or if circumstances were such that among the laboring population the ties of family life were relaxed; if Religion were found to suffer through the workmen not having time and opportunity to practise it; if in workshops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from any occasion of evil; or if employers laid burdens upon the workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions that were repugnant to their dignity as human beings; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age—in these cases there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference—the principle being this, that the law must not undertake more, or go further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the danger.

Rights must be religiously respected wherever they are found; and it is the duty of the public authority to prevent and punish injury, and to protect each one in the possession of his own. Still, when there is question of protecting the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to special consideration. The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State; those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly rely upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth.

Here, however, it will be advisable to advert expressly to one or two of the more important details. It must be borne in mind that the chief thing to be secured is the safeguarding, by legal enactment and policy, of private property. Most of all is it essential in these times of covetous greed, to keep the multitude within the line of duty; for if all may justly strive to better their condition, yet neither justice nor the common good allows any one to seize that which belongs to another, or, under the pretext of futile and ridiculous equality, to lay hands on other peoples' fortunes. It is most true that by far the larger part of the people who work prefer to improve themselves by honest labor rather than by doing wrong to others. But there are not a few who are imbued with bad principles and are anxious for revolutionary change, and whose great purpose it is to stir up tumult and bring about a policy of violence. The authority of the State should intervene to put restraint upon these disturbers, to save the workmen from their seditious arts, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation.

When work-people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures; for such paralysis of labor not only affects the masters and their work-people, but is extremely injurious to trade, and to the general interests of the public; moreover, on such occasions, violence and disorder are generally not far off, and thus it frequently happens that the public peace is threatened. The laws should be beforehand, and prevent these troubles from arising; they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ.

But if the owners of property must be made secure, the Workman, too, has property and possessions in which he must be protected; and, first of all, there are his spiritual and mental interests. Life on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created; it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth, and that practice of goodness, in which the full life of the soul consists. It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God; it is in the soul that sovereignty resides, in virtue of which man is commanded to rule the creatures below him, and to use all the earth and the ocean for his profit and advantage. *Fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which move upon the earth.** In this respect all men are equal; there is no difference between rich and poor, master and servant, ruler and ruled, *for the same is Lord over all.*† No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats *with reverence*, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of Heaven. Nay, more; a man has here no power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude: for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, most sacred and inviolable.

From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labor on Sundays and certain festivals. This rest from labor is not to be understood as mere idleness; much less must it be an occasion of spending money and of vicious excess, as many would desire it to be; but it should be rest from labor consecrated by Religion. Repose united with religious observance disposes man to forget for a while the business of this daily life, and to turn his thoughts to heavenly things and to the worship which he so strictly owes to the Eternal Deity. It is this, above all, which is the reason and motive of the Sunday rest; a rest sanctioned by God's great law of the ancient covenant, *Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day,** and taught to the world by His own mysterious "rest" after the creation of man: *He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done.*†

If we turn now to things exterior and corporeal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money. It is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies. Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest. Daily labor, therefore, must be so regulated that it may not be protracted during longer hours than strength admits. How many and how long the intervals of rest should be, will depend on the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman. Those who labor in mines and quarries, and in work within the bowels of the earth, should have shorter hours in proportion as their labor is more severe and more trying to health. Then again, the season of the year must be taken into account; for not unfrequently a kind of labor is easy at one time which at another is intolerable or very difficult. Finally, work which is suitable for a strong man cannot reasonably be required from a woman or a child. And, in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young promise of a child's powers, and makes any real education impossible. Women, again, are not suited to certain trades; for a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adopted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family. As a general principle it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest in proportion to the wear and tear of his strength; for the waste of strength must be repaired by the cessation of work.

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* Genesis i. 28.

† Romans x. 12.

* Exod. xx. 8.

† Genesis ii. 2.

In all agreements between masters and work-people, there is always the condition, expressed or understood, that there be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just; for it can never be right or just to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself.

We now approach a subject of very great importance, and one on which, if extremes are to be avoided, right ideas are absolutely necessary. Wages, we are told, are fixed by free consent; and therefore the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part, and is not called upon for anything further. The only way, it is said, in which injustice could happen would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or the workman would not complete the work undertaken; when this happens the State should intervene, to see that each obtains his own—but not under any other circumstances.

This mode of reasoning is by no means convincing to a fair-minded man, for there are important considerations which it leaves out of view altogether. To labor is to exert one's self for the sake of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life, and most of all for self-preservation. *In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread.*[*] Therefore a man's labor has two notes or characters. First of all, it is *personal;* for the exertion of individual power belongs to the individual who puts it forth, employing this power for that personal profit for which it was given. Secondly, man's labor is *necessary;* for without the results of labor a man cannot live; and self-conservation is a law of Nature, which it is wrong to disobey. Now, if we were to consider labor merely so far as it is *personal,* doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so he is free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labor of the workingman is not only his personal attribute, but it is *necessary;* and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages.

Let it be granted, then, that, as a rule, workman and employer should make free agreements, and in particular should freely agree as to wages; nevertheless, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or a contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice. In these and similar questions, however—such as, for example, the hours of labor in different trades, the sanitary precautions to be observed in factories and workshops, etc.—in order to supersede undue interferences on the part of the State, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to Societies or Boards such as We shall mention presently, or to some other method of safeguarding the interests of wage earners, the State to be asked for approval and protection.

If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he is a sensible man, to study economy; and he will not fail, by cutting down expenses, to put by a little property: nature and reason would urge him to do this. We have seen that this great Labor question cannot be solved except by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many of the people as possible to become owners.

Many excellent results will follow from this; and, first of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the effect of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together. Another consequence will be the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own ; nay, they learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those that are dear to them. It is evident how such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community. And a third advantage would arise from this : men would cling to the country in which they were born ; for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a tolerable and happy life. These three important benefits, however, can only be expected on the condition that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is from nature, not from man ; and the State has only the right to regulate its use in the interests of the public good, but by no means to abolish it altogether. The State is therefore unjust and cruel if, in the name of taxation, it deprives the private owner of more than is just.

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[*] Genesis iii. 19.

In the last place, employers and workmen may themselves effect much in the matter of which We treat, by means of those institutions and organizations which afford opportune assistance to those in need, and which draw the two orders more closely together. Among these may be enumerated : Societies for mutual help ; various foundations established by private persons for providing for the workman, and for his widow or his orphans, in sudden calamity, in sickness, and in the event of death ; and what are called "patronages" or institutions for the care of boys and girls, for young people, and also for those of more mature age.

The most important of all are Workmen's Associations, for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were effected by the Artificers' Guilds of a former day. They were the means not only of many advantages to the workmen, but in no small degree of the advancement of art, as numerous monuments remain to prove. Such associations should be adapted to the requirements of the age in which we live—an age of greater instruction, of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few Societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone or of workmen and employers together ; but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective. We have spoken of them more than once ; but it will be well to explain here how much they are needed, to show that they exist by their own right, and to enter into their organization and their work.

The experience of his own weakness urges man to call in help from without. We read in the pages of Holy Writ : *It is better that two should be together than one ; for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up.*[*] And further : *A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city.*[†] It is this natural impulse which unites men in civil society ; and it is this also which makes them band themselves together in associations of citizen with citizen ; associations which, it is true, cannot be called societies in the complete sense of the word, but which are societies nevertheless.

These lesser societies and the society which constitutes the State differ in many things, because their immediate purpose and end is different. Civil society exists for the common good, and therefore is concerned with the interests of all in general and with individual interests in their due place and proportion. Hence it is called *public* society, because by its means, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, *Men communicate with one another in the setting up of a commonwealth.*[‡] But the societies which are formed in the bosom of the State are called *private,* and justly so, because their immediate purpose is the private advantage of the associates. *Now a private society,* says St. Thomas again, *is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private business ; as when two or three enter into a partnership with the view of trading in conjunction.*[§] Particular societies, then, although they exist within the State, and are each a part of the State, nevertheless cannot be prohibited by the State absolutely and as such. For to enter into "society" of this kind is the natural right of man ; and the State must protect natural rights, not destroy them ; and if it forbids its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the very principle of its own existence; for both they and it exist in virtue of the same principle, viz., the natural propensity of man to live in society.

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[*] Ecclesiastes iv. 9, 10.
[†] Proverbs xviii. 19.
[‡] *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, Cap. II.
[§] *Ibid.*

There are times, no doubt, when it is right that the law should interfere to prevent association; as when men join together for purposes which are evidently bad, unjust, or dangerous to the State. In such cases the public authority may justly forbid the formation of associations, and may dissolve them when they already exist. But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals, and not to make unreasonable regulations under the pretence of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and, therefore, with the eternal law of God.[*]

And here we are reminded of the Confraternities, Societies, and Religious Orders which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of the Christian people. The annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race. It is indisputable, on grounds of reason alone, that such associations, being perfectly blameless in their objects, have the sanction of the law of nature. On their religious side they rightly claim to be responsible to the Church alone. The administrators of the State, therefore, have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their management; on the contrary, it is the State's duty to respect and cherish them, and, if necessary, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the State has laid violent hands on these communities, and committed manifold injustice against them; it has placed them under the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and robbed them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights, each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed them for a definite purpose, and of those for whose benefit and assistance they existed. Wherefore We cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results; and with the more reason because, at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, We see that Catholic societies, however peaceable and useful, are hindered in every way, whilst the utmost freedom is given to men whose objects are at once hurtful to Religion and dangerous to the State.

Associations of every kind, and especially those of workingmen, are now far more common than formerly. In regard to many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what means they use. But there is a good deal of evidence which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of invisible leaders, and are managed on principles far from compatible with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their best to get into their hands the whole field of labor, and to force workmen either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances, Christian workmen must do one of two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril, or form associations among themselves—unite their forces and courageously shake off the yoke of an unjust and intolerable oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme danger will hesitate to say that the second alternative must by all means be adopted.

Those Catholics are worthy of all praise—and there are not a few—who, understanding what the times require, have, by various enterprises and experiments, endeavored to better the condition of the working people without any sacrifice of principle. They have taken up the cause of the workingman, and have striven to make both families and individuals better off; to infuse the spirit of justice into the mutual relations of employer and employed; to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the Gospel—that Gospel which, by inculcating self-restraint, keeps men within the bounds of moderation, and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and various classes which compose the State. It is with such ends in view that We see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of united action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite working people of various kinds into associations, help them with their advice and their means, and enable them to obtain honest and profitable work. The Bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good will and support; and with their approval and guidance many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously on behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of Associations. And there are not wanting Catholics possessed of affluence, who have, as it were, cast in their lot with the wage-earners, and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading Benefit and Insurance Societies, by means of which the workingman may without difficulty acquire by his labor not only many present advantages, but also the certainty of honorable support in time to come. How much this multiplied and earnest activity has benefited the community at large is too well known to require Us to dwell upon it. We find in it the grounds of the most cheering hope for the future; provided that the Associations We have described continue to grow and spread, and are well and wisely administered. Let the State watch over these Societies of citizens united together in the exercise of their rights; but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without.

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[*] *Human law is law only in virtue of its accordance with right reason; and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason it is called an unjust law; in such case it is not law at all, but rather a species of violence.*—St. Thomas of Aquin, *Summa Theologica*, 1a, 2æ Q. xciii. Art. iii.

In order that an association may be carried on with unity of purpose and harmony of action, its organization and government must be firm and wise. All such Societies, being free to exist, have the further right to adopt such rules and organization as may best conduce to the attainment of their objects. We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization; this must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which must be carefully weighed.

Speaking summarily, we may lay it down as a general and perpetual law that Workmen's Associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and principal attention to piety and morality, and that their internal discipline must be directed precisely by these considerations; otherwise they entirely lose their special character, and come to be very little better than those societies which take no account of Religion at all. What advantage can it be to a Workman to obtain by means of a Society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for want of spiritual food? *What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?*[*] This, as Our Lord teaches, is the note or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. *After all these things doth the heathen seek. . . . Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.*[†] Let our Associations, then, look first and before all to God; let religious instruction have therein a foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what to believe, what to hope for, and how to work out his salvation; and let all be warned and fortified with especial solicitude against wrong opinions and false teaching. Let the workingman be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of Religion, and, among other things, to the sanctification of Sundays and festivals. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common Mother of us all; and so to obey the precepts and to frequent the Sacraments of the Church, those Sacraments being the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life.

The foundations of the organization being laid in Religion, We next go on to determine the relations of the members one to another, in order that they may live together in concord and go on prosperously and successfully. The offices and charges of the society should be distributed for the good of the society itself, and in such manner that difference in degree or position should not interfere with unanimity and good will. Office bearers should be appointed with prudence and discretion, and each one's charge should be carefully marked out; thus no member will suffer wrong. Let the common funds be administered with the strictest honesty, in such way that a member receive assistance in proportion to his necessities. The rights and duties of employers should be the subject of careful consideration as compared with the rights and duties of the employed. If it should happen that either a master or a workman deemed himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that there should be a committee composed of honest and capable men of the association itself, whose duty it should be, by the laws of the Association, to decide the dispute. Among the purposes of a Society should be to try to arrange for a continuous supply of work at all times and seasons; and to create a fund from which the members may be helped in their necessities, not only in cases of accident, but also in sickness, old age, and misfortune.

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[*] St. Matthew xvi. 26.

[†] St. Matthew vi. 32. 33.

Such rules and regulations, if obeyed willingly by all, will sufficiently insure the well-being of poor people; while such mutual Associations among Catholics are certain to be productive, in no small degree of prosperity to the State. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another; for they are directed by the Providence of God, Who overrules the course of history in accordance with His purposes in creating the race of man. We are told that it was cast as a reproach on the Christians of the early ages of the Church, that the greater number of them had to live by begging or by labor. Yet, destitute as they were of wealth and influence, they ended by winning over to their side the favor of the rich and the good will of the powerful. They showed themselves industrious, laborious, and peaceful, men of justice, and above all, men of brotherly love. In the presence of such a life and such an example, prejudice disappeared, the tongue of malevolence was silenced, and the lying traditions of ancient superstition yielded little by little to Christian truth.

At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided. But it will be easy for Christian workingmen to decide it aright if they form Associations, choose wise guides, and follow the same path which with so much advantage to themselves and the commonwealth was trod by their fathers before them. Prejudice, it is true, is mighty, and so is the love of money; but if the sense of what is just and right be not destroyed by depravity of heart, their fellow-citizens are sure to be won over to a kindly feeling towards men whom they see to be so industrious and so modest, who so unmistakably prefer honesty to lucre, and the sacredness of duty to all other considerations.

And another great advantage would result from the state of things We are describing; there would be so much more hope and possibility of recalling to a sense of their duty those workingmen who have either given up their faith altogether, or whose lives are at variance with its precepts. These men, in most cases, feel that they have been fooled by empty promises and deceived by false appearances. They cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with the greatest inhumanity and hardly care for them beyond the profit their labor brings; and if they belong to an Association, it is probably one in which there exists, in place of charity and love, that intestine strife which always accompanies unresigned and irreligious poverty. Broken in spirit and worn down in body, how many of them would gladly free themselves from this galling slavery! But human respect, or the dread of starvation, makes them afraid to take the step. To such as these, Catholic Associations are of incalculable service, helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship, and receiving the repentant to a shelter in which they may securely trust.

We have now laid before you, Venerable Brethren, who are the persons, and what are the means, by which this most difficult question must be solved. Every one must put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and immediately, lest the evil which is already so great may by delay become absolutely beyond remedy. Those who rule the State must use the law and the institutions of the country; masters and rich men must remember their duty; the poor, whose interests are at stake, must make every lawful and proper effort; and since Religion alone, as We said at the beginning, can destroy the evil at its root, all men must be persuaded that the primary thing needful is to return to real Christianity, in the absence of which all the plans and devices of the wisest will be of little avail.

As far as regards the Church, its assistance will never be wanting, be the time or the occasion what it may; and it will intervene with the greater effect in proportion as its liberty of action is the more unfettered; let this be carefully noted by those whose office it is to provide for the public welfare. Every minister of holy Religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance; with your authority, Venerable Brethren, and by your example, they must never cease to urge upon all men of every class, upon the high as well as the lowly, the Gospel doctrines of Christian life; by every means in their power they must strive for the good of the people; and above all they must earnestly cherish in themselves, and try to arouse in others, charity, the mistress and queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of Charity; of that true Christian Charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and which is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self; that Charity, whose office is described and whose Godlike features are drawn by the Apostle St. Paul in these words: *Charity is patient, is kind . . . seeketh not her own . . . suffereth all things . . . endureth all things.*[*]

On each one of you, Venerable Brethren, and on your Clergy and people, as an earnest of God's mercy and a mark of our affection, We lovingly in the Lord bestow the Apostolic benediction.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, the fifteenth day of May, 1891, the fourteenth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII. POPE.

CIVILIZATION IN RELATION TO MISSIONS.—In some ways civilization is a positive hindrance to the missionary, from the very comforts it teaches him to consider indispensable. It is of the earth, earthy; and tends to make us too ready to forget the life beyond the earth, so that while we thank God for its blessings we must always bear in mind that there is one thing better, the knowledge of the Gospel. Civilization is then a great and powerful instrument put into our hands for the benefit of those who are now outside its pale, but it is an instrument only, and one that is capable of working fearful mischief if we make it substantially our object to raise a civilized nation, rather than a holy church. The one thing is, that simple sincerity which can make itself at home with simple natures in that oneness which embraces black and white, Indian and Englishman, because they are all redeemed of Christ. With this, civilization is one of God's greatest blessings.—*Bishop Steere.*

ARCHBISHOP TAIT's manner of writing, or rather of preparing his sermons, was as follows: "I think of them," he said, "during the week, jot down a few heads and texts, somewhat promiscuously, roll them well over in my mind on Friday; Saturday morning, I write out fair heads of the sermon, dividing usually into four sections, one for each page of a sheet of letter paper; I ride out alone on Saturday afternoon, and find myself ready to preach when I get into the pulpit on Sunday."

PARAGRAPHIC.

AN INTERESTING DISCOVERY.—In the July *Deutsche Rundschau*, Dr. Brugsch, the Egyptologist, reports a discovery which will be of especial interest to students of the Bible. In January last there was found near Luxor, in Egypt (close to the site where stood Thebes "of a hundred gates"), a tablet, written in hieroglyphics, in which a person named Chitbet relates that he had accomplished many mysterious things, "owing," as this interesting inscription goes on to say, "to the great distress that has been caused by the Nile not overflowing its banks for seven years." The words are very distinct and admit of no other interpretation. The reference to Joseph and the seven years of famine will at once suggest itself. Dr. Brugsch critically examined the writing upon the stone in his article, and concludes that it is perfectly genuine, and is the work of a priest who lived four hundred years before the common era. The name of the Pharaoh is unfortunately not given, but the reference to Joseph is undoubtedly correct.—*Jewish Messenger.*

THE MINISTER'S WIFE.—We have very little sympathy with the sentiment that, happily, used to be more freely expressed than it is at present, that the parish hired the minister and not the minister's wife, and that, until she received her salary as well as he, the church could expect no special service of her. The idea has been ridiculed more than once that she could be supposed to be the "assistant minister." We make bold to defend the proposition that she ought to be, in a special sense, not only the "pastor's assistant," but the "assistant pastor."

It is not necessary to carry out the analogy, and to say that the doctor's wife, while she may be the doctor's assistant, is not also an assistant doctor, and that the blacksmith's wife is not an assistant blacksmith, for the relation that subsists between the minister's wife and the souls of the parish is very different from the relation of the blacksmith's wife to the forge, or of the shopkeeper's wife to the counter.

The minister's wife has a peculiar insight into parish problems. She can often know better than her husband himself the needs of a large section of the people to whom he ministers. She may have the entrance to secret chambers of hearts that he can never penetrate. We do not mean that necessarily she must be president of the sewing circle, and chief director of the annual fair, and president of the home missionary society and of the foreign board, and organizer of the young ladies' mission band, and leader of the maternal meeting; we do not mean that she is to neglect one home duty or slight one home care. But, though crowded with such cares, though she be blessed with "nine small children and one at the breast," she may yet find time and strength for such quiet, helpful ministrations as no one else can render so well. Though very little in public life, though holding but few offices, even among the ladies of the church, she may have an influence most potent and helpful. We are reminded of this truth as we recall a recent convention of young people, where, one after another, many told how much they owed to the minister's wife,—how she had helped them to do their duty, how she had inspired their society with new life, how she had dropped the word in season, how she had run to speak to "that young man" and this young woman. Surely there is no nobler mission than such a mission. The "pastor's assistant" is no less useful than the pastor.

We feel like echoing the hearty exclamation of one young man in the meeting before referred to: "I thank God for our minister's wife."—*Golden Rule.*

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[*] 1 Corinthians xiii. 4–7.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEW.

INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By EMANUEL V. GERHART, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. With an Introduction by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. I. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1891. 8vo, pp. xxvii., 754, $3.00.

This thick volume is only the first half of a treatise, the distinguished ability of which will reflect honor upon the theological school from which it emanates, and will give it a place in the goodly company of that remarkable series of text-books in Dogmatics which the several branches of the Reformed Church in America have produced. It is the precipitate of many years of theological teaching, and bears throughout the marks of long-continued, careful and conscientious labor. It is conspicuous for philosophical depth of thought. It shows evidences of familiarity with the critical as well as dogmatic scholarship of the day—though, no doubt, chiefly of one school. It is written in a style which, while plain, is in general both clear and attractive, and rises at times into something like a real though unforced eloquence. Above all, it is informed with reverence for the holy themes discussed, and a devoutness of spirit which convinces its readers that the author's soul has found nourishment in the doctrines he formulates, and that he thinks with the heart as well as the head. It would be premature to attempt at this time a characterization of the book as a whole, or a final estimate of its value. This first volume contains only the *Loci de Deo* and *de Creatione et Providentia*, with preliminary sections on the Source of Theological Knowledge, and the Principle of Christian Doctrine; and though much is already adumbrated in the course of the discussions on these themes which is to follow formally in the second volume, we must wait for the full presentation in order to judge justly of the work or the system. Meanwhile, we may remark in passing, that there are several points in this first volume in which the mode of presentation seems to make, from the pedagogical point of view, an advance upon the systems with which we are most familiar. We reckon among these the genetic development of the doctrine of God, by which the student is introduced first to the natural conception of God, then to Old Testament Theism, and then to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and that first in its economical and then in its ontological aspect. There may possibly be reckoned among these also the prepositing of the discussion of the Trinity to that of the Divine Attributes (Dr. Gerhart prefers the term Properties or Qualities), which, though liable to certain scientific objections, has the pedagogic advantage of preventing some annoying confusions in the youthful mind as to the relation of the attributes to the persons of the Godhead. Here, too, may be reckoned the proportionally somewhat fuller discussions than usual of the created world, especially under the useful distinction of the world as Cosmos and the world as Eon, as also of the angelic world. And there are naturally many matters of detail which are presented so richly and strongly as to invite and almost to demand quotation, could we give this whole notice to pointing out such passages.

It will be more respectful to Dr. Gerhart, however, to discuss some of those matters where we find it difficult to follow his leading. And this becomes the more incumbent upon us from the circumstance that the two most important matters of this kind constitute the subjects of the two preliminary dissertations, which are not only peculiar to this volume, but are fundamental to the whole system.

Dr. Gerhart felicitates himself on being the first American author to publish a Christological or Christocentric Dogmatics. "Thus far," he writes (p. 8), "no system of theology, developed from the Christ-idea as its standpoint, of American or English authorship has greeted the Church." To him not only the distinguishing fact, but also the distinguishing virtue of his treatise is that it "is in sympathy with the Christological trend of the Christian sentiment and scholarship of the age" (p. 9). The circumstance that this is the first American dogmatics constructed from this standpoint renders it not unfitting that we should explain why we cannot follow him here, in the form of a brief exposition of what is meant by Christocentric theology. In the first place, it must be noted that this phrase is not meant to suggest that a new and better *arrangement* of the doctrines has been adopted. Christological theology is not the old theology looked at from a new and higher point of view, and presented in a new and better order and proportion. "The Christocentric method," says Dr. Schaff in the introduction prefixed to this volume, "is not inconsistent with the Trinitarian method, but coincides with it;" and as a matter of fact Dr. Gerhart's system follows the order of topics which has been fixed upon by theologians generally as the natural one. He too gives us successively the doctrines on God, on Creation and Providence, on Man, on Christ, on the Holy Spirit, on Personal Salvation, and on the Last Things—in which every one will recognize his old acquaintances Theology, Cosmology, Anthropology, Christology, Pneumatology, Soteriology, and Eschatology, and in their familiar order. Neither, again, does the adoption of "the Christological method" mean that all the doctrines of the system have been *adjusted to the great doctrines of redemption*. This has been done already in every concatenated system, which is a system just because each doctrine included in it has been adjusted to all the rest. Christological theology is not the old theology with redemption given new prominence and made pervasive in its influence over all the other doctrines. Nor yet does the adoption of this method mean *the exaltation of Christ* in His person and work, and the according to Him of new and completer honor as the central point of all religion and of all dogmatic thought. To every evangelical Christian Christ is the head and centre of Christianity; and the Christological idea is not an effort to claim for Him His right as Lord of all. Perhaps the phrase conveys in some vague way one or the other of the foregoing ideas to the majority of uninstructed readers; but no one of these is what is intended by it. What is intended by it is, briefly, not that Christ's person and work shall be made the central fact in all our theological thinking, but, as its advocates themselves express it, that the *Christ-idea* shall be made the principle of theological thought. And this means nothing more or less than that from the unique person of the God-man, in whom God and man are united in one life, the idea of the essential unity of God and man shall be derived, and then applied as a universal truth, valid in all the relations of God and man. Dr. Gerhart quite clearly and repeatedly enunciates his conception. "God and man being a unity in Jesus Christ," he tells us (p. 153), "the idea concerning the Christ" (note: not the Christ, either in His person or His work, but "the idea concerning the Christ" or "the idea respecting the God-man," p 188, or "the idea of Divine-human community," p. 271), "becomes the central idea in Christian dogmatics, the science of the Christian religion." "The fundamental law of Christian doctrine," we read again (p. 187), is "this idea concerning the Christ, in whom God and man are organically and ethically one." And again (p. 115) we are told that the conditions of a theology at once more scriptural and more Christian are only to be met "by the Christ-idea—the idea concerning the Divine-human personality of Jesus;" and this is explained to mean that the fundamental principle of theology is to be "the concrete union of the two essential factors," God and man. No one needs to be told whence this conception comes or whither it leads. And we regret to find that Dr. Gerhart, instead of building upon the firm basis of the Reformed theology, has taken his place alongside of those, unfortunately not a few, who are to-day occupying themselves (in the phrase of Dr. Kuyper) "in smuggling the contraband of the German *Vermittelungstheologie* into the Calvinistic camp."

The effect of thus substituting the "concrete unity of God and man" in the place of the glory of God Almighty as "the fundamental principle of theology" is, of course, the de-Calvinization of the Reformed theology. Under the attractive name of "Christologizing" theology, theology is simply humanitarianized. Dr. Gerhart thinks of the process, indeed, as finding a middle way between the two one-sided systems of Calvinism and Arminianism. While Calvinism does injustice to man, and Arminianism to God, the Christological idea, he thinks, does justice to both, since in it "both ideas become one organic unity," "complemental members of an organism in germ." But the middle way between truth and error is itself error. And the Christological theology does not succeed in holding the two fundamental ideas of God and man "in relation to one another consistently with their intrinsic demands." It gives us a synthesis not of the wholeness of God and the wholeness of man, but of something more than man and something less than God. The actual result is, naturally, that Dr. Gerhart holds with Arminianism in all the distinctive points, denying God's universal foreordination, curtailing His omnipotence, and even curiously explaining His omniscience, while everywhere he argues against His sovereign dealings with men (pp. 121, 151, etc.). It is not the *Vermittelungstheologie*, but Calvinism alone that embraces "God as God" or "the wholeness of the Divine being." The principle of Calvinism is not, therefore, "the metaphysical principle of predestination," and it does not "begin with the sovereign will of God," though it firmly contends that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and has decreed all things according to the counsel of His own will. It is the determination of Calvinism that God shall be God —that it shall embrace God in the wholeness of His nature, no part-God but all-God—that makes it tenacious of these doctrines. The doctrine of predestination is an essential element in the very idea of God, and justice is not done to this factor of theological thought without it. In the use of such painful phrases as "the false predominance of the Divine will" (p. 109), "the false exaltation of God above man" (p. 115), the mediating theology confesses that it has bought its intermediate position at the cost of the integrity of the idea of God. Dr. Gerhart thinks ill of the knowledge of God attainable by the natural man; but even natural theology holds, in these aspects, to a completer God than the *Vermittelungstheologie* allows.

We have hinted that Dr. Gerhart has too low an estimate of the knowledge of God attainable by the natural reason. That God is an intuition of the natural man he correctly asserts (p. 218); but he adds that "intuition is inadequate; it does not answer to the objective reality" (p. 227). Apparently he would consider theism itself beyond the reach of natural thought, confining the pagan conceptions of deity to the circle of pantheism, deism, and dualism. But the needed complement of "reason" he does not find in "revelation," in the sense ordinarily attached to that word; the phrase "reason and revelation" as expressive of the twofold source of knowledge, he considers, rather, to be a product of late Protestant and vicious thought (p. 18 sq.). The Bible is, indeed, the source of biblical theology, but not, in the truest sense, of dogmatic theology; for it, it supplied, no doubt, a starting point, conditioning the product, and it continues to supply a "critical standard;" but it does not "supply all the needs of theological science." The true source of Divine knowledge is "a unity in a twofold form;" objectively it is the self-manifestation of God as (it is the "as" of norm) presented in the Scriptures; subjectively, it is the same revealed truth living in the Christian consciousness of the Church (p. 7). "The original source of the Christian knowledge of God is the Lord Jesus Christ" (p. 33): the Bible can be considered only a medium of this knowledge, and that only so far forth as "it is mystically connected with the Christ of God" (p. 33); whereas, on the other hand, the trandscendent Christ becomes an immanent vital principle in His people by a mystical union with them begotten by the Holy Spirit, and developing into a Christian consciousness which is itself a source of knowledge of God. Thus, then, is postulated what is practically equivalent to a perennial revelation, the organ of which is faith, and the agent the Holy Ghost; and thus Dr. Gerhart is able to speak of the Trinity being an intuition of the regenerate soul as truly as God is of the natural soul (p. 366).

Now, there can be no sort of objection to saying that our Lord Jesus Christ is the one primordial and unchangeable source of Divine knowledge. Revelation, taken in the broad sense, is the only medium of knowledge of God; and all revelation of God is through the Logos. And taking knowledge as a concrete fact, Christ gives us knowledge of God not merely by external manifestations or "verbal teaching," but "by mystical union" with the believer, enabling him to understand and receive the verbal teaching. This is but the Reformed doctrine of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, and means nothing more than that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, and cannot know them because they are Spiritually discerned. So far, therefore, as Dr. Gerhart's teaching tends to enforce the fundamental doctrine that faith is necessary to knowledge (p. 29), and that "the first condition of knowing God is fellowship and sympathy with Him" (p. 210), we not only go heartily with him, but feel bound to return him our sincere thanks for the fulness and strength of his advocacy of so important and indeed vital a truth. But Dr. Gerhart's doctrine far transcends the Protestant doctrine of the testimony of the Spirit, though he seeks support in it. That doctrine looks upon the Scriptures as the source of the matter to be believed, and the testimony of the Spirit as the condition of its reception and understanding. Dr. Gerhart speaks of the "consciousness of God going forth from the Divine communion of love" as a "source of theological knowledge" (p. 51); so that the "theologian himself becomes a fountain, a secondary fountain" from which knowledge of God and Divine things may be derived (p. 68). In other words, Dr. Gerhart transmutes the Reformed doctrine of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* into the well-known *Vermittelungstheologie* doctrine of the Christian consciousness. "Hence by union and communion in the Spirit with Christ glorified, the Christian may know God, His being, His attributes, and His relations to the world" (p. 205; cf. pp. 5, 16, 47, et *sæpe*). According to the Reformed doctrine, we have a *testimony* from the Spirit, not a *revelation;* knowledge is not represented as instilled into the Christian heart from beneath; the work of the Spirit terminates rather on the faculties of knowing, while the object known is brought before them not mystically, but naturally, chiefly through the Word.

Therefore Dr. Gerhart is wrong in speaking of the old Reformed doctrine as "affirming two sources of theological knowledge—namely, the written Word of God and the illumination of the Church by the Holy Ghost, the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*" (p. 12). This would be like our saying that we have two sources of knowledge of Dr. Gerhart's theology—his book and our spectacles through which we read it. The Reformed writers are perfectly explicit and clear—from Calvin down—as to the function of the witness of the Spirit, as simply the needed action of the Holy Spirit on debased man, to enable him to understand the things of God. So, for instance, Calvin, as quoted on p. 38, "For as God alone is a sufficient witness of Himself in His own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit." The Word is perfect in itself; it is man that is imperfect and needy of help. Let us venture an illustration. I am to make a study of the musical genius of Beethoven. His manuscript scores are placed before me. These are the sources of my knowledge of his musical genius. It may be said, indeed, that the scores are not, strictly speaking, the *sources*, that Beethoven is the source and the scores only the media by which he communicates to me his musical conceptions. This is obviously true; but it is a wholly uselesss distinction for the matter in hand. Beethoven is my source only so far as he has expressed himself in the scores; they are, therefore, my sources of knowledge of his musical genius. But now I open the scores and read. I know the notes; I have a scientific acquaintance with the principles of musical composition; I am so far furnished for criticising Beethoven as a musician. But I have no musical soul. There is nothing within me to correspond to the *music* which the scores represent. I have the whole of the objective sources, but I have no subjective appreciation of their message. But this certainly is not due to any defect in the scores. The defect is in me. And it would not be remedied by any mystical connection of Beethoven with the scores; I need, were that possible, a mystical connection of Beethoven with my soul, inspiring it—not with a knowledge of his music, but with musical sense. Similarly Dr. Gerhart seems to us wholly wrong in denying to the Scriptures the title of sole objective source of knowledge of God, and as well in seeking to postulate a mystical connection of the glorified Christ by His spirit with them in order to give them validity and power (p. 40 sq.). Here he deserts in principle the Reformed doctrine of the Scriptures and goes over to the Lutheran. For the very core of the distinction between the doctrines of the Word held by these two churches is that the Lutherans postulate a Divine union with the Scriptures, and the Reformed the action of the Spirit on the heart of the believer *extrinsecus accedens.*

We have left ourselves no room to speak of Dr. Gerhart's presentation of the doctrines of God and creation, nor of many minor matters we had marked for discussion.

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QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

CONTENTS PAGES AND DIGESTS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

CALVINISM AND CONFESSIONAL REVISION. By Professor Dr. A. KUYPER, of Holland. Translated from the Dutch by Professor Geerhardus Vos, Ph.D., of Grand Rapids, Mich. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, New York, July, 1891.

This article opens with an expression of the interest excited among Dutch Calvinists by the discussion of confessional revision in America, and proceeds to state the standpoint of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands with regard to a revision of their creed. For this purpose the writer presents four questions: (1) Has a specific tendency, which, like Calvinism, leads to a separate church organization, a right to exist in the Church of Christ? (2) What specific tendency does Calvinism represent in the Christian Church? (3) In what manner has this tendency found its expression in the ecclesiastical symbols? (4) To what conditions is the revision of these symbols in the case of a progressive development of Calvinism to be bound?

1. Professor Kuyper claims that to the first question there is no other than an affirmative answer. Calvinism does represent a specific tendency of thought in the Christian Church, which, being able to create its own church organization, has an indisputable right of existence. In considering this question, he looks at the general development of the idea of unity in the Church, which involves at the beginning similarity, heterogeneity, and disproportionateness in its parts. Harmony can only arise from contrast, and contrast requires diversity of nature. So this idea of the Christian Church leaves room for specific tendencies of thought. Our grasp is so limited and the capacity of our consciousness so universal, that one man must supplement another, and by the very necessity of doing this no individual can avoid being one-sided in his range of thought. Christianity is too rich, too many-sided, too universal to pour its divine fulness into a single channel of human life, and hence has forced its waters into a number of channels. Thus Calvinism owes its origin exclusively to a specific conception of Christianity, arising in a period of history when the fate of Christianity shaped the destinies of States and nations. It developed its own organization, set its stamp on political and social life as

well, and manifested its influence in every land where it has flourished.

2. The specific character of the tendency represented by Calvinism does not lie in any single doctrine, but in this, that within the Christian religion it does the fullest justice to the essence of religion itself. Not that it is exhaustive of the full riches of the Christian religion ; it is simply more correct than other systems in that whereas they give predominance to special ideas, Calvinism is more general in its concept. It is a mistake to discover its specific character in predestination, the authority of Scripture, the doctrine of the covenants, the tenet of hereditary guilt, strictness of life, or Presbyterian Church government. These are the logical consequences, not the point of departure for Calvinism. Thus Calvinism in the Christian Church is simply that tendency which makes a man assume the same attitude toward God in his profession and life which he already exhibits in his prayer. There is no Christian, be he Lutheran or Baptist, Methodist or Greek, whose prayer is not thoroughly Calvinistic. Giving glory to God and thanks for the grace working in him, and acknowledging the eternal love of God alone, he recognizes the sole efficiency of the Holy Spirit in every good work performed, and that without atoning grace he would not exist for a moment, but would sink away in guilt and sin. While all the other tendencies preserve this attitude as long as their prayer lasts, to lose themselves in logically different conceptions as soon as the Amen has been pronounced, the Calvinist adheres to the truth of the prayer in his profession, his theology, and his life.

3. This tendency has found its expression in ecclesiastical symbols in an entirely different way from that followed in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches. It is the spontaneous product of the struggle of believers, and bears the clearest evidence of having originated under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, as is manifest in many of the Calvinistic confessions, not merely in their character but in the circumstances of their adoption. If the traditions of the Westminster Confession, drawn up as late as 1648, are not clearly in keeping with this idea, it must be remembered that it was not so much intended to form a new confession as to give a *résumé* in behalf of England of the martyr confessions, and the circumstances were somewhat peculiar. Four points are brought forward in this connection : (1) Calvinism does not undertake to formulate its confession except under the impulse or after the close of some powerful movement stirring the very depth of life. (2) The impulse proceeds from the Holy Spirit. The contents are taken from the Word. (3) In its method at arriving at a confession Calvinism excludes all individualism and sectarianism. (4) Calvinists never proceeded to formulate their confession until after, and so far as the Holy Spirit had clearly given them to understand the meaning of the divine Word on disputed points. Wherever the Scriptures did not pronounce on a point, the Church, too, neither could nor should speak. A creed is not for the purpose of stating our own surmises or conjectures, but for professing that for which on the basis of God's revelation we possess most certain knowledge.

4. In looking for the conditions that should bind the revision of the symbols in the case of a progressive development of Calvinism, we should seek for the dictates of their own principles as interpreted in the light of history. Four conditions must be complied with. (1) The development must tend in the direction of the Church itself, not being a reaction against but a richer unfolding of the Calvinistic principles. (2) This unfolding must have made such universal progress in the churches, that if there is any reference to it, a practical unanimous testimony of all the churches, and not the least danger of half the consistories or classes obtruding their opinions on the other half. (3) Calvinistic theology must have made sufficient progress to furnish the churches with adequate means for formulating this development. (4) In the foreign churches of the Reformed confession a similar conviction must have led to similar results, before this new stage of symbol development can be entered upon.

These conditions the author considers have not been so far complied with, and hence he expresses very earnestly the feeling that, at any rate so far as the Dutch churches are concerned, if the question were proposed to them, he should earnestly dissuade them from undertaking any revision. While not presuming to give opinion on American questions, he nevertheless emphasizes the feeling that great caution and great care should be taken in the matter, inasmuch as no one part of the Church can move in such a question without intimately affecting every other part.

THE DIVINE IMMANENCY. The Relation of the Doctrine to Inspiration. By the Rev. JAMES DOUGLASS, D.D., LL.D., Pulaski, N. Y. *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, O., July, 1891.

This article, which is concluded from a previous one, derives additional interest from the fact that it is the last contribution of its author, for soon after its manuscript reached the editors Dr. Douglass passed away.

The article commences with a statement as to the true meaning of inspiration, that its original significance is inbreathed, and as such really gives no ground for the development of the mechanical theory which has been so largely held by Bible interpreters. The very word *θεοωνε͂υστος* is itself a statement of the doctrine of divine immanency, and denotes not external or mechanical, but internal or immanent action, not mediately but immediately, as the Divine Spirit alone can act on the human spirit, because it alone is the source and fountain of all life and intelligence. Thus, as opposed to the mechanical theory, we might really call this the inspiration theory of inspiration. The supreme test of a theory is its ability to fully harmonize and explain all the facts. This for the mechanical theory is impossible in regard to the Bible.

Then follow the statements of some of the historical discrepancies in Gospel narrative, such as the account of the Last Supper, the miracle of healing the blind, Luke's account of Paul as contrasted with Paul's account of himself, and the Gadarene's story. With reference to such Professor Ladd considers it "the shallowest folly to compare the apologetic forces of historical Christianity solely with quibbles about the possibility of justifying this or that detail of narrative, or of the harmonizing this or that small discrepancy of one writer with another." The difficulty with such cases has largely arisen from the confounding of inspiration and revelation ; the latter being a result of revelation in giving perfect moral perception. The Holy Spirit may inspire without revealing. It may reveal the future without inspiring or enabling the subject adequately to comprehend or record the revelation. In the one case *inspiring* it acts as an immanent, in the other case *revealing* it acts as a transcendent power.

He then takes up the subject under different heads. 1. Inspiration.—This is the impartation of a large measure of that very intellectual and moral life and power which man already possesses, derived from the Divine Being. This effect is to reinforce the mental powers, but does not make a mere automaton of its subject. While giving augmented power, greater clearness and precision to the intellectual, as well as moral faculties, it does not correct any error of perception that may have occurred in observing events or attendant circumstances. It does not reveal these historical events, only gives the memory a clear recollection of them as they occur. The observations are narrated by others. In connection with this is especially to be noted that quickening of the moral faculties, that clear and perfect perception of moral truth, discernment of the most appropriate words to express that truth which frees the expressions from error.

2. Verbal Inspiration.—Inspiration as a quickening power to the intellect enables the writer to apprehend the true importance and significance of language, and thus gives verbal inspiration as a condition indispensable to a perfect record of truth. The objections to this, as adduced especially by Dean Alford, apply only to the theory of dictation, but have no relation to our present theory of inspiration, from which we obtain a doctrine entirely consistent with that of the fullest personal consciousness of the inspired writer. The claim of verbal inspiration is not that the facts narrated are revealed by the spirit, but solely that those who reveal recorded accurately what they themselves saw or understood from others. Where there are different sources, it is no contradiction to the doctrine of verbal inspiration that there should be discrepancies in the statements. Exact similarity in narrative would of itself be the most conclusive evidence of collusion among the front writers.

3. The Diversity of Style.—Under this theory of inspiration the different peculiarities of different writers are brought out clearly and distinctly. Inspiration did not transform a man into a scientist nor force upon him an unusual mode of expression. It gave a clear and perfect discernment of moral truth, and enabled him to furnish a perfect rule, perfect because represented in language the fittest, best, and most appropriate for conveying to others a clear and accurate knowledge of truth.

4. Colloquial Truth.—By this is meant such a statement of truth as is used in ordinary and familiar conversation, such as is characterized by the prevailing habits of a people or the modes of expression used by them. Christ himself spoke in conversation with men not in the stilted language of exact science, but in the modes and phrases familiar to the people among whom He lived, and thus the use of parables was characteristic of His teaching. Under our present theory of inspiration it is easy to see how discrepancies between exact scientific truth and this colloquial truth may be harmonized.

5. Poetic, Allegoric, and Symbolic Truth.—The same theory enables us to reconcile the discrepancies between this form of truth and exact science. In many cases discussion is involved in regard to it. It is not a discussion of inspiration but of interpretation, as the controversy between Luther and Zwingli; the story of the Garden of Eden; the use of the Hebrew word for day; the standing still of the sun and moon, etc. The differences of interpretation on such points form no relation to questions of inspiration, for there is no difference of opinion as to the facts. There is simply a difference of opinion as to what the facts mean.

6. The Inspiration of the Pentateuch.—The objections to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch founded on the alleged lack of knowledge of the art of writing, etc., are being constantly disproved by the discoveries of modern archæology, and no better proof of the divine inspiration of Moses can be furnished than in comparing the most ancient traditions and legends of the nations of antiquity concerning the creation of the world and of man, and also those of the Deluge with the narrative given in the Book of Genesis. The most eminent scientists have recognized the most convincing proofs in Mosaic cosmogony itself not only of its divine inspiration, but also of the fact of divine revelation. Thus it matters not whether the author of this cosmogony was Moses or not. The fact of its inspiration is verified from the researches of science itself. It is unreasonable to suppose that Moses was the first of all inspired writers. The inspiration given endued him not only with a divinely conferred power of kindly discernment as law-giver, but also as historian of discernment, enabling him to determine what writings or legends then existing were inspired.

7. Mosaic Prophecies.—This theory of inspiration fully explains the most perplexing enigmas presented in some of these prophecies, showing how the narratives and events of original history are subsequently seen. But prophecies and the description of characters primarily applied to personages who had their historical existence cotemporaneous with the writer are afterward interpreted as prophetic of the Messiah.

And so on through the varied perplexities that arise in the interpretation of the Scriptures. The power of inspiration is the Holy Spirit, which Christ defines as the spirit of truth, and the measure of inspiration by the spirit of truth is the truth itself.

The Relation of the Church to Modern Scientific Thought. By Professor Joseph Le Conte. *Andover Review*, July, 1891.

Professor Le Conte traces here some of the more prominent effects of modern science upon the Church, claiming that it has operated to elevate the plane of religious thought and test the validity of religious beliefs; to purify the temple of truth by driving out the false and the low, and to strengthen its foundations by verifying the true and the noble. He thus gives some examples.

1. The conception of God under the influence of science has changed from a low anthropomorphism to a more noble type, and then to a true spiritual theism, which considers God as immanently resident in nature, whose forces are the different forms of His energy, acting *directly* at all times and in all places and determining all its phenomena.

2. The question of first and second causes, which did not exist in the earliest stages of thought, but was peculiarly characteristic of the second, is solved by the complete identification of both. What seem to be *second* are merely modes of the first cause acting according to invariable law, and thus apparently necessary and unconscious.

3. The question of general *vs.* special providence disappears in the same way. All is alike general, *i.e.*, according to law; and special, *i.e.*, by direct action. There is no real distinction between the two.

4. The natural and the supernatural is resolved into a question of the point of view. All is natural, *i.e.*, according to law; but all is *super*natural, *i.e.*, above nature as *we usually regard nature.* Once clearly conceive the idea of God permeating nature and determining *directly* all its phenomena, and the distinction between the natural and the supernatural disappears from view, and the very word *miracle,* as we usually understand it, has no longer any meaning, simply because we realize that what we understand to be a miracle is purely an occurrence *according to a law higher than any we yet know.*

5. The question of design in nature, or, to put it in another way, of mind *vs.* mechanics in nature, is similarly solved. Mechanics is but the mode of operation of the divine mind.

6. The question of the mode of creation is settled by a complete change of the old idea of a creation *at once* and then *rest ever since,* to one of *continuous* creation, *unhasting,* unresting by an eternal process of evolution. If the universal law of gravitation is the divine mode of sustentation of the universe, the no less universal law of evolution is the divine process of creation.

To the objection that this is pantheism, Professor Le Conte replies that the choice is not between a personality and something lower than personality—viz., a blind, unconscious force operating by necessity, but between *our* personality and something immeasurably higher than personality as we know it.

The Christ. This is, after all, the test question, What think ye of Christ? This section it is impossible to condense into the space we have and do justice to the argument. It is sufficient to say that the writer holds that the ideal man, the goal and completion of humanity is necessarily divine. Then to the question, Is Jesus the Christ, is He any more than an advanced stage of the human ideal, and if so is it not contrary to the principle of evolution, the reply is given that there is a difference between organic and human evolution; the former operating by necessary law the latter by free law. The ideal of organic evolution cannot come until *the end,* that of human evolution *in the course,* and that the absolute moral ideal has come is evident from the fact that it is already *attractive* upon the human race.

Preparatory Education from a Southern Standpoint, by Charles P. Curd, of Smith Academy of Washington University, discusses the problem of American history as it should be taught in the schools, especially touching on the time of the Confederacy and the period of slavery, and claims that the whole period may be dismissed with the general teaching that the part of the South came from honorable convictions of duty, equal in sincerity to those which ruled in the North, and that then the great achievements of America, whether in war or peace, may be pointed to as belonging to all alike.

The Present Status of the Divorce Question. By Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D., in *The Homiletic Review,* July, 1891.

Four points are 'specially brought into view. (1) The divorce question is no longer the isolated problem that it was a dozen years ago, but is recognized as a portion of the fundamental question of the family. (2) The beginning for a practical treatment of the divorce question, on a basis of scientifically ascertained facts, is now made possible by the investigations of the Department of Labor at Washington. (3) The present legal status is peculiarly interesting, especially with regard to the appointment of commissioners in different States for the consideration of uniformity in the laws. (4) The theoretical or speculative discussions on the subject indicate the unrest and the need of severe study.

CONTENTS OF AUGUST MAGAZINES.

The Atlantic for August has the following contents: "The Lady of Fort St John," IV.–VIII., by Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "A Disputed Correspondence," by Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Notes from the Wild Garden," by Edith M. Thomas; "Two Little Drummers," by Olive Thorne Miller; "The Pea Fields," by Charles G. D. Roberts; "A Colonial Inquisitor," by Henry Charles Lea; "General Sherman," by John C. Ropes; "Harebell," by Edmund Clarence Stedman; "The House of Martha," XLI.–XLIII., by Frank R. Stockton; "The Queen's Closet Opened," by Alice Morse Earle; "The Reform of the Senate," by Wendell P. Garrison; "The Marriages," by Henry James; "Sweet Peas," by Julie M. Lippmann; "The Oppression of Notes," by Agnes Repplier: "Six Centuries of Self Government," by W. D. McCrackan; "Browning's Life;" "Murray's Memoirs;" "Canada and the Canadian Question;" "Novel Economics;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributor's Club."

The Century for August has the following: "The German Emperor," by Poultney Bigelow; "Thou Reignest Still," by Louise Chandler Moulton; "Thumb-Nail Sketches: Moglashen," by George Wharton Edwards; "A Common Story," by Walcott Balestier; "Two Kings," by William H. Hayne; "On the Study of Tennyson," by Henry Van Dyke; "The Squirrel Inn," IV., by Frank R. Stockton; "The Press as a News Gatherer," by William Henry Smith, the Manager of the Associated Press; "The Eleventh Hour Laborer," by L. Gray Noble; "Life on the South Shoal Lightship," by Gustav Kobbé; "Play in Provence: The Grand Arrival of the Bulls," by Joseph Pennell; "Alone We Come into the World," by Stuart Sterne; "The Little Renault," by Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "On Elkhorn," by Robert Burns Wilson; "Our Summer Migration: A Social Study." by Edward Hungerford; "La Crépuscule," from a painting by Alexander Harrison; "Cape Horn and Co-operative Mining in '49," by Willard P. Farwell; "Gray Rocks and Grayer Sea," by Charles G. D. Roberts; "The White Crown," by Herbert D. Ward; "The Faith Doctor," VII., by Edward Eggleston: "The Clown and the Missionary," by Viola Roseboro'. Under "Topics of the Time" are discussed: "The Argentine Cheap Money Paradise;" "The Lottery's Last Ditch;" "Orthodoxy and Liberty." Among the "Open Letters" are: "The Treatment of Inebriates," by L. Edwin Dudley, and "Does Vivisection Help?" by Dr. E. Berdoe.

The Cosmopolitan for August has: Frontispiece—Amélie Rives; "According to St. John," by Amélie Rives; "The Ducal Town of Uze's," by Thomas A. Janvier; "Placer Mining," by Joseph P. Reed; "Dissected Emotions," by John B. Roberts; "The Dukeries," by C. S. Pelham-Clinton; "The Court Jesters of England," by Esther Singleton; "The Woman's Press Club of New York," by Fannie Aymar Mathews; "The Johns Hopkins University," by Daniel Coit Gilman; "Pictorial Journalism," by Valerian Gribayédoff; "A Romance of an Hour," by John Bowles; "Gambling in High Life," by Adam Badeau; "Prince Bismarck," by Murat Halstead; "Social Problems," by Edward Everett Hale; "Books about Four Great Cities," by Brander Matthews; Poems by Edgar Fawcett, Marion M. Miller, Isabel Gordon, John Vance Cheney, and Willis Boyd Allen.

Scribner's has, among other things: "Piccadilly," by Andrew Lang, in the Famous Streets Series; "The Wrecker," a new serial by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne; "Parliamentary Days in Japan," by Professor John H. Wigmore, of the University of Tokio; and five complete short stories, four of which are by Thomas Nelson Page, A. A. Hayes, T. R. Sullivan, and Annie Eliot.

Harper's has: Frontispiece—"Otira Gorge, West Coast Road, New Zealand," drawn by Smedley; "New Zealand," by G. M. Grant; "Zan Zoo," by George Heath; "What is Inheritance?" by Dr. Andrew Wilson, F.R.S.E.; "Answered," by Nannie Mayo Fitzhugh; "Some American

Riders," fourth and last paper; "Peter Ibbetson," Part III., by George du Maurier; "Glimpses of Western Architecture, Chicago," by Montgomery Schuyler; "Luck," by Mark Twain; "Lord Byron's Early School Days," by Professor Blaikie; "An Imperative Duty," second instalment, by W. D. Howells; "In the High Tower," by Julia C. R. Dorr; "Nihilists in Paris," by J. H. Rosny; "The Vigilantes of California, Idaho, and Montano," by John W. Clampett; "The Wizard Harp," by Kate Putnam Osgood; "London Plantaganet—I. Ecclesiastical," by Walter Besant; "True Blue," illustration by Du Maurier; Editorial Departments.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. The numbers of *The Living Age* for July 4, 11, and 18 contain: "A Chemist in the Suburbs" and "Private Life in France in the Fourteenth Century," *Fortnightly;* "Sedgemoor," *Contemporary;* "A Description of Manipur," *Nineteenth Century;* "English and German Music," *National;* "From Bannockburn to Poitiers" and "The Pope and his Writings," *Blackwood;* "Geological Reminiscences" and "Walter Savage Landor," *Temple Bar;* "The Centenary of Boswell," *Macmillan;* "Thackeray and his Biographers" and "On Autographs," *Longman's;* "Across the Atlantic, 'Steerage,'" *Cornhill;* "Prince Napoleon," *Murray's;* "Before Emancipation in the Dutch West Indies," *Gentleman's;* "Animal Æsthetics," *Spectator;* "The Ruins in South Central Africa," *Chambers's;* with instalments of "A Modern High School Girl," "Sylvia," and "The Labor Candidate;" "Jewish Colonies in Palestine," "Social Aspects of American Liberty;" "On the French Swiss Frontier;" "Moltke as a Man of Letters;" "The Bombardment of Iquique;" "Richard Jefferies;" and poetry.

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CHRONICLE.

June 10. The eighth annual meeting of the International Missionary Union, held at Clifton Springs, N. Y., was specially noted for the dedication of a beautiful tabernacle, a gift to the Union by Dr. Henry Foster, President of the Clifton Springs Sanitarium, and especially designed for the annual meetings of the Union.

June 10. The seventy-second annual conference of the Primitive Methodist Connection of England met at Northampton, and decided against the employment of evangelists as a distinct order. Although it recognized very fully the need and advantage of evangelistic work, it considered that it should not be distinct from the ordinary office of the ministry.

June 16. The ninety-fifth annual conference of the Methodist New Connection at Leeds decided against union with the United Methodist Free Churches.

June 24. Merrill E. Gates was inaugurated President of Amherst College.

July 1. The annual meetings of the Mildmay Conference were held, together with anniversaries of many subordinate societies, at the Conference Hall, London, England. Among the societies especially represented were the Army Scripture Reader Society, the Railway Mission, the Strangers' Rest for Sailors, the Mission of Deep Sea Fishermen, the Zenana Missionary Society, Miss De Broen's Belleville Mission in Paris, the Anglo-Indian Evangelization Society, and the Post-office and Telegraph Christian Association.

July 1. The General Baptist Association of England met in conference at Burnley, and took action which accomplished the amalgamation of the society with what had been known as the Particular Baptists.

July 7. The Convention of Baptist Young People met at Chicago, and formed the Baptist Young People's Union of America with a constitution, of which the following are the essential articles:

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. NAME.—The name of this society shall be the Baptist Young People's Union of America.

ARTICLE II. OBJECT.—The object of this organization shall be: The unification of Baptist young people; their increased spirituality; their stimulation in Christian service; edification in Scripture knowledge; their instruction in Baptist history and doctrine; and their enlistment in all missionary activity, through existing denominational organizations.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP.—The membership of this Union shall consist of accredited delegates from young people's societies in Baptist churches, and from Baptist churches having no young people's organization.

ARTICLE IV. REPRESENTATION.—Representation shall be on the basis of one delegate for every twenty members or fraction thereof in each young people's society. In a church where no young people's society exists the church shall be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members or fraction thereof. Delegates shall be admitted only on credentials certified by an officer of the young people's society or by the clerk of that church in which no young people's organization exists.

Provision was made also for State, Associational, and Local organizations.

July 12. The annual convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor met in Minneapolis. There were not far from fourteen thousand delegates present, and the convention was the most enthusiastic and interesting one that has been held at any time. The progress of the movement in varied denominations was shown to be most gratifying. The next convention will be held in the fall of 1892 in New York City.

July 13. The International Congregational Council assembled for its first meeting at London. The proceedings are most interesting and important, looking especially toward a federation or consolidation of the Congregational churches throughout the world. Delegates were present from Great Britain United States, Canada, and Australia.

A memorial was presented by a German, Herr Cahensly, to Cardinal Rampolla, urging the appointment by the Pope of special bishops to look after the Roman Catholic interests among the different foreign communities in America, and with a view to preserve the distinctions of race and language as a means of preserving the distinction of religion. The request was promptly denied by the Pope, whose action meets with the cordial support of the most prominent Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in the United States.

The Most Rev. Ignatius Persico, at one time Bishop of Savannah in Georgia, who has also been bishop of sees in Europe, Asia, and Africa, has been appointed Secretary of the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide, at Rome, in place of Mgr. Jacobini, who has been appointed Nuncio to Portugal.

Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of London, has been so seriously ill that at several times his life was despaired of.

A majority of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have voted for the consecration of Phillips Brooks as Bishop of Massachusetts.

OBITUARY.

Bissell, Rev. Lemuel, D.D., missionary of the American Board (Congregational), at Mahableshwat, India, May 28, aged 69.

French, Rt. Rev. Thomas Valpy (Church of England), at Muscat, Arabia, May 14, aged 66.

CALENDAR.

August 12–16. The Nineteenth Congress of the Young Men's Christian Associations of all countries, at Amsterdam, Holland. Each country will send delegates in the proportion of one delegate to every five local associations.

August 18. Second National Temperance Congress, Prohibition Park, Staten Island, N. Y.

Oct. 13. Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational) at Pittsfield, Mass.

Oct. 20. Meeting of the American Missionary Association (Congregational) at Cleveland, Ohio.

Oct. 20. Missionary Council of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States at Detroit, Mich.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(Bimonthly.)—New York and Cincinnati, July–August.

The Epistle to the Ephesians and the Higher Criticism.
Prof. Charles H. Bradley, D.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
Tatian's Diatessaron.
Prof. Henry M. Harman, D.D., LL.D., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
George Bancroft.
Ross C. Houghton, D.D., Portland, Ore.
Natural Selection and Christianity.
Prof. H. W. Conn, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
A Lesson from the Old World for the New.
Elbert S. Todd, D.D., Washington, D.C.
The Old Testament After the Battle.
Edward Cowley, D.D., New York, N. Y.
Constitutionality of Paragraph One Hundred and Ninety-three.
Allen A. Gee, D.D., Greencastle, Ind.

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

Oberlin, Ohio, July.

The Doctrine of the "Testimonium Spiritus Sancti:" A Contribution to its History in the Reformed Church during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.
D. W. Simon, Ph.D., Principal of the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh.
The Divine Immanency.
Rev. James Douglas, D.D., LL.D. Pulaski, N. Y.
Plain Preaching.
Prof. T. W. Hunt, Ph D., L.H.D., Princeton College, Princeton, N. J.
Science and Prayer. (III.)
William W. Kinsley, Washington, D.C., Author of "Views on Vexed Questions."
The Emotional and Ethical in Religion.
Rev. John Milton Williams, Chicago, Ill.
External Evidences as to Cicero's Writings and Paul's.
Mrs. C. M. Mead, Berlin, Germany.
A Study of the Causes of the Failure of the Recent Efforts to Secure Organic Church Union in Japan.

THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW.

New York, July.

Calvinism and Confessional Revision.
A. Kuyper.
The "Chambre Ardente" under Henry II.
Henry M. Baird.
The Ethical Antecedents of the English Drama. Theodore W. Hunt.
Mr. George Adam Smith's Isaiah.
George C. M. Douglas.
Recent Dogmatic Thought in Germany.
Adolf Zahn.
Tolstoï as a Reformer.
John H. Worcester, Jr.
The Barrier Act of the Church of Scotland.
William Henry Roberts.
The Inaugural Address of Prof. Briggs.
Talbot W. Chambers.
The Presbyterian General Assembly.
Benjamin B. Warfield.
Recent Theological Literature.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

Nashville, Tenn., July.

Preparatory Education from a Southern Standpoint. Charles P. Curd.
Chemical Lucubrations. T. Berry Smith.
The Stem ΒΑΠ in Greek Literature to the Fourth Century. Laicus.
The Place of Elocution in Ministerial Education. James A. Duncan.
A Wesleyan Arminian Confession of Faith.
Wilbur F. Tillett.
The Negro in the South. H.
Early Days of Methodism in the Blue Ridge Section of Virginia.
B. W. Fielder.
The Rise of Arminianism in Holland.
N H. D. Wilson.
The Beginning of Religious Persecution.
E. E. Hoss.
Cromwell and his Times. W. J. Scott.
George Eliot and Mrs. Browning.
Mrs. Gross Alexander.
The Rev. C. K. Marshall, D.D.
Bishop C. B. Galloway.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

Boston, July.

The Relation of the Church to Modern Scientific Thought.
Prof. Joseph Le Conte.
John Williamson Nevin.
Rev. William F. Faber.
The Sun's Song.
Prof. Charles Sprague Smith.
"Christian Ethics" and "The Simple Gospel." Rev. Charles F. Carter.
Socialism and Spiritual Progress—A Speculation. Miss Vida D. Scudder.
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Graded Immoralities.
The Proceedings against Professor Briggs.
Theological and Religious Intelligence.
A General View of Missions. Second Series. X. India.
Rev Chas. C. Starbuck.
Notes from England.
Mr. Joseph King, M.A.

NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW.

New Haven, Conn., July.

The Recent Presentation of the "Antigone" in New Haven.
Our Little Eirenicon.
Leonard Woolsey Bacon, Norwich, Conn.
Ibsen's Latest Work: "Hedda Gabler."
Wilbur L. Cross, Pittsburg, Pa.
Thangbrand, the Apostle of Christianity to Iceland, in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn."
Wm. H. Carpenter, New York City.
Dr. Ladd's Introduction to Philosophy.
J. E. Russell, Williamstown, Mass.
Prof. Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World."
Henry M. Goodwin, Olivet, Mich.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDENT.

Hartford, Conn., July.

Editorial.
The New Volume.—The Policy Pursued.—Its Wisdom Assured by Experience.—The Bible a Book of Life.—It Enshrines the Life of God.—This Fact Ensures its Permanence.—How to Rid a Man of a Worthless Theory.—How to Free him from a Narrow Theory.
The Old Testament in the Christian Church. Rev. Prof. A. F. Kirkpatrick.
Duplicates in the Psalter.
Rev. Prof. L. W. Batten.
John XX. 27 and our Future Bodies.
Rev. Thomas Laurie, D.D.
The Religious Ideas of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. I.
Prof. F. C. Porter, Ph.D.
Psalm LXXII. Prof. Thos. Hill Rich.
The Gospel of John.
William R. Harper and George S. Goodspeed.
Biblical Notes.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD.

New York, August.

Literature of Missions.
Miracles of Missions No. XX. Day Dawn at the Hawaiian Group. Editor-in-Chief.
A Call to New Prayer and Effort. Editor-in-Chief.
Prayer and Missionary Work.
Helen L. Burnet.
Eugene Bersier and Huguenots.
Alice Bertrand.
Letters from Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Gibson of Paris, Etc.
News from Bishop William Taylor.
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Marguerite De Laveleye.
Planting Christianity in Germany.
Rev. Henry Gracey.
Children of Foreign Missionaries.
Anatomy of Natural Life.
Isodor Loewenthal.
Robert Morrison.
Extracts and Translations.
Rev. C. C. Starbuck.
International Department. Edited by Rev. J. T. Gracey, D.D.
The International Missionary Union.
Dr. Gracey.
The Brussels Treaty.
American Relations with China.
Appeal to the Churches.
The Outlook.
Dr. Barnum, Dr. Nassau, Dr. Shedd.
Rev. S. G. Wilder's Letter.
New Church Edifice at Constantinople.
Bishop Thoburn, Mrs. Keister, Etc.
Editorial Notes.
The Monthly Concert of Missions.
General Missionary Intelligence.

THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

New York, August, 1891.

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The Preacher's Use of Illustration.
A. J. Gordon, D.D., Boston, Mass.
Elements of Pulpit Power.
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The Hiding of God in the Book of Esther.
A. T. Pierson, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
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THE EXPOSITOR.

London, July, 1891.

The Advance of Christ in Σοφία.
Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D
The Resurrection of the Dead.
Rev. Prof. W. Milligan, D.D.
"It Became Him."
Rev. Charles F. D'Arcy, M.A.
The Sinner's Progress.
Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D.
The Parables of Judgment.
Joseph John Murphy.
On Some Fragments of a Pre-Hieronymian Latin Version of the Bible.
Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., Late Fellow and Tutor, University College, Oxford.

THE YOUNG MAN.

London, July, 1891.

"A Lucky Hit." Serial Tale.
Edward Garrett.
Great Books and their Authors.
W. H. Davenport Adams.
Hobbies, and How to Enjoy Them. III.—Amateur Photography.
A Trip to Wonderland.
Dr. Thain Davidson.
The Christianity for To-Day.
Rev. James Stalker, D.D.
What a Busy Man Can Do. Dr. Parker.
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Biblical Difficulties, and How to Meet Them. V.—The Atonement.
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Dr. Phillips Brooks. With Character Sketch by Archdeacon Farrar, D.D.

THE

MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 4. SEPTEMBER, 1891. No. 6.

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

A SPIRITUAL CYCLONE: THE MILLERITE DELUSION.

BY MRS. JANE MARSH PARKER, ROCHESTER, N. Y., AUTHOR OF "A MIDNIGHT CRY," ETC.

"EVERY age," says Cardinal Manning, "has hitherto had its heresy. But the nineteenth century has all heresies; it is the century of unbelief." He might have added that religious fanaticism is disappearing; that intensity of spiritual conviction is not a marked feature of the time; and that although the fanatic is an enthusiast—the inflammatory symptoms of his uncontrolled enthusiasm indicating chronic derangement—yet he believes *something;* his creed is not one of mere negations. The fact that the nineteenth century gave birth to a fanaticism like Millerism shows that, in the United States at least, religious fervor had not in the middle of the century become so chilled by indifferentism and unbelief that it might not be fanned into a dangerous flame; and that the stuff of which the martyrs was made is not yet eliminated from this agnostic age.

October 24th, 1844, the fanaticism of Millerism was at its height—was the feature of the times.

For twelve years it had been gaining strength—the last of a long series of similar outbreaks in the history of millenarianism, all based upon the literal interpretation of the prophecy, "Behold, I come quickly."

Millerism had an individuality of its own. It was rooted in mathematical deductions, founded on a literal interpretation of the unfulfilled prophecies of the second coming. It demonstrated as plainly as the simplest rule in mathematics possibly could, that, allowing that the generally accepted rule of biblical interpretation was to be followed, then the final judgment was to take place in the year of our Lord 1843 or 1844. The fixing upon the very day did not come until after the passing by of 1843; then it was clearly revealed to Father Miller and his followers that the mistake had been made by their reckoning Roman time and not Jewish time. 1843 Roman time was 1844 Jewish time. The grand focalization of all prophecy was upon the tenth day of the seventh month, and at the hour of even. That was the time of the great feast of Atonement. It was reasonable to believe that the great and final atonement would be upon that day.

It is in a study of the leader of this movement—which was no inconsiderable one—that we reach the fairest comprehension of the fanaticism which may be classed among the foremost of those of the nineteenth century.

William Miller was born at Pittsfield, Mass., February 15th, 1782,* and was a well-to-do farmer of Low Hampton, Washington County, N. Y. When in 1831 he came before the public with his gospel, he was a fair type of a prosperous, intelligent, and highly respected Green Mountain farmer. His two hundred acres of well-cultivated land were unmortgaged, and if there was one man before all others in the community whose common sense, honesty, and reliability were undoubted, that man was William Miller. He had been a captain at the battle of Plattsburg, and his record was a brave one. He had served as constable, sheriff, and justice of the peace in his native town, and was the local poet as well, writing exceptionally good "odes" for special occasions. He was more of a reader than many farmers, and his familiarity with books made him quite an oracle among his neighbors, who, nevertheless, were somewhat disturbed at his reading not only Hume, Voltaire, and Tom Paine, but at his able defence of their doctrines. But in good time he threw them aside and wheeled into the ranks of the Baptist Church, and then, in contrition for quaffing at poisonous springs, he began a most devout and consistent study of the Bible, having lost all desire for any other reading. Beginning with Genesis, he made the unfulfilled prophecies his special study. He would not pass a verse that he did not clearly understand by comparison with collateral texts. His concordance and his reference Bible were the only aids he would accept; the spirit of truth should lead him by his private judgment into all truth.

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* There is a life of Miller by White, Battle Creek, Mich., 1875.

The result was, he rose up from that long and solitary study perfectly convinced that the prophet Daniel had clearly foretold *just when* the world would come to an end. Moreover, he could not doubt but that he had been raised up to warn the world of its impending doom, and what was twelve years for that warning, considering his weakness and the work to be done? "What thou doest, do quickly."

In his search for the truth he had become convinced that the popular doctrine of a temporal millennium before the second coming was fallacious; also that of the return of the Jews to Palestine. The next event in the history of the human race was its final judgment, and that was even at the door.

His theory of interpretation was founded on the established principles of Protestantism, and was in harmony with the popular teaching of orthodoxy. "If I am to be denounced," we find him writing, "for honestly believing in the exactness of prophetic time, then Scott, and Wesley, and the Newtons, and Mede, Gill, and others must be denounced." Spiritual interpretations of the Bible were then looked upon with distrust. Were not Swedenborgianism, Quakerism, and the last new heresy, Universalism, the outcome of a spiritual interpretation? All this, we must remember, was before "evolution," philological research, geological discovery, and a study of comparative theologies and Oriental sacred literatures had dug among the roots of old traditions. There was then little or no questioning of the infallibility of the writers of the sacred books—scarcely that of the translators and compilers. The six days of creation meant six literal days. The serpent of Eden was a veritable snake; a suggestion of Oriental allegory or mythological tradition would have been denounced as atheism. And so with every detail of prophetical and apocalyptical allusion to the final judgment. The literal falling of a shower of stars upon this little planet was none too much for the faith of those who, like St. Augustine, rejoiced in a faith that could accept what was beyond reason. The hymnology of the period was in full harmony with such interpretation. William Miller's "Dream of the Last Day," one of his earliest publications, was colorless compared with the *Dies Iræ* of the poets.

It cost him a painful struggle to submit to the voice commanding him to go forth and proclaim "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!" A license to preach was at once given him by the Baptist Church at Low Hampton, but he was never ordained; not, however, because of any opposition, for he met nothing like that at the outset of his career.

He began preaching his gospel, or, to use the vernacular of the movement, "sounding the midnight cry" in the little country churches around Low Hampton. His old friends and neighbors flocked to hear him, and he met with little dissent from his teaching. His humble demeanor, earnest convictions, and simple eloquence won many converts. To hear him, with the majority, was to believe. His charts demonstrated everything. Upon those charts were rude and highly colored drawings of the apocalyptic beasts, Nebuchadnezzar's image, the great dragon, etc.; all surrounded by dates and biblical texts; a powerful attraction to the scoffers even, who, much as they might jeer at the zoological eccentricities, could not detect a mathematical blunder in the "sums" of addition and subtraction, which brought but one "answer"—1843.

Wherever he gave a course of lectures on the prophecies—and he could not begin to respond to the calls from many of the Protestant communions—great revivals were the result. Multitudes pressed to hear him. His fame spread through the land, and he was soon invited to Boston and New York, where he lectured before immense audiences. In two years the foundations of Millerism were well laid; prominent clergymen were preaching "the '43 doctrine;" nor were the converts confined to the illiterate and uncultivated. Several weekly journals were published, with a large and increasing circulation. From Boston, New York, and Rochester, N. Y., the literature of the movement was scattered broadcast over the land.

But there came a turn in the tide of William Miller's popularity; orthodoxy at last gave him and his disciples the cold shoulder. The change came about suddenly, and as early as 1842, if not before. It was not from anything William Miller had said or done, but from the zeal of his followers, who, having discovered that the Babylon of Holy Writ was the type of the churches in the last days, began calling the churches which did not proclaim the speedy coming by the name of Babylon—singing hymns in which this idea was clearly emphasized. One of them wound up each verse with a jubilant chorus: "Babylon is fallen—is fallen to rise no more." It began with:

> "When I was down in Egypt's land,
> I heard my Saviour was at hand—"

To become a convert was called coming out of Babylon; and terrible were the woes predicted for those whose pride made them linger within its doomed and falling walls. The profusion of disagreeable scriptural epithets bestowed upon Babylon naturally aroused resentment, and the rupture was at once pronounced. The doors of the churches were closed against Father Miller and his preachers, and his converts assembled in public halls as a rule, the largest halls of the great cities being too small for the crowds that pressed to the daily and nightly meetings as the time of the end drew near.

The press of the country, as a rule, gave fair reports of the fanaticism, some of the journals giving it a special column. The believers in the doctrine soon numbered some fifty thousand, not including the many who believed and trembled in secret. Orthodoxy did not dispute the near and literal second coming. It was fixing the time that it denounced as contrary to the declaration of Holy Writ—"of that day and hour knoweth no man." This difficulty was cleared away for the believers at least by the explanation that by searching the Scriptures the believer was to *know,* could not help knowing when the Lord was nigh. "When ye see these things, *know.*" Could they help knowing what they saw, what they could work out like a mathematical problem?

"Father Miller" he was called by his followers. He had aged prematurely from a stroke of palsy, which made him tremulous. He had a rosy, kindly face, shrewd, twinkling blue eyes, which could read character unerringly. The many cranks and impostors that were the barnacles of the delusion did not deceive him. His power was in his strong mellow voice and earnest manner, making his most cultivated hearers to forget his homely phraseology and provincial pronunciation. His epistles to his followers remind one of the greetings of St. Paul to the elect. He wrote verses occasionally upon the speedy coming or subjects related to it, and many volumes of his lectures were published. He dreamed marvellous dreams, of which he told the interpretation thereof. He charged nothing for lecturing upon the prophecies, to which his whole time was given, but he gratefully accepted as a free offering the payment of his travelling expenses.

The keystone of William Miller's gospel was the prophecy of Daniel—"Write the vision and make it plain upon tables . . . it will surely come; it will not tarry." The point of his argument was the connection between the seventy weeks of Daniel and the 2300 days. Therein was the revelation of the exact time of the end.

To any one inclined to enter into a fair controversy he would say:

"Open your Bible. That is to be your teacher alone. Now read the first three verses of the twelfth chapter of Daniel."

(1) "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

(2) "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

(3) "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

"Now read the sixth verse," Father Miller would say.

"'And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?'"

"What wonders? The resurrection, of course. How long will it be to the resurrection? A time, times and a half. That's plain enough. Who swore it would be that? Our Lord Jesus Christ. Now if Christ Himself, in answer to the question, How long shall it be to the resurrection? has sworn with an oath that it shall be for a time, times and a half, is not that telling *just when* it will be? What is meant by a time, times and a half? Read the sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of Revelations.

"'And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.'

"Now read the fourteenth verse.

"'And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, times and a half.'

"Now those two verses," Father Miller would say, "refer to the same period of time. It is the same as the 1260 days. The same period is presented under different forms in several places. . . . Times, times and a half is 1260 days. Allow thirty days to a month, and twelve months to a year, and we have three and a half years, equal to 1260 days. Has not God revealed the time in days that must pass before the resurrection? How do we know how to reckon those days? Read Daniel vii. 25.

"'And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hands until a time, times and dividing of times.'"

Here he made plain that the time mentioned was the time of the continuance of the saints in the power of the "little horn." The little horn meant the papacy. Time, times and dividing of times was a period of the same length wherever spoken of in Scripture. Could it mean 1260 literal days, when the persecution of the saints had been far longer than that? If not 1260 literal days, what then?

Read Numbers xiv. 34:

"* * * Forty days, each day for a year."

Now Ezekiel iv. 6:

"* * * I have appointed thee each day for a year."

Admitting that days meant years, it was easy proving how the 70 weeks were fulfilled in 490 years, as many years as there were days in the 70 weeks . . . 1260 years from the time the decree of Justinian went into effect A.D. 538 to 1798, when the papacy was subverted by Napoleon. The time sworn to by Christ Himself meant the 1260 years. . . . The 2300 days and the four great kingdoms bring us down to the end, A.D. 1843. All the great events in the history of God's dealing with His people were preceded by special warning. Daniel knew by books *just when* the captivity of his people would end. So they were to know by books *just when* the days of the little horn were numbered, when the saints should possess the kingdom.

"If you can make a calculation with the prophetical Numbers," Father Miller would say—"a calculation based on a true interpretation that does not show you that 1843 is to see the end of the world, I should like to see that calculation."

"The tenth day excitement," as it was called, and notably the summer preceding that memorable October, was an experience, for the children of the Millerites at least, which they never forgot. "Can any of my readers imagine" (I quote from "A Little Millerite," published in *The Century*, December, 1886) "what it was for a child truly to believe that at any moment, terribly near at the latest, there would come that fearful upheaval of the earth, that fiery rending apart of the heavens, and in the indescribable confusion of angelic trumpets and the shrieking of the damned God Himself would descend with a great shout to burn up the world, the sea, and the dry land? That was a faith sapping the well-springs of a child's joy. . . ."

As '43 had gone by, so did the tenth day, *and* the seventh month, *and* the year of jubilee, and still the vision tarried. And yet thousands of the disappointed continued to meet together, holding fast to their faith. The most of them had impoverished themselves for "the cause." Thousands of unsown acres that summer had testified to their belief that there would never be another harvest. Men of means had stripped themselves of their "filthy lucre," and concealed crimes had been confessed by converts to the faith. Of course the wreck was pitiful—the wreck of faith most pitiful of all. Many were the fanatical offshoots of the delusions, some surviving to this day. Leaders claiming supernatural gifts were plentiful, while individual interpretation of Scripture created many warring factions among those who had been brethren. Some drifted to the Shakers—it was transfusion of new blood for that fanaticism—while others went back to Babylon. But the majority did not forsake Father Miller, who was firm as ever in his faith, and at his call the remnant assembled in Albany, April 25th, 1845, and agreed upon a declaration of faith and the name of *Adventist.*

"There was *no* mistake in the prophecies," maintained Father Miller to the last. "Chronology was at fault."

But Christendom had learned a lesson, nevertheless. The delusion had its mission, leading to a better understanding of the Scriptures.

Father Miller died December 20th, 1849, aged 68 years. Upon his monument in the graveyard at Low Hampton is inscribed:

"But go thy way until the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

In closing this paper, which has left many of the notable features of the movement unmentioned, let me try once more to correct the popular fallacy that the Millerites were generally provided with ascension robes. I confess I have given up the hope of uprooting that cherished fallacy, but I will continue to contradict it, all the same. My father was a leader in the movement. If any one had the facts upon this subject of ascension robes, he had. Father Miller did his best to disprove the ascension robe report, but the public would believe such stories in spite of evidence to the contrary. He requested, through the journals of the movement, that any one who could find such a garment should let him know the name of the owner, sending it to him if possible. A thorough search was made for ascension robes in that summer of '44 by leaders of the fanaticism, but nothing was found. The ascension robe which my father was charged with having proved to be his long night-shirt, and which had been seen on our clothes-line. But denial of ascension robes is all in vain. It will pass into the history of the movement that the believers all had them—long white garments, in which they arrayed themselves and went to the graveyards on the night of the tenth day of the seventh month.

"Each religious doctrine," wrote Theodore Parker, "has sometime stood for a truth . . . it has imperfectly accomplished its purpose. . . . Religious history is a tale of confusion. But looking deeper, we see it is a series of developments all tending toward one great and beautiful end, the harmonious perfection of man. Each form may perish, but its truth never dies."

For The Magazine of Christian Literature.

THE FIRST SIX CHAPTERS OF DANIEL.

BY FRANÇOIS LENORMANT. TRANSLATED FROM HIS "MAGIE UND WAHRSAGEKUNST," BY REV. CHARLES SYMINGTON, LITCHFIELD, CONN.

The remarkable harmony between the recorded visions of the Assyrian kings and Nebuchadnezzar's dreams can hardly fail to strike us as significant. The influence which the former, according to the official annals, exerted on even the most weighty affairs of State, finds its perfect parallel in the importance which Nebuchadnezzar attached to his dreams, the eagerness with which he questioned his soothsayers, and the honor given to the young Hebrew who had been admitted to the ranks of the Chaldean literati, but who surpassed them all in sagacity and eloquence. These considerations lend to the Book of Daniel a true Babylonian color, and such consistency with the characteristics of the time, as revealed in history, as must very materially raise our estimate of its value.

Notwithstanding this, as has been said, no Old Testament book has been so universally condemned by the Rationalistic exegetes, even the most moderate of them, as the Book of Daniel. Critics of this school are unanimous in denying to it an older origin, and see in it only an apocalyptic writing composed during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the religious persecution under him. Some, indeed, go so far as to set a specific year for its composition—167 B.C.

Now I must grant that the defence from the side of the orthodox writers has been hitherto of the weakest character. At least a part of the arguments adduced by Von Corrodi, Eichhorn, Berthold, Jahn, Gesenius, de Wette, Ewald, and Hitzig has never yet been answered. I, too, formerly adopted this view, and have repeatedly advanced the same in my writings, as far, at least, as my personal convictions as a Christian permitted; for, on the one hand, it seemed to me that the judgment of the Rationalistic exegetes disturbed nothing that need be deemed essential to the Christian faith in general, and, on the other hand, I was of opinion that the religious value of the Old Testament Scriptures is in no sense involved in questions concerning their often doubtful authorship and still more doubtful dates.

The Messianic prophecy of the seventy weeks is just as wonderful in a writing of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to human apprehension as unaccountable as in a writing of a date shortly after Nebuchadnezzar. To destroy their value, it must at least be shown that the prophecies of Daniel are the work of a Christian writer, and this has not been even attempted as yet. The reasons which now impel me to change my former view and to adopt the declarations of the Talmud* as to the date of the composition of Daniel are solely of a scientific nature and are based upon a study of the cuneiform texts, for these latter offer the most important data not only for a correct judgment concerning the book itself, but also as to the strength or weakness of the relative exegetical views.

If in what follows I deal only with the historical chapters, i.–vi., and pass over the apocalyptic and prophetic visions of chaps. vii.–xii., it is only because these two portions of the book are in fact distinguished from each other by their whole purpose and character, and were only later bound together as one whole without having been thoroughly harmonized.* As to this last opinion I concur fully with the views of Eichhorn and Berthold, for that both parts show such a harmony as would indicate one composer for the whole appears to me by no means as certain as de Wette and Hitzig maintain.

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* Bava bathra, fol. 146.

Between the two parts of the book I find only a spiritual harmony, and believe that at the time of the composition of the second part the first part was already in existence, and was known, and that, moreover, when the two parts were united feeble efforts were perhaps made to produce a general harmony and uniformity in the whole work.

I shall consequently limit my examination to this portion of the book, not indeed to lighten my labors, nor yet because I would, so to speak, throw overboard the visions of the last chapters, but solely because the distinctive characteristics of the two parts do not permit me to examine them both at the same time and from one and the same point of view. The question concerning the age of the first six chapters belongs exclusively to science and historical criticism, and hence can be decided without reference to the religious point of view, whether of partisan or opponent. A discussion of the visions of the last six chapters would, on the contrary, involve me in the most delicate questions in the sphere of philosophy and faith, demanding especially a discriminating expression of view as to whether in general a prophet, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is able to predict the future, and therefore I should hardly be able to avoid allowing my investigations and conclusions to reflect my individual religious convictions.

II.

It should be noted, first of all, that of all the Old Testament writings not one comes to us in a more imperfect condition than the Book of Daniel. An examination of the LXX. shows, at first glance, that the Alexandrian translators of the time of Ptolemy had before them a text which differed greatly from that which is found in our present Hebrew Bibles, and that furthermore this last has arisen solely through the interweaving of parts of different texts. Chaps. i. and viii.–xii., which are obviously drawn from the original text, are written in an Aramaized Hebrew which strongly recalls that of the time of the later prophets immediately after the captivity (an appearance which may be explained on the supposition that it was the work of "an aged scribe, who was living among the Aramaics" *). On the other hand, the lost chapters, ii.–vii., have been supplied from a pure Aramaic translation, the language of which certainly points to the time subsequent to Alexander, since it uses such Greek words as *κίθαρις, σαμβύκη, ψαλτήριον, συμφωνια.*†

Merx holds that the composer intentionally selected the Aramaic tongue—as being that of the people—for those portions of his work which he wrote especially for the people, while the apocalyptic portions, designed for those of a broader culture, were written intentionally in Hebrew, the language of the learned. This supposition is, however, contradicted by the fact that the first chapter, so necessary for the understanding of the whole, and of a purely popular nature, is in Hebrew, while the seventh, which is purely apocalyptic, is in Aramaic. And since it is absolutely inconceivable that the writer should, without any reason and out of pure capriciousness, suddenly change his language—actually changing in the middle of a verse—this change can, therefore, only be explained in this way—viz., that certain lost portions of the original text were supplied from a translation which contained them, and were embodied without change of language. The correctness of this hypothesis receives a striking confirmation from that marginal note (which before the making of the LXX. translation had been incorporated in the text) in chap. ii. 4, and which marks the borrowed portion —*i.e.*, from chap. ii. 4 to the beginning of chap. viii. We should not read, as formerly: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in the Syrian language, O King, live forever," etc. The far more correct rendering is: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king."

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* Comp., *e.g.*, i., 21 with x. 1.

* Th. Noeldeke, Die alttestamentliche Literatur, Leipzig, 1868, p. 227.

† iii. 5 and 15. The use of Greek words may in some measure be accounted for by the relations existing between the Greeks and Assyria and Babylonia in the eighth and seventh centuries, B.C., as indicated by the cuneiform texts and other sources of information. Sargon called the waters about Cyprus "The Sea of Javan" or Ionia. Sennacherib, who encountered the Greeks in Cilicia, erected there a memorial of his victory (Berosus in Euseb. Chron., Armen. ed. Mai, p. 20). Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal mention among their tributaries several Greek kings of the Isle of Cyprus. It was probably one of these kings, Pythagoras, who already, under Sennacherib, commanded a detachment of the Greek mercenaries of the Ninevite conqueror, and later was confounded with the philosopher of the same name (Berosus, Frag. xii. ed. C. Müller; Abydenus, Frag. vii. ed. C. Müller). A brother of the poet, Alcæus, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar or one of his immediate successors, made himself renowned to the utmost limits of the earth by giving help to the Babylonians (Alc., Frag. xxxiii. ed. Bergk). A cameo of Greek workmanship, recovered from Asia Minor and preserved in the Berlin Museum (Comp. Schenkel, Bibellexicon, vol. iii. p. 511), is inscribed with a legend, in cuneiform, according to which it is dedicated by Nebuchadnezzar to Maraduk. The artistic execution points, however, to the rival of Darius Hystaspes rather than to the conqueror of Jerusalem. The relations which these data indicate do not, however, appear to me to be sufficiently important and continuous to account for the introduction of Greek words among the Babylonians. In the cuneiform texts Greek words, as *e.g. στατηρ*, appear first in the time of the Seleucidæ, and indeed only in the private documents dating in the time of these kings. The presence of Greek words, which might, indeed, be accounted interpolations, can, however, hardly be held as alone indicative of a date posterior to the Aramaic portion of the book, which I regard as merely a later translation of an older Hebrew text. The cumulation of all these philological data ought at least to be considered as of substantial weight in the solution of the problem.

(Aramaic) "O King, live forever," etc.

By this rendering is also refuted that absurd and unfounded idea that the Chaldeans could have used the Aramaic tongue, an idea which, as is well known, has been repeatedly advanced and has given rise to many errors.*

In the Book of Ezra, where a similar change of language occurs, the long Aramaic passage introduced (extending from chap. iv. 8–vi. 18) is likewise marked by a similar gloss, which has been incorporated in the text. The seventh verse (chap. iv.) as at present reads: "And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes, king of Persia; and the writing of the letter was written in the Syrian (character), and set forth in the Syrian (tongue)" (R. V.). It should, however, obviously be joined with verse 8 and be translated thus: "And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, . . .," and the letter was written in Aramaic and accompanied by a translation.

(Aramaic) "Rehum the chancellor," etc.

Furthermore, several of the proper names which our present text of Daniel mentions have arisen through obvious errors of the copyists; as *e.g.*, Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudur-ri-usur), an erroneous form, which has also crept into the books of Kings and Chronicles, while Jeremiah† and Ezra‡ alone preserve the true reading, Nebuchadrezzar. We also find "Abed-Nego" instead of "Abed-Nebo" and "Belshazzar" instead of "Belsharazzar" (Bel-sar-ussur). The name "Meshach," which was borne by one of Daniel's companions, has apparently arisen through a like corruption of a primitive form; perhaps Mischa(marda)ch,§ in which the last portion of the Jewish name "Mischael" was replaced by the name of a Babylonian god.

I believe, also, that the foreign-sounding name "Shadrach" can by slight changes be transformed into a genuine Babylonian name.*

In like manner the discrepancy between chap. i. 5 and ii. 1 may be attributed entirely to the transcriber, since in all probability the text of the second passage originally read simply "In the second year"—*i.e.*, the second year after Daniel had left the school of the Chaldeans; and this at a later period was altered to "in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar."

A few attempts to amend the text appear also to have been made, which, although doubtless well intended, have nevertheless resulted most unfortunately in the disfigurement of our already imperfect text—*e.g.*, the gross error in chap. i. 1, where the third year of Jehoiakim's reign is given as the date of the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas the latter mounted his throne only in the fourth year of the former's reign.† This can hardly be explained except as an attempt to amend the original and perhaps not strictly correct figures by the text of 2 Kings xxiv. 1, the meaning of which was obviously misunderstood.

Further, I am of the opinion that, in a similar manner, the name "Ahasuerus," the customary Hebrew transcription of the name "Xerxes," has been introduced in chap. ix. 1, while in the original text the corresponding transcription of the Persian "Uvakh-satra," the original of the name "Cyaxares," may have stood.‡

That alterations and indeed corruptions of the text are found in the Book of Daniel must be evident to every clear-sighted investigator. Indeed, one or the other of these could only be excluded on the supposition that a special divine miracle has protected every word and letter of the sacred writings from disfigurement and damage of that kind, albeit a single glance at the Hebrew Bible, with its "Qeri" and "Chetib," makes it obvious that this miracle has in fact not occurred. Since, however, the exegetes out of precisely such defects adduce almost all of their conjectures as to the date of Daniel—those at least which do not grow out of a preconceived opinion as to the impossibility of prophecy and miracle—then we must bring forward the fact that of all these corruptions not one transcends the customary limits of disfigurement, to which even the best texts have been liable at the hands of copyists. The MSS. of many of the Greek writers have been far more corrupted without having their authenticity called in question on that account. With them criticism is directed to the elimination of errors and the restoration, as far as may be possible, of their original aspect. A satisfactory examination and critique of the Book of Daniel would likewise be legitimately possible only after all the corruptions and errors found in the text at present before us had been most carefully fixed. And for this obviously the contemporary records of the recovered cuneiform inscriptions are unquestionably of the most vital importance.

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* That J. Halévy should have advanced this opinion recently is only another indication of the degree of competency which may be claimed by this dogmatic and obscure judge of Assyriologists and Assyriology.

† xliii. 10.

‡ ii. 1.

§ The conjecture that מישך is a corruption of מיש[מרד]ך receives support from an analogous example in Esra (iv. 10), where Assurbanipal has similarly become Asnapper אסנפר-אס[רב]נפ[ל].

* The Elamitish name "Sutruk" or "Sudruk," which is the exact equivalent of שדרך, and appears to have been at this time naturalized in Babylon, may indeed have been the original.

† 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxv. 1.

‡ אוחשתר replaced אחשורוש, having first passed through a paleographically legitimate change, to אוחשורו, which form was, through unskilful hands, totally ruined.

III.

The Book of Daniel contains several historical statements which are not found in any other writings, sacred or profane, but which are yet substantiated by the testimony of the cuneiform records—*e.g.*, it is now certainly proved by means of a prism,[*] discovered at Mugheir (the ancient "Ur"), and at present on exhibition in the British Museum, that the independent native king, "Nabonahid,"[†] actually had a son and co-regent named "Belsarussur" (Belshazzar). Again, when I find in a fragment of Abydenus (the abbreviator of Berosus) the strange story of Nebuchadnezzar's death, and find in it a hint concerning the part which, at the conquest of Babylon, was played by a certain Median, "who was renowned even to the borders of Syria,"[‡] I cannot resist the belief that the reference here is to that Median "Darius" concerning whom so many conjectures have been made. For that the author of Daniel through ignorance confounded Darius Hystaspes with Cyrus is utterly incredible. He speaks of the latter repeatedly in the most exact manner, and he is quite familiar with the distinction between Medes and Persians. If, therefore, he asserts that the Darius in question was a Mede, obviously he would not have made such an assertion without reason.

Moreover, nothing is more probable than that Cyrus should have rewarded the Mede who assisted him in the capture of the city by making him temporarily its vice-king.[*]

And I find this conjecture in a measure confirmed by the fact that in the cuneiform records of Babylonia and Chaldea Cyrus is called "King of Babylon, King of Nations" for the first time only after the third year subsequent to the capture of the city, while in records of the first and second years he bears only the title "King of Nations."

All proper names which have not through error of the copyist been too seriously corrupted are readily recognized as Babylonian, such, therefore, as could not have been invented in Palestine in the second century B.C., as *e.g.*, "Balatsu-usur"[†] (guard his life), as Daniel was called. So also "Abad-Nabu,"[‡] the name given to one of Daniel's companions. As regards the name of the chief of the eunuchs (in the Hebrew text אַשְׁפְּנַז) this must obviously have lost a final "r," since the LXX. retains the "r" while omitting another letter, *'Αβιεσδρί* or *'Αβνεσδρί*—that is, אבנזרי.

The correct form of this name must, therefore, have been either אשפנזר or אשבנזר,[§] as a comparison of the variants אשפנז and אבנזרי shows which is an exact transcription of the frequently[‖] recurring name "Assa-ibni-zir"[¶] (the goddess[**] has moulded the germ). Other names are far more disfigured, nevertheless not one among them is found so suggestive of other periods

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[*] Comp. W. A. I., i., 68, 1.

[†] It is indeed true that the text speaks of his father, Nebuchadnezzar (v. 2, 11 and 18). The word "father," however, is used in Assyrian text with a great latitude to denote ancestors, and even predecessors, *e.g.* In the inscription upon the obelisk at Nimrud Jehu is called "the son of Omri."

[‡] Abydemus, Frag. 9, ed. C. Müller.

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[*] If the reading which I have suggested for chap. ix. 1 be accepted as correct, then this Median "Darius" was the son of a certain Cyaxares, and doubtless that one whose son—the Median claimant—who revolted against Darius—claimed to be. According to Xenophon Astyages had as successor upon the Median throne a Cyaxares II., while Herodotus represents this Median kingdom as having been abolished by Cyrus immediately after Cyrus's victory over Astyages. Clearly all that Xenophon recounts as to the relations between Cyrus and this new Cyaxares is obviously incredible. On the other hand, however, that which the Behistun inscription records concerning the Median Phraortes who represented himself as Xathrites, son of Cyaxares, makes it difficult to consider as a pure fable the existence of a person of this name who lived later than Astyages, and who may have worn the crown temporarily as Cyrus's vassal.

[†] Comp. Schrader, Die Keilenschriften und das Alte Testament, p. 278.

[‡] W. A. I., iii. 46; Col. i. 82

[§] The substitution of "p" for "b" in speech and writing is frequent—*e.g.* "abal" "son" becomes first "bal," then "pal" in the Bible פל. This permutation is likewise shown by the root בנח in the two parallel forms of the name of the same goddess "Zir-banit" and "Zir-panit."

[‖] Written in the examples with which I am familiar—ideographically, AN. XV. KAK. zir.

[¶] For the reading "Assa" for the name of the goddess AN.XV. and its transcription in the Semitic alphabet אש or even עש, compare W. A. I., iii. 46, 3 and 6. The verb following the name of the goddess stands frequently in the masculine. In the present instance it may also be in the imperative, Assa-bani-zir, "Goddess form the germ."

[**] Istar of Nineveh.

or peoples as to cause serious question. The name "Arioch," which might arouse suspicion, I will consider later.

The topography is not less worthy of remark on account of its accuracy. The references in chap. iv. to the royal palace of Nebuchadnezzar are strictly accurate. In like manner, the "Plain of Dura," in the province of Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar caused the image to be set up for the adoration of the people, is a locality directly contiguous to the city of Babylon. and to this day bears the same name. Finally, it is not without interest to compare these various aspects of the Book of Daniel with the Book of Judith, since the latter is utterly without historical character, and can only be regarded as an allegorical romance of the times of the Maccabees.[*] Here we meet with an Assyrian king who never existed, a Ninevite Nebuchadnezzar, who in the twelfth year of his reign (in the country of an equally unknown Elamite king, "Arioch,"[†] and more definitely on a plain watered at once by the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indian "Hydaspes,"[‡] and precisely at the time when Elam had lost its independence) subdues a Median king, whose Semitic name, "Arphaxad," is simply borrowed from the chronological table in Gen. x. After overcoming the Median, the Assyrian king goes on to conquer the world. His general (with a Persian name, "Holophernes," Urufranu) in a fabulous campaign overcomes the whole of Syria, and finally reaches the land of Judah, where he lays siege to an utterly unknown city called allegorically "Betheloah" (house of God), which is at length surrendered by a woman called "Judith" (literally, Jewess). We move here in an involved whirl of inventions and poetical fantasies, which serve the author only as a frame for a collection of admonitory moralizings, which indeed give its only value to the work.[§]

In the Book of Daniel, on the contrary, all the characters are drawn with as minute fidelity to historical accuracy as those of the court of Xerxes in the Book of Esther.[*]

IV.

The more often I read the Book of Daniel and compare it with the cuneiform records, the more striking seems the fidelity of the picture given by the first six chapters of the Babylonian court, and the superstitions of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and the more strongly am I impressed with the conviction that at least this portion of the book was written in Babylon itself, and not far from the time of the events related, and so the more impracticable and incorrect it seems to me to transfer its origin to a date as late as that of Antiochus Epiphanes. Can it be supposed that an author living in Palestine about the year 167 B.C. could have been so familiar with the importance which the Chaldeans and Babylonians attached to dreams, or could have known so exactly the influence which this superstition exercised over the whole conduct of the king in just that period in which he places his narrative? For this he must, indeed, have possessed an extremely profound knowledge of the past and such an extraordinary power of graphic delineation, as will be sought in vain among the extant literary remains of the ancients. From what source could such an author have drawn the material for his admirable delineation of the Babylon court, or have derived such an accurate impression that Babylon was, at the time of its fall, an ecclesiastical as well as a civil state, and in point of fact was ruled by a priest-king, Sakka-nakku—"Vicar of the Gods"? History, familiar as he might have been with it, would only have taught him that that peculiar characteristic came into special prominence with that dynasty which arose from the priestly caste of the Chaldeans, and was founded by Nabopolassar. From the same source he might also have inferred that Nebuchadnezzar, according to the local tradition of Babylon (from which even such historians as Berosus drew), enjoyed the reputation of being a seer and prophet;[*] but the details which the Book of Daniel gives as to the organization of the priestly and learned castes, the fact that five distinct literary castes existed, corresponding exactly with the classification of the sacred books concerning astrology, magic, and soothsaying—*these* facts it would have been as impossible for him to have learned in such a manner as would have been the fact that for this branch of sacred science a special language was taught in the schools—the Akkadian—which rightly deserves the name "the tongue of the Chaldeans."[†]

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[*] Comp. Oppert in "Annuaire de la Société d'Ethnographie, 1865."

[†] Taken from Gen. xi. 1 and 9.

[‡] St. Jerome substitutes here the name of an unknown river, "Iadasos." Some have seen a justification of this in the fact that Q. Curtius calls "the Hydaspes" the "Choaspes." This were only to explain one error by another.

[§] A century ago Fréret maintained that the Book of Judith could not be counted among those scriptures which rest upon a historical basis.

As we examine the Book of Judith more closely, it seems almost as if its author had in mind the overthrow of the Median king Phraortes by the Assyrians, which, according to Herodotus, coincided with the twelfth year (Chiniladen) of the Ptolemaic Canon, *i.e.*, with the twelfth year of Assurbanipal's reign in Babylon, after the death of his brother Samulsumyukin. Nevertheless, this must always remain doubtful, since the overthrow of Phraortes could be held to have occurred in the twelfth year of the Ptolemaic Canon only, if the chronology of Herodotus is by a somewhat artificial computation made to harmonize with that of the Alexandrian astronomers. Still more doubtful does it appear in view of the fact that the twelfth year of Assurbanipal's reign in Babylon was in reality the thirty-second of his reign in Assyria. If in spite of this it be assumed that the overthrow of Arphaxad was indeed that of Phraortes, then still new contradictions and impossibilities are presented, for the events must then have occurred in the time of King Josiah, during which an Assyrian invasion unknown to the books of Kings and Chronicles can hardly have taken place. Furthermore, "Jehoiakim," as the Book of Judith calls the high priest, was certainly *not*, according to the authentic list, the name of the high priest in Josiah's time. Moreover, the passage in which is related how this high priest "Jehoiakim," in accordance with "the counsel of the children of Israel," came out of Jerusalem to see Judith (in Greek text xv. 8; Jerome xv. 9) points to a state of affairs such as existed after the return from the Captivity, but did *not* exist during the time of the Kings (iv. 8, according to which the high priest and the council were the exclusive rulers). Finally the probability of the historical coincidence in question disappears utterly if we examine the Greek text of the first chapter, which is by far more complete than the Latin.

According to the Greek text, Arphaxad suffered two defeats, one in the twelfth year and the other in the seventeenth year, with which no known event can be harmonized.

That Josephus, moreover, when writing his history, does not make use of Judith (although, as the Epistle of Clem. Rom. shows, it was current just at that time) can only be explained on the ground that he considered it without historical value.

The Jews in general, as Origen relates, did not include Judith in the canon of their scriptures, because no Hebrew or Aramaic text of it was in existence. They were, however, perfectly familiar with the history of Judith, and moreover, their tradition, reaching back to the time of the Talmud, declares that the events related occurred in the time of the Maccabees, and that the enemies with whom Judith was brought in contact were Greeks. This is made evident not only by Jellinek's "Beth-Na-Midrash" (translated into German by Lipsius, vol. x. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, Hilgenfeld), but also by the fact that the day on which Judith's heroism was commemorated (xvi. 11, Jerome's version) corresponds exactly with the thirteenth Adar, on which the conquest and death of Nicanor, the general of Demetrius Soter, was commemorated with rejoicing (comp. 1 Macc. vii. 49; 2 Macc. xv. 37).

It would be clearly idle to pursue further the examination of this Jewish tradition. Achior's narrative of the history of the Jews—the Exile, the Captivity and return, the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple—is too circumstantial and unambiguous to be otherwise understood. Finally I note a similarity in many respects striking between the Assyrian Nebuchadnezzar of the Book of Judith and Antiochus Epiphanes.

1. Nebuchadnezzar demands that divine honors be accorded him by the people.

Antiochus calls himself **Θεος Επιφανής** upon his coins.

2. Nebuchadnezzar's rage is directed particularly against the temples of all peoples, which he gives over to pillage.

In like manner, Antiochus wished to pillage the Temple of Nanăa in Elam of its treasures, as he had pillaged the Temple at Jerusalem.

3. The former extended his claim to dominion beyond the borders of Syria even to Egypt, just as the latter manifested the design of similar robberies, until Poplius, in the name of the Roman Senate, forced him to desist.

4. Nebuchadnezzar overcame Arphaxad, the founder of the Median Empire, taking Ecbatana, the Median capital, and making Arphaxad his prisoner.

Antiochus overcame Artaxias, the founder of the Armenian kingdom, making him a prisoner of war, and captured his capital, Artaxata. The assonance of the two names seems obviously intentional on the part of the author of Judith.

The opinion of those who maintain with Volkmar, Hitzig, and Oppert, that Judith is a product of the times of the Romans, cannot, however, be correct, since it is cited by St. Clement, and furthermore, the mention of the Edomites as enemies of the Jews shows that the book originated before the time of John Hyrcanus. Finally the question as to whether the book has or has not positive historical value in no degree affects its canonicity as asserted by the Church. Intentional changes of names are certainly not lacking. We have here only to recall the 1st Epistle of Peter, where the name Babylon is substituted for that of Rome.

[*] Concerning the Book of Esther, compare Oppert, "Annales de philosophie chretienne," January, 1864.

It is, moreover, incredible that an author of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes could have been so accurately informed concerning the old customs, as to the education of youth selected from the hostages of subdued nations and appointed to "stand before the king." According to an inscription of Sennacherib, youths thus selected were, in fact, brought up like "pet dogs" (kissamirani) in the royal palace. One of these (Bel-ibus) was even appointed vassal king of Babylon.[*]

That the names given to the musical instruments in chap. iii. (the horn, the flute, and perhaps also the sambuca[†] excepted) are Greek, serves at most only to indicate the time when the Aramaic translation was made; otherwise the author, separated by four centuries from the events described, must have been a scholar of exceptional ability, such as that age could hardly have produced, for he must have had accurate knowledge of the fact that instrumental music, which had been almost entirely neglected under the first Assyrian kings, became precisely from the seventh century on one of the most important features of all public religious ceremonies in Assyria and Babylonia.

Under Assurnazirpal the rôle of the musician was entirely subordinate. They had only three instruments: a kind of harp, which was held horizontally and played with a plectrum; a lyre, played with the hand, and the cymbals.[‡] On the other hand, under the Sargonides, musicians are constantly represented on the bas-reliefs, and are repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions. They had knowledge, moreover, of at least ten different instruments, some of which are evidently of foreign origin,[§] as *e.g.*, the Syrian "kinnor,"[‖] the double pipe,[¶] from Asia Minor,[**] and the seven-stringed zither,[††] which was doubtless a Grecian invention.[‡‡]

Furthermore, the author of Daniel must have been well informed as to the nature of the death penalty inflicted upon blasphemers, as is evident from chap. iii.; for, as we learn from the pictorial representations upon the recovered memorials of that age, delinquents of that class were in fact subjected to the most ingenious and agonizing tortures. On the walls of the palace at Koyundjic the execution of two blasphemers is depicted, whose tongues are being torn out and who are being flayed alive.[*] The narrative concerning the lions' den (chap. vi.) furnishes equally striking proof of the author's extraordinary accuracy, if one takes in view, on the one hand, the hunting scenes depicted on the bas-reliefs of Assurbanipal, where lions are being brought forward in cages, and, on the other hand, the information furnished by an original text, according to which Esarhaddon causes certain prisoners to be thrown to “ the buffaloes, dogs, and bears confined in the neighborhood of the east gate of Nineveh.”[†]

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[*] Abydenus, Frag 9, ed. of C. Müller.

[†] i. 4.

[*] Layard, Inscriptions tab. lxiii., l. 14.

[†] Apparently from the root סבך. It must, therefore, have come to the Greeks from the Semites, and could not have been taken by the author of the Aramaic text from the Greeks.

[‡] G. Rawlinson, "The Five Great Monarchies," 2d ed. vol. i. p. 529.

[§] The introduction of foreign musical instruments occurred chiefly through prisoners of war, who were forced to entertain their victors with their playing. This is expressly declared concerning the Jews in Babylon in Ps. 137.

[‖] G. Rawlinson, as above, vol. i. p. 530.

[¶] Id., p. 534.

[**] Athen., iv. 184; Plut de Mus., 1135.

[††] G. Rawlinson, as above, vol. i. p. 533.

[‡‡] Euclid., Introd. harmon., p. 19; Strabo xiii. 618; Clem. Alex. Stromat., vi. p. 814. The invention of the zither is attributed to Terpander about 650 B.C. It appears upon the monuments first during Assurbanipal's reign, 668–625. The coincidence of these dates is at least striking.

The dimensions of the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar caused to be erected on the plain of Dura, that all might worship it—sixty cubits high and six cubits broad—are obviously exaggerated.[‡] The author here must have followed only the popular tradition,[§] if, indeed, the text has not been subsequently altered by the copyist. That it was, however, the custom to erect golden images of colossal size admits of no question. The three statues which crowned the pyramid “ E-saggal ” in Babylon, previous to its sacking by Xerxes, represented (according to Diodorus Siculus[||]), together with their altar and other appurtenances, a weight of gold of 5850 talents, or 143,559 kilogrammes —*i.e.*, a value of 430,677,000 francs.[¶] The sanctuary of the storied pyramid at Borsippa contained (at least up to the time of Xerxes) a similar massive golden image, the height of which was, according to Herodotus,[**] not less than twelve cubits. Similar though less significant data are furnished by the following transcript of a cuneiform tablet,[††] in which two high officers are accused of embezzlement of the gold set apart for the completion of an image :

“ To the King my Lord : Thy servant Abad-nebo.[‡‡] Peace to the king my lord. Assur, Samas, Bel, Zarpanit, Istar of Nineveh, Istar of Arbela, the mighty and great gods—the protectors of the kingdom—may they vouchsafe to the king a hundred years (of life), and multiply the slaves and children of the king, my master.

“ The gold which the privy councillor (Abarakku) and the steward of the palace (Aba hikal[*]) commanded me to deliver in the month Tasrit to the Rab-daninu[†]—three talents of pure gold and four talents of mixed gold (elektron ?), set apart for the images of the king and of his mother—has not been delivered (to the workmen). Let the king my lord command the privy councillor and the steward of the palace to pay the gold, and within a month's time to give it to the soldiers that this may speedily be done.”

The amount of gold here spoken of is 212 kilogrammes, 100 grams weight, or 636,000 francs in value[‡]—a large sum certainly for the restoration of two images, especially in hammered work. Furthermore, we learn that even several centuries earlier than this the Cissian king, “ Agu-kak-rime,”[§] gave, for the colossal images of Maruduk and Zarpanit, in the pyramid of Babylon, golden draperies weighing four talents (121 kilogrammes, 200 grams in weight, or 363,000 francs[||] in value), together with numerous jewels. The largest outlay of gold for the adornment of the Temple would, however, doubtless have been made by Nebuchadnezzar,[¶] since just at this time there must have been an unusual accumulation of treasure in Babylon as a result of the pillaging of a large part of Asia Minor. According to W. A. I., i. 53–58, this monarch erected a monumental altar before the pyramid at Babylon and “ overlaid it with pure gold of considerable weight.” The inner walls of the upper sanctuary of the pyramid at Borsippa were likewise overlaid “ with hammered gold, which gleamed like the rising and the setting sun.” Herodotus[**] saw at the last-named place, even after its pillage by Xerxes, a table, a throne, and a footstool of gold, which together weighed 800 talents. Supposing now that Herodotus estimated the gold, by the Euboic talent (as was the official custom in his day throughout the realm of the Achamenides), then the 800 talents would represent 20,196 kilogrammes, or a value of 60,598,000 francs.

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[*] Comp. the accompanying inscriptions W. A. I., iii. 37, 7.

[†] Prism of Esarhaddon, Col. 2, l. 2 ff.

[‡] These dimensions, literally taken, are also from an artistic standpoint perfectly monstrous.

[§] In view of the sexagesimal system of notation in use among the Babylonians, the number 60 may be regarded as indefinite.

[||] ii. 9.

[¶] Computed according to the weight of the light gold-talent. If the heavy gold-talent be used, the above figures must be doubted. If, however, the customary talent of weight be used, then the lighter standard gives 174,270 kilogrammes, 800 grammes, which must be doubled for the heavier. In ascertaining the money value of these various weights, I compute the gold gramme at 3 francs.

[**] i. 181.

[††] British Museum K, 538. The original of this inscription will be considered in my “Choix de textes cunéiformes inêdits.”

[‡‡] Or “ Arad-Nebo.”

[*] Sometimes also “ Nir-nikal.”

[†] Not yet understood.

[‡] According to the heavy talent, 424 kilo. 200 gram.

[§] Comp. Boscawen, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iv. pp. 138–166 ; W. A. I., ii. 38, 3.

[||] According to the heavy talent 242 kilo. 400 gram. in weight, or 727,200 francs in value.

[¶] Comp. Berosus, Frag. 14, ed. C. Müller.

[**] i., 183.

This assertion is of the greater weight as Herodotus is here speaking of what he himself had seen, and not of what he had learned by hearsay, as may be presupposed as to the statements of Diodorus Siculus.

There are, therefore, sufficient reasons for maintaining that the narrative of the Book of Daniel, concerning the colossal image erected by Nebuchadnezzar, rests indeed upon a fact, although the details may possibly be exaggerated.

The "prince of the eunuchs," as also the Amil-ussur or "steward" (R. V.), mentioned in the Hebrew text of chap. i., are repeatedly named in the Assyrian texts, and are characterized by the same titles. The Assyrian title* of the latter is in the Hebrew altered to מלצר, although in the LXX. translated by the more exact form "'Αμελσάδ" or "'Αμελσάρ." On the other hand, the designation of the former, "Rab ha-sarisim" or "Sar ha-sarisim" (in other Old Testament books "Rab saris"†), agrees exactly with the Assyrian title "Rabbi nar" or "Rab nar," chief of the servants"—*i.e.*, overseer of the palace service. The "captain of the king's guard" (R. V.), Assyrian, "Rab-daiki"—literally "chief executioner"—of whom chap. ii. speaks, occupied an important office under all Oriental monarchs. Upon one of the enamelled tablets discovered by Smith‡ in Nimrud, he is represented as walking immediately at the side of the royal chariot. In 2 Kings xxv. and Jer. lii., where the taking of Jerusalem is described, the "captain of the king's guard" (R. V.), under Nebuchadnezzar, plays a like important rôle. It happens, however, that in both these passages the "daiki," who continued in office until the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, bears the Assyrian name "Nabu-zir-iddin," while in Daniel the captain of the king's guard is called "Arioch" (a name which appears to have been taken from Genesis§). If, now, it be admitted that the date in chap. ii. 1 (like that in chap. i. 1) has been altered by the copyist, and instead of reading "In the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar" should read simply "In the second year" (*i.e.*, in the second year after the events related in the previous chapter‖), then Arioch's accession to office must have occurred before the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and since Nabu-zir-iddin appears first at this time, it may very justly be supposed that Arioch was his predecessor in office. Moreover, the name Arioch, suspicious as it seems, may nevertheless have a true Babylonian name as its basis. Indeed, in many of the private documents "Ariku" (the long one) is used as a proper name, and it may justly be supposed that the said Hebrew form was originally ארך, and was then altered to אריוך, in order to bring it into accord with that occurring in Genesis.*

Of the many titles of political and judicial officers which are mentioned in chap. iii., there is not one which is not also found in the records of the Babylonian and Ninevite kings. Only two of these official designations, "Pakhat" (which resembles quite closely the modern "pacha") and "Sakan," are retained in their original Assyrian form, while the Aramaic text replaces all the others—the title of the royal herald included—by their Persian equivalents of the time of the Achamenides. And this fact gives us an important datum for determining the time of the composition of the first chapter. For if it had been in fact written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, then we should find Greek titles answering to the designations of the musical instruments, at least the title *στρατηγός*, which, according to the evidence of Aramaic inscriptions, had unquestionably been adopted into the Semitic tongues.

It cannot be supposed that the Persian equivalents were used by the author of the Aramaic translation instead of the true Assyrian titles. It must rather be assumed that they stood in the original Hebrew text, especially as the received Hebrew text of chap. i. 3 and 5 retains two Persian words (פרתמים, designating the daily portions sent from the king's table to the youths confined in the palace, and פתבג, designating the most prominent of the Israelitish nobility), but, on the other hand, does not contain a single Greek word. All these Persian expressions show clearly that the Book of Daniel, in its original form, was written in the time of the Achamenides, and not in that of the Seleucides—*i.e.*, at the time when in Babylon the Persian were supplanting the old Assyrian titles and before the Grecian conquest had introduced other—Greek—designations.

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* Ideogram "Man," in combination with the phonetic u-su-ur. That the character for "Man" when it precedes an official title, and is to be spoken, must be read "Amil," and not "msu," I think is evident from several other examples.

† 2 Kings xx. 18; Isa. xxxix. 7.

‡ Assyrian Discoveries; comp. the tablet, p. 80.

§ xi. 1 and 9.

‖ Josephus's conjecture (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 3) that the reference here is to the second year after Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt is utterly inadmissible, especially since this invasion is itself very doubtful.

* Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 3) in like manner changes the title of the "chief of the Eunuchs," אשפנז, into Ασχάνης, confounding it with the name אשכנז in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

V.

The most important and attractive of the first six chapters of Daniel is undoubtedly the fourth, in which Nebuchadnezzar himself describes, in the form of an official proclamation, his mental derangement and relates the vision in which it was announced. I have already published an account of a mantic dream, related in the official annals of one of the Assyrian kings, and will therefore here only reproduce the account which the Book of Daniel attributes to the Babylonian king (Dan. iv. 4–37, R.V.)

"I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream which made me afraid; and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me. Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream. Then came in the magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof. But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god,* and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and I told the dream before him, *saying*, O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof. Thus were the visions of my head upon my bed: I saw, and behold a tree† in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the branches thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth; let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. The sentence is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the lowest of men. This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen: and thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation, forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation; but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in thee.

"Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astonied for a while, and his thoughts troubled him. The king answered and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine adversaries. The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation: it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree, and destroy it; nevertheless leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him; this is the interpretation, O king, and it is the decree of the Most High, which is come upon my lord the king: that thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee; till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule. Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor ; if there may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity. All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of twelve months he was walking in the royal palace of Babylon. The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth,* there fell a voice from heaven, *saying,* O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken : the kingdom is departed from thee. And thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field ; thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee ; until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar : and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles' *feathers,* and his nails like birds' *claws.* And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honored him that liveth for ever ; for his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom from generation to generation : and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing : and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth : and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time mine understanding returned unto me ; and for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me ; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent greatness was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honor the King of heaven ; for all his works are truth, and his ways judgment : and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

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* The god invoked in the name "Balatsussur" (guard his life) was accordingly Bel-Maruduk, the chief god of Babylon.

† In the text which the authors of the Septuagint were translating the whole passage from, the words, "Therefore made I a decree," etc., to "I saw and behold a tree," etc, was wanting (6–10b).

The occurrence here is obviously not "Nebuchadnezzar's transformation into an animal," as old illustrated Bibles and indeed many of the more recent religious story-books interpret the event, but is only a somewhat poetically embellished, but otherwise perfectly credible case of lycanthropy. That the great Nebuchadnezzar was actually smitten with this disease in the latter years of his life cannot indeed be definitely determined, for our knowledge of events during the reign of this monarch is in many respects deficient. We have no historical inscriptions of his time, no records of his conquests, but only a few texts which relate exclusively to his buildings. Our knowledge of his military achievements is derived almost entirely from the biblical narratives, and these are obviously of no greater weight for our purpose than the fourth chapter of Daniel. Nevertheless this alleged mental derangement of Nebuchadnezzar's offers, according to the opinion of Oppert,* the only clew for the solving of a historical problem presented by the cuneiform records.

Nergal Sharezer, the son-in-law of the destroyer of Jerusalem, and who dethroned his brother-in-law (Evil Merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's only son), gives in the official inscriptions the title "king of Babylon" to his own father, "Bel-zikir-iskun."† This latter name, however, does not occur in the list of kings, which for this period is complete. It must hence be assumed that Nergal Sharezer gave his father this title only to legitimize an attempted usurpation, which occurred during Nebuchadnezzar's reign, but was perhaps too insignificant to find mention in Ptolemy's Canon (which systematically omits mention of all reigns lasting only a few months). Now the attempt to dethrone a monarch as powerful as Nebuchadnezzar was no slight undertaking, and it could only have taken place through some contingency, such as was offered by the king's mental aberration. In all probability the "king" Nergal Sharezer was a grandson of that older Nergal Sharezer, who at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem bore the title "Rubu-Emga,"‡ "Rab Mag" (R. V.). This title, which was also borne by the father of Nabonahid,[*] appears, however, to be identical with that borne by the chief of the priestly caste. The "king" Nergal Sharezer was therefore the grandson of the chief of the Chaldeans, who legally, according to the constitution of the kingdom and in virtue of his rank, held the regency from the death of Nabopolassar until Nebuchadnezzar's return from the campaign against Syria.[†] And since everything was hereditary in the priestly caste, "Bel-zikir-iskun," the son of the older Nergal Sharezer, must have possessed the same rights as his father—*i.e.*, must have been entitled to hold the regency as long as the reigning monarch was incapacitated by his mental derangement to discharge the duties of his office. That he should under these circumstances attempt to turn the regency into a formal kingship, is in itself by no means improbable.[‡] There are, indeed, in my opinion, certain forms of expression in the text which indicate this quite clearly. Nebuchadnezzar's words, "At the same time mine understanding returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom my majesty and brightness returned unto me, and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent greatness was added unto me," at least point to the supposition that during his sickness an attempted usurpation took place. We must not, however, understand "seven years" as the period indicated by the "seven times" of which the text speaks, for the king's sickness must surely have been of shorter duration, and moreover this expression may also represent a term of only seven months. In accordance with this view, it is perfectly clear why Bel-zikir-iskun's usurpation fails of mention in Ptolemy's Canon. The ground of this omission may, indeed, have been twofold: 1. The irregularity of the act causing the usurpator's name to be stricken from the list; and 2. The short duration (not a full year) of the usurpation itself. The information offered by the fourth chapter of Daniel may thus have in all respects a thoroughly factual ground, at least historical data are not lacking for the vindication of its statements, which may hence be included in the number of those valuable and authentic pieces of information which have been preserved only in the Book of Daniel. If, now, further questions arise as to the form of the narrative of chap. iv., then there are at least two circumstances which must not be overlooked.

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* According to Abydenus (Frag. 9, ed. C. Müller), Nebuchadnezzar uttered his prophecies from the terraces of his palace.

* Expédition en Mesopotamie, vol. i. p. 186.

† Or "Bel-sum-iskun." Both readings are equally possible.

‡ Jeremiah xxxix. 3.

The word "emga" is of Akkadian origin, and appears to have been a title of honor given to all scholars of high rank. It must, therefore, not be confounded with the Iranian "magus," the title of the Median magi.

Transferred into Assyrian, it was joined with the Semitic "rubu"—"chief" or "general," forming rubu-emga (comp. my "Langue Primative de la Chaldée, p. 367).

Similarly, through the combination of the Akkadian "sak" ="officer" with the Semitic "rab"="great," the title "rabsak," "general-in-chief," was formed.

Many of the Assyrian titles were borrowed from the Akkadian, as, *e.g.*, the military titles :

Sak—officer.
Sud-Sak—staff-officer.
Rab-Sak—chief of staff.
Turtan—general-in-chief.

1. It is not to be assumed that we have here a literally exact rendition of one of Nebuchadnezzar's proclamations. The hand of the Jewish author betrays itself too often in too many places, and moreover much in it is not in harmony with the style of the recovered Babylonian and Assyrian records. If Nebuchadnezzar was in fact temporarily insane, and had his sickness really been the occasion of an attempted usurpation, the official annals would doubtless have mentioned it, but would hardly have used such bright colors in depicting the physical and mental condition to which the king was brought by his sickness. The fourth chapter of Daniel mirrors unmistakably the personal standpoint of the Jewish author, who would find especial delight in representing the powerful conqueror of his Fatherland humbled in such a manner. On the other hand, it appears to me equally inconceivable that the narrative could have been exclusively the work of the Jewish author, for had this been the case, he would unquestionably have given his picture in many places a different coloring. He would have drawn Nebuchadnezzar's conversion with more definite lines, and would have made him praise with solemn words the power of Daniel's God, as at the close of the third chapter he represents him offering formal homage to the God of the three youths who had been rescued from the furnace. Neither would he have made him, while acknowledging the might and power of the Most High God, speak of his god "Bel-Maruduk" (after whom Daniel was named), nor of the "spirit of the holy gods" as inspiring the seer. Nor would he have omitted putting in his mouth some word of regret, of repentance concerning the humbling of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple of Jehovah. He would have made him speak somewhat as the books of Maccabees do of the dying Antiochus Epiphanes. Upon closer examination of chap. iv., two striking peculiarities are evident. In addition to those passages in which the spirit of the Jewish author betrays itself, and where the thought and expression obviously fail to correspond with that of the official annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, there occur also passages, notably verses 1–16 and 31–33, in which the traces of an original Assyrian prototype may be clearly recognized. I believe, indeed, that I can detect in these passages genuine Assyrian phrases. It would, in fact, not be difficult

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[*] W. A. I., i. 68, 2 and 3; comp. my "Langue Primative de la Chaldée, p. 364 ff.

[†] Berosus, Frag. 14, ed. of C. Müller.

[‡] Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 6) conjectures that during Nebuchadnezzar's sickness of seven years "no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom" (Whiston's translation). His conjecture is, moreover, doubtless based on the statements of the Book of Daniel.

to match many expressions of single verses with corresponding phraseology from well-known Assyrian texts.

In my opinion, the author of chap. iv. must have had before his eyes a genuine Babylonian document, perhaps a fragment of Nebuchadnezzar's annals, which, however, he paraphrased somewhat according to his own manner of thinking, introducing foreign ideas, and emphasizing particulars which in the document before him were only superficially indicated, and these paraphrases (as a comparison of the Hebrew and LXX. texts will show) have been made more and more prominent in subsequent recensions. Verses 3 and 6, which are lacking in the LXX., are obviously copied from the introduction to chap. ii., where Daniel is summoned only after the official soothsayers and interpreters have been unable to give any interpretation. Furthermore, verses 17–30 must be attributed wholly to the Jewish author, since the original text which served him as a model would probably have referred to the king's sickness only in a cursory and indefinite manner. On the other hand, I believe that in other passages, notably verses 7–14 and 31–33, unaltered Babylonian documents are reproduced. We meet here expressions which occur also in Assyrian inscriptions, especially in the hymns, many of which have been preserved. It may, perhaps, be objected here that the humble tone which, especially in the last-mentioned passage, is apparent, is inconsistent with the triumphant pride which generally characterizes Nebuchadnezzar's epigraphic memorials, and also finds expression in Dan. iv. 30. "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?"

Feelings of repentance and humility toward the gods were, however, by no means unusual among the Assyrians and Babylonians. We have elsewhere considered* a number of original texts, from which it clearly appears that the spirit of contrition was among these peoples developed to a high degree, and was a characteristic trait of their piety. A few of these Penitential Psalms have come down to us in their original Akkadian form, accompanied by an interlinear translation in Assyrian; others are of exclusively Assyrian authorship;† all, however, show that the Babylonians and Assyrians, more perhaps than other peoples, were penetrated with the consciousness of the necessity of repentance and the salutory power of humility and penitence, especially since they considered every misfortune, every sickness, as an immediate result of some transgression or ignoring of the divine commands. So even their monarchs openly and repeatedly declared their humility and repentance. As the last Babylonian king, Nabonahid, saw his throne menaced and disaster approaching from the Persian advance, he turned with penitence and in deepest humility to the god "Sin."*

"For myself, Nabonahid, in all that concerns my sinful relation to thy great godhood, save me graciously; grant me the prolongation of my life for many days. And for Bel-sar-ussur, my first-born, the offspring of my heart [I pray], put into his heart reverence toward thy exalted divinity, that he may never fall into sin and may not delight in forgetfulness of duty."

The glowing words in which in chap. iv. the glory of the Almighty is praised are likewise found in the inscriptions of the Indian Association and in other memorials of Nebuchadnezzar's reign in praise of Bel-Maruduk, the tutelar god of Babylon, whom the king in the fifth verse entitles "my god," and throughout considers as the object of his deepest reverence. If, now, it be maintained that the Jewish editor of Daniel has altered the sense of the text he was copying by suppressing the name "Bel-Maruduk," with the design of representing this praise of the Babylonian as having been rendered to the true God, yet this position cannot be as correct as at first sight it might appear.

The recovered texts constantly show in many ways that in Nebuchadnezzar's time the development of philosophico religious doctrine was in full activity. The idea of the unity of the divine essence, and of the gods as only special forms of manifestation, and not distinct separate individualities, had indeed always been recognized in the religious teaching of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. It remained, however, for a long time an esoteric doctrine, and hence eluded any specific formulation. It was only about the time of the beginning of the new Chaldean Empire that the conception of one first and highest principle, which ruled over all the gods, began to receive general and open recognition, which was materially aided by the contemporary development of a philosophical terminology, independent of the symbolic names of the gods. At that time first appears, with definite attributes and a well-defined cultus, the person of “Ilu,” the god κατ'ἐξοχῆν, the absolute god, crowning the divine hierarchy, out of whose bosom all emanations proceeded. In him was recognized the “One,” the “Good,” the “First Principle,” the source of the highest triads,[*] and these representations reached at length the highest degree of definiteness in the celebrated school of Uruk or Orchoë in the time of the Seleucides. The expression “One God,” which then came into use, became indeed a component part of many of the proper names of the scholars of that Orchoëan School.[†] Doubtless this advanced stage of development had not been reached in Nebuchadnezzar's day. Especially was this king led, through his personal devotion to Maruduk, to give another form and direction to the religious ideas which were in course of development. Before his day the Assyrians had attributed to their tutelar god, “Assur,” the attributes of a *Deus exsuperantissimus*, the Father and Master of the gods. His superiority was emphasized by them to such a degree as to make evident a powerful trend toward monotheism, notwithstanding the contemporary recognition of inferior gods, which had been received from the Babylonians, but subordinated to Assur. Nebuchadnezzar endeavored to raise “Maruduk” to the same relative position which, among the Assyrians, had been held by their national god. He strove to secure by his subjects the recognition of Maruduk as the Supreme God, the “First Principle,” and sought to attach to his name with more definiteness the conception of the unity of the divine essence, which was becoming more clearly apprehended through the speculations of the sacerdotal schools. Hence Maruduk was given titles which never before had been accorded him. Only in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions is he represented as having the characteristics of absolute divinity, “the Supreme God,” with more definite precision than perhaps had ever been the case with Assur.

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* Comp. Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldaer, Part I., chap. 1, § 6.

† W. A. I., iv. 64.

* W. A. I., i. 681, col. 2. lines 19-31.

In the so-called “Inscription of the Indian Association” Maruduk is entitled “Supreme Lord, the First-born, Chief of all the gods, the Divine Preserver of the heavens and the earth, the Lord God, Sublime Master of the gods,” and is indeed expressly identified with “Ilu,” while Nebuchadnezzar at the same time declares himself as the propagator of his cultus. The Jewish writer of Daniel was thus justified in considering this religious idea, expressed so constantly in Nebuchadnezzar's official documents, as a true tendency toward monotheism and as a distinct advance over former Babylonian beliefs. He might, indeed, have considered Maruduk, as adored and proclaimed by Nebuchadnezzar, somewhat in the same way as the author of the Book of Esdras considers “Ahuramazda,” as a sort of imperfect representation of the true God. Moreover, it would be most natural for him to recognize this substantial advance, imperfect though it was, since it was one of his compatriots, the inspired seer, whose history he is recording, to whose influence upon the king it was due.[*]

Furthermore, it is worthy of note that whenever the author of Daniel represents Nebuchadnezzar himself as speaking, and apparently quotes from some official royal document, there appears uniformly this recognition of one Supreme God, one First Principle, higher than all other gods. In chap. iii. 31–33[†] these definite limits are not overstepped. The prohibition of blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo (iii. 29) is not of this nature, nor is it recorded as having these characteristics.[‡] This is also true of chap. ii. 47, where the king speaks of Daniel's God as the “God of gods.” Both these passages belong obviously to the narrative itself, and are only indications of the personal standpoint of the narrator.

VI.

Before closing this hasty examination of these six chapters, I will consider two statements whose impossibility, from the standpoint of history seems to me unquestionable. 1. The number of the satrapies established by Darius the Mede seems evidently exaggerated, especially if we see in him only a vassal whom Cyrus set over

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[*] Anonym. Compend de doctr. Chaldaic ap. Stanley, Histor. philosoph., vol. ii. 1125.

[†] Comp. my “Essai sur un document mathématique chaldéen,” p. 98 ff. notes.

[*] Individual critics go so far as to deny the actual existence of Daniel. In my view, however, the decision of this disputed question hangs solely upon the decision as to whether the book which bears Daniel's name has or has not real historical worth. The identification of the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel (xiv. 14 and 20; xxviii 3) with that Daniel who was a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar is doubtless difficult (comp. Ewald, Die Propheten, vol. ii. p. 560), although Delitzsch (in Herzog's Encyclopædie, p. 271) has shown that this is nevertheless not impossible.

[†] Probably these three verses originally formed the introduction of the proclamation which is given in chap. iv.

[‡] In and of itself this prohibition only shows the form and manner in which the Assyrians in all their original documents speak of foreign gods. They recognized them indeed as gods, but subordinated them to the supremacy of Assur. So Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges the god of the three youths as a true god, and as such he forbids blasphemy against him. He does not, however, hold him to be the one only God, nor even the highest God. This nonance is worthy of notice, as it witnesses in favor of the Book of Daniel.

Babylon. This number can only be accounted for on the supposition of a later corruption of the text, its originator evidently having in mind the twenty great satrapies which Darius Hystaspes established in Persia. Changes of this character, introduced by the pen of successive copyists, are obviously manifest in many passages of the Bible, and are recognized as such by the most orthodox commentators.

2. It seems hardly credible that Nebuchadnezzar should have made Daniel "master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers" (v. 11), since, on the one hand, it seems evident that a Jew as faithful and in every respect strict in his observance of the law as Daniel could not have discharged the essentially heathen functions of this office ; nor, on the other hand, is it conceivable that the Chaldean literati, who were so peculiarly proud of the purity of their descent, and formed such an exclusive hereditary caste,* would have permitted a stranger, whose religion was different from their own, to be placed over them. Hence I do not hesitate to regard the second clause of the eleventh verse and the first clause of the twelfth verse (chap. v.†), as likewise chap. iv. 9 (R. V.), as being recent interpolations ; and this seems all the more probable, as Nebuchadnezzar, according to chap. ii. 48, rewarded Daniel only with an administrative office. This latter passage does indeed speak of the "wise men ;" still I believe that this word, which is obviously out of harmony with the passage, must also have been a later attempted emendation, when the specific meaning of the Assyrian title "sakan" had already been lost. This verse must originally have read : "And the king made Daniel great, and gave him great gifts, and made him governor of the province of Babylon and chief of the district governors (sakan) of Babylon."

VII.

Let us now briefly recapitulate the conclusions arrived at in the preceding paragraphs.

The first six chapters of the Book of Daniel delineate a very exact picture of the Babylonian court under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, and they have a historical value which cannot be contested, confirmed as it is by the recovered cuneiform texts.

They must, therefore, have been composed at a date not far removed from the persons and events of which they treat, and hence cannot be regarded—as is maintained by the Rationalistic exegesis—as a product of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The author, moreover, appears to have made frequent use of original Babylonian documents, perhaps fragments of Nebuchadnezzar's official annals, which, however, he paraphrased and accommodated to his own individual point of view.

Although for this reason the Aramaic redaction of chapters ii.–vi., at the present time before us, contains Greek words, which appear to point to a date after Alexander, yet this is because these chapters are probably only a translation of an original Hebrew text of which the first chapter alone has been preserved.

This original Hebrew text must, according to all indications, have been composed under the Achamenides, as appears from the fact that certain Assyrian titles are given under their Persian equivalents, which latter the author of the Aramaic translation of the time of the Seleucides retains in his text.

These conclusions not only tend to substantiate the assertion of the Talmud that the Book of Daniel dates from the time of the great Synagogue, but they are also in harmony with the allusions to the episodes of the Book of Daniel which the dying Mattathias makes in his discourse to his sons,* and particularly indeed to those contained in the first six chapters. These allusions do not accord with the theory that the book is wholly a product of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hence those who maintain the views of Porphyry desire to shut them out of their consideration. "It is a perversion," says Noeldeke,† "when this passage is cited as a witness to the authenticity of the book ; this could only be valid if we could regard that discourse as having been recorded with stenographic precision. It follows, therefore," etc.

This were indeed to reject in a summary manner and without sufficient ground the testimony of a biblical book whose historic worth is otherwise fully recognized. Doubtless the last words of Mattathias could not have been stenographically reported. They were, however, of too solemn a nature not to have been guarded with care by his contemporaries; they were, moreover, too brief and binding to have been crowded out of mind by more gross thoughts. The author of 1 Maccabees, who cites them but little more than sixty years afterward, must surely have retained, if not the exact words, at least their essential tenor. If, however, it be attempted to prove by this discourse that already in the time of the Maccabees the Book of Daniel was accepted as canonical, I freely concede that hardly more than a weak indication is hence deducible; but to substantiate the opposite view not even so weak an indication as this is deducible. At least none such is furnished by the exclusion of Daniel's name from the list of prophets contained in Ecclesiasticus; this exclusion proves only that at that time the Book of Daniel, on account of its peculiar apocalyptic rather than prophetic contents, was included among the Hagiographa and not among the prophetic Scriptures, as is still the custom with the Jews. This appears to me so clear and obvious that only an invincible prejudice could fail to recognize it.

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* Diod. Sic., ii. 29.

† It seems strange that the author should have failed to call attention to the fact that the author of Daniel is in no degree responsible for the historical accuracy of this statement. He simply records the statement of the queen, who doubtless repeated the current tradition of what had taken place a generation previously. The honor shown to Daniel may well have been exaggerated under the excitement of the moment and in furtherance of her desire to have him consulted (Trans.).

* 1 Macc. ii. 59 and 60.

† Die Alttestamentliche Literatur, p. 232.

VIII.

If, finally, the authenticity of Daniel is questioned on the ground of the many marvellous occurrences related, and it be maintained that tales such as those of the three youths in the furnace, Daniel and the lion's den, and the mysterious handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast are conclusive evidence of the unauthenticity and historical worthlessness of the book, I must reject this method of procedure most emphatically, as being thoroughly unjust and unscientific. And this I do not merely as a Christian, but also as a scholar and in the name of a principle of criticism, which in my view must be held with absolute clearness in the examination of the sacred books, as of all literary records of the past. "From these," Noeldeke asserts,* "the spurious character and the true date of our book may be fixed with certainty, and we may dismiss in short order the numerous other difficulties which are in the way of its acceptance. Among these are the fabulous and impossible features of most of the events related in the book."

Proof of the spuriousness of any work may not, however, be secured in such a manner, especially if the impossibility of miracles is assumed, and they are held to be "fabulous and impossible." For the question as to whether certain related events are credible or are to be relegated to the realm of fable must always be investigated independently of the second question concerning the date of the writing in which these events are related.

Whatever views may be held concerning the supernatural and the miraculous, it cannot in any event be denied that even in our own day books are written which recount events no less extraordinary than those related in Daniel, and of which the contemporaries profess to have been eye-witnesses. At most it can only be said that these authors are either self-deceived or have been deceived by others, according to the estimate placed upon the stories themselves and the credibility of the narrators; but the narrative itself cannot on this account be considered a legend of a later date nor its real genuineness called in question. With the method of criticism which has been followed in the effort to discredit Daniel, I would be perfectly prepared to prove that the book "Notre Dame de Lourdes," by La Serre, could not have been written previous to the twenty-first or twenty-second century.

Every unprejudiced and truly scientific critique will therefore leave out of view the abstract question concerning miracles, which must be reserved exclusively for the criticism of the events considered in themselves. It is not the function of the textual critic to resolve or even to consider this matter. So long as the textual critic does not permit himself to err through irrelevant and prejudiced theories, it will be to him immaterial whether the text under consideration is filled with marvels or not; the only thing to be kept clearly in view is the question whether or not at the time the document was written such things were in fact believed. But the judgment of the critic must, above all, be free from the influence of personal prejudices.

An excellent example, which, moreover, does not involve the divergent standpoint of Christian and freethinker, is furnished by the hieroglyphic tablet of the king, Rameses XII., preserved in the National Library at Paris. This document unquestionably records more marvels than are to be found in any one of the biblical narratives; consider, *e.g.*: 1. The demoniacal possession of the princess "Bent-Rashit;" 2. The dialogue, spoken in the presence of the priests, between the god "Khons, tranquil in his perfectness," and the inferior embodiment of the same god "Khons, the Councillor of Thebes," and still further the many circumstances attending the miraculous healing of the princess at the touch of the sacred ark of Khons, brought from Mesopotamia, and finally the marvellous vision which led the Prince of Bakhten to decide to send the sacred ark back to Egypt. Certainly no one credits these marvellous deeds of the god "Khons, the Protector of Thebes." As little, however, would it occur to any one to question the genuineness of the tablet. At most it could only be said that the narrative bore the stamp of the credulity of the age. And this is all the more significant, as we are here concerned not with a book of legends, nor a document which comes to us only after many transcriptions, but the original itself of an official document engraved shortly after the return of the ark of the god, by the order of the brother-in-law of the Princess Bent-Rashit.

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* Die Alttestamentliche Literatur, p. 225.

Is it, then, just to deny the authenticity of a book solely because it recounts miracles?

I demand of the Rationalistic exegetes only that they do not use two standards of weight and measure, but judge the Book of Daniel, and indeed every other biblical writing irrespective of the marvels related, by the same standards they use in judging the tablet of the Egyptian monarch. It is but little to ask, but that little we are surely justified in demanding from every critic who rightly claims this title, and who does not throw himself blindly into the service of preconceived philosophical theories. When the question of the age and authenticity of Daniel has been decided, without prejudice, from external and internal data, then it may be in order to consider the question concerning the miracles it relates and to decide as to their credibility.

ST. PAUL AND THE ROMAN LAW.

BY W. E. BALL, LL.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), August, 1891.

In these days theology is not popular. Even the clergy find it well to conceal rather than to parade their proficiency in the branch of learning of which they are supposed to be professors. To preach theology is very soon to preach to empty pews. Yet in past ages this study has excited the keenest popular interest. What has occasioned the change? Is it that the development of theology as a living science has been arrested; and that the language in which it is taught has become classical—but dead? For in spite of the boasted test of orthodoxy, *quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus,* theology in former ages *has* developed, or at least has changed. Theology may be said to be religious truth presented in philosophic form. But in what philosophic form? Or rather, in the form of what philosophy? Living theologies have been clothed in the language and permeated with the spirit of living philosophies. The philosophy of a past age will not serve as a vehicle for the theology of this. If the theology preached and taught to-day be preached and taught in terms of the philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it may be orthodox, but it cannot be popular. The possibility of a revival of lay interest in theology has been demonstrated quite lately. Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" excited much hostile criticism, but it was read not only by ministers of religion, but also by the multitude. The reason is obvious. Whatever may be thought of the author's conclusions, his language is that of the current philosophy. He brings theology forth from the tomb of dead controversies, and divests it of the shroud of obsolete definition. The reanimated form may not be vigorous; but at least it is reanimated, and it breathes the atmosphere of modern thought.

It is sometimes asserted—and the assertion marks the hatred and contempt into which theology has fallen—that the Bible contains no theology. But this is surely wide of the fact. The Gospels, indeed, contain the statement of religious truth rather than reasoning concerning it. But the Epistles of St. Paul are theological treatises. They consist largely of abstract argument; they formulate with more or less distinctness a system of divine metaphysics. St. Paul was, indeed, the chief formulator of Christian doctrine; and it is a part of the object of the present article to show that, like all other popular theologians, he clothed his conceptions of religion in the language of contemporary philosophy.

St. Paul became the formulator of Christian doctrine because he was the interpreter of the Gospel to the Gentile nations. The conversion of the Hebrews involved the task of harmonising the superstructure of Christianity with the ancient foundations of Mosaic Law. But in the case of the Gentiles the foundations were lacking, and it was necessary to enunciate a complete theory of natural and revealed religious truth. Without St. Paul, or some one like him imbued with Gentile culture, the Christian religion could hardly have extended itself beyond Palestine. He afforded a marked contrast to his colleagues in the Apostolate in many respects, but most of all in this, that he was a Roman citizen. In his time the citizenship of Rome was much more than a mere social distinction. It was accompanied by incidents which affected every relation of life. In the routine of business, in the making of contracts, in the payment of taxes, in the commonest details of domestic management, in the whole field of litigation, in testamentary dispositions and the succession to inheritances, the Roman citizen was confronted with technical distinctions between his position and that of the Roman subject who had not received the franchise. It was impossible for a man's citizenship to remain an unnoticed element in his daily life. At that period there existed no professional class corresponding to the modern solicitor, for the jurisconsults were rather professors of law than lawyers. To the private citizen a knowledge of the law was more than an advantage ; it was a necessity.

The Roman people had an innate genius for law. The science of jurisprudence was the only intellectual pursuit in which they discovered the highest order of excellence. With her fine faculty for assimilating her conquests to herself, Rome spread her passion for the study of law wherever she imposed her yoke. The inhabitants of distant provinces came to rival the Italians themselves as masters of their national science. At no long period after the death of St. Paul, Gaius, who like himself was a native of Asia Minor, became the greatest jurist of the age.

From an intricate mass of technicality there was evolved a philosophy which soon modified, and which was destined to transform, the system in which it originated. Already in the reign of Augustus a school of lawyers had arisen whose genius and enlightenment gave no uncertain promise of that meridian brilliance of jurisprudence which illuminated the epoch of the Antonines. The Augustan age of literature gave birth to the Augustan age of law.

Judea, although conquered by Rome, was never Romanised. It was occupied by Roman soldiery and governed by Roman officials ; but it was never colonised by Roman citizens or subjected to Roman law. It was otherwise generally throughout the Roman world ; and it is not until we call to mind how closely the Roman law affected the daily life of the great mass of the subjects of the Empire, and how deeply the study of Roman jurisprudence imbued their minds and coloured their ideas, that we obtain an adequate sense of the forcefulness of many of St. Paul's allusions, or duly appreciate the appropriateness of some of his lines of argument to the spirit of the age in which he lived, or discern that some of the doctrines of the faith have assumed the form in which they have come down to us from the accident—if in such a connection we may speak of accidents—of the Apostle's status and education.

Of all distinctively Pauline phraseology, perhaps the metaphor which enshrines the most important truths, and which has become most thoroughly incorporated in the language at once of theology and devotion, is that of Adoption. The word has become so far naturalised in the vocabulary of religion that we hardly recognise it as a metaphor at all. Adoption, as we know it in English life, is a comparatively rare social incident. It has no place in our laws, and can scarcely be said to have any definite place in our customs. Among the Jews adoption was hardly even a social incident, and in a juridic sense it was absolutely unknown. The family records of the chosen people were kept with scrupulous care in order that the lineage of the Deliverer might be identified. Fictitious kinship could manifestly find no recognition in Hebrew genealogies. Amongst the Romans, however, adoption was a familiar social phenomenon, and much more. Its initial ceremonies and incidents occupied a large and important place in their law.

By adoption under the Roman law an entire stranger in blood became a member of the family into which he was adopted exactly as if he had been born into it. He became a member of the family in a higher sense than some who had the family blood in their veins : than emancipated sons, or descendants through females. He assumed the family name, partook in its mystic sacrificial rites, and became, not on sufferance or at will, but to all intents and purposes, a member of the house of his adopter ; nor could the tie thus formed be broken save through the ceremony of emancipation. Adoption was what was called in law a *capitis deminutio,* which so far extinguished the preexisting personality of the person who underwent it that during many centuries it operated as an extinction of his debts.* But the most striking illustration of the manner in which the law regarded relationship by adoption is to be seen in the fact that it constituted as complete a bar to intermarriage as relationship by blood.

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* This would only apply when the person adopted (or arrogated, as the phrase would be in this case) was *sui juris.* If not *sui juris*, he could in strict law have no debts.

St. Paul is the only one of the sacred writers who makes use of the metaphor of adoption. Nor is it the word only which is peculiar to him, but also the idea. This metaphor was his translation into the language of Gentile thought of Christ's great doctrine of the New Birth. "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God:" this was the most vital, and at the same time the most difficult, teaching of the Messiah; this was the doctrine of spiritual initiation into that spiritual kingdom which Christ came to found. St. Paul exchanges the physical metaphor of regeneration for the legal metaphor of adoption. The adopted person became in the eye of the law a new creature. He was born again into a new family. By the aid of this figure the Gentile convert was enabled to realise in a vivid manner the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of the faithful, the obliteration of past penalties, the right to the mystic inheritance. He was enabled to realise that upon this spiritual act "old things passed away and all things became new." St. Paul's use of the metaphor of adoption has, no doubt, exercised a profound influence upon the form of dogma. It is intimately connected with the doctrine of Assurance. This doctrine is principally founded upon Rom. viii. 14–16. In this passage, as elsewhere, the Third Person in the Trinity is represented in the character of a witness. The reference is to the legal ceremony of adoption. The common form of adoption was singularly dramatic. It consisted of the ancient and venerated ceremonial conveyance "with the scales and brass," followed by a fictitious lawsuit. The proceedings took place in the presence of seven witnesses. The fictitious sale and re-sale, and the final "vindication" or claim, were accompanied by the utterance of legal formulæ. Upon the words used depended whether the ceremony amounted to the sale of a son into slavery or his adoption into a new family. The touch of the *festuca* or ceremonial wand might be accompanied by the formula, "I claim this man as my son," or it might be accompanied by the formula, "I claim this man as my slave." The *form* of sale into bondage was almost indistinguishable from the *form* of adoption. It was the spirit which was different. It was the function of the witnesses to testify that the transaction was in truth the adoption of a child. The adopter it may be supposed has died: the adopted son claims the inheritance; but his claim is disputed and his status as son is denied. Litigation ensues. "After the ceremony with the scales and brass," declares the plaintiff, "the deceased claimed me by the name of son. He took me to his home. I called him father and he allowed it. It is true I served him; but it was not the service of a slave, but of a child. I sat at his table, where the slaves never sat. He told me the inheritance was mine." But the law requires corroborative evidence. One of the seven witnesses is called. "I was present," he says, "at the ceremony. It was I who held the scales and struck them with the ingot of brass. The transaction was not a sale into slavery. It was an adoption. I heard the words of the vindication, and I say this person was claimed by the deceased not as a slave, but as a son."

"*Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs.*"

This text is sometimes quoted as though the witness of the Divine Spirit were addressed to the human spirit. A glance at the original Greek is sufficient to show that what is referred to is a coincidence of testimony, the joint witness of the Holy Ghost and the soul of the believer to the same spiritual fact.

St. Paul's other references to adoption are equally interesting and equally incapable of explanation except by reference to the Roman Law. They are found in passages which abound in legal phraseology, and require for their elucidation an acquaintance with the incidents not only of adoption, but also of heirship and slavery.

In one celebrated passage St. Paul seems to substitute the idea of the new birth for that of adoption in stating the basis of the believer's "heirship." In Titus iii. 5, "washing of regeneration" is said to be "poured out upon us," that we "might be made heirs." This text seems to show clearly the identity of the spiritual facts described under the names of adoption and regeneration. It is also interesting as affording the chief foundation for the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. It is certain that this doctrine has very early patristic authority in its favour. In the Office of Baptism there is one portion of great antiquity, which may perhaps owe its form to the belief of early Christianity upon this point. No one can say with any degree of certainty whether the signature with the cross is a genuinely primitive practice; but there is no doubt that it is a very ancient practice. This symbolic act, accompanied by the words, "We receive this child (or person) into the congregation of Christ's flock," bears a striking resemblance to the vindication, or claim, with the *festuca* in the ceremony of adoption. If it be true that adoption was the rendering into the vernacular of Gentile thought of the doctrine of regeneration, and if regeneration was understood to result from, or at least to be coincident with, baptism, it would not be unnatural that something of the symbolism of secular adoption should be imported into the first liturgical services into which the simple rite of immersion or aspersion was expanded.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that there is another portion of the Office of Baptism which bears clearly discernible traces of the influence of Roman jurisprudence. That part of the Baptismal Service which assumes the form of a covenant seems certainly to have been framed upon the pattern of the venerable species of Roman contract known as the *Stipulatio.* In the English service the part referred to consists of four covenantal questions and responses, beginning with "Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works?" The second question consists of the Creed put in an interrogative form. In the most ancient Liturgies each article of the Creed is placed in a separate interrogatory with a separate response. The third question and answer taken together constitute the acceptance of baptism in "this faith." The fourth question and answer taken together constitute the vow of obedience to the commandments of God. Here it is to be observed that the person exacting the several undertakings is the person who, so to speak, puts them into shape; he summarises them in the form of interrogations. The person undertaking the several obligations expresses his assent in a short answer. In the first, second, and fourth answers he does so in the very word in which the question is put to him. The engagement, so to speak, is looked upon from the point of view of the promisee, and not from that of the promisor. These were the characteristics, as every student of Roman Law is aware, of the *Stipulatio,* an extremely ancient form of contract to which, although made by word of mouth, there attached much of the peculiar efficacy which in our law attaches to contracts made by deed. But the derivation of this portion of the Baptismal Office does not depend merely upon analogy of form. The formal question of the *Stipulatio* originally might only be put and answered by the use of the words, *Spondes—Spondeo.* Hence the person making the promise was called the *sponsor,* just as the person exacting it was called the *stipulator.* The word *sponsor* figures prominently in the Office of Baptism of Infants. The name has been taken to imply suretyship, and is referred to as bearing that meaning in the "Post-Baptismal" Service (which, however, dates only from the year 1552). It is true that the word *sponsor* was frequently used to signify a surety, from the circumstance that the contract of suretyship was often made by means of the *Stipulatio.* But in the Office of Baptism the godparents do not undertake any contract of suretyship. The name sponsor was, no doubt, originally applied from the circumstance that the person so designated was the person who in fact made the formal *sponsiones* in response to the successive *stipulationes* of the baptist. The sponsor, in short, was the person who "answered for" the infant in the sense of answering *instead of* him, and not in the sense of answering *in his default.* The adult was of course his own *sponsor,* inasmuch as he made his own responses.

The derivation of the covenantal questions and answers from the Roman *Stipulatio* throws an interesting light upon a passage in the first Epistle of St. Peter. In the Greek language, which was spoken by a large part of the subjects of the Roman Empire the contract of *Stipulatio* was known by the name of *Eperōtesis* or *Eperōtema,* the latter form of the word by one of those transitions of signification so common in Greek came to mean, also, the promise or undertaking made by means of the *Stipulatio.* In the very earliest patristic writings, the plural *Eperōtemata* is habitually employed to describe the promises or vows made in response to the questions of the Baptismal Service. These *Eperōtemata* comprised, as has been seen, the declarations of assent to the various articles of the Creed. Indeed, it is from the early offices of Baptism that what is traditionally known as the Apostles' Creed has been compiled—that is to say, we find it in no earlier documents, and in no earlier form. The passage in 1 Peter iii. 20–21 reads as follows: "The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight, souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, *but the answer of a good conscience*), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." The word here translated "answer" is *Eperōtema*, a word nowhere else used in the New Testament, and the equivalent, as has been seen of the Latin *Stipulatio*. The Apostle's meaning is plain. It is not the rite of baptism in itself which saves, but the sincere declaration of faith and promise of obedience. The obscurity of the text vanishes, and we are incidentally afforded strong evidence of the influence of Roman Law upon the form of the baptismal ceremony, as well as an indirect testimony that the Apostles' Creed is justly entitled to the name which it traditionally bears.

The metaphor of the spiritual "inheritance" is peculiarly, though not exclusively, Pauline. St. Peter employs it twice, and St. James once, but St. Paul in a multitude of instances; it is closely interwoven with the substance of the longest and most intricate arguments in his Epistles; it appears in the reports of his sermons in the Acts of the Apostles; he alone of all sacred writers employs it in what may be described as the most daring of all theological conceptions, that which is embodied in the celebrated definition of believers as "heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."

It may be urged that in his use of the metaphor of inheritance St. Paul is merely drawing upon the common stock of illustrations derived from the facts of ordinary life, without reference to any specific legal theories. But such a metaphor cannot be used, nor can its full significance be appreciated, without reference to specific legal theories. Take, for instance, the phrase just quoted. If we were not so thoroughly familiar with the description of the faithful as "heirs" of God," would not this expression strike us as peculiarly forced and unhappy? If these words had not been used by St. Paul, would any modern divine have ventured to use them as explanatory of the relation between God and the human soul? To our minds, heirship involves no more than the idea of the acquisition of property by succession, and the idea of succession is manifestly inapplicable with reference to the Eternal God. That the heirship to which St. Paul alludes is Roman and not Hebrew heirship, is evident not merely from the accompanying reference to adoption, but also from the fact that it is a joint and equal heirship. In the Hebrew Law the rights of primogeniture existed in a modified form, closely resembling the ancient custom of Normandy which still obtains in our own Channel Islands. In Roman Law all "unemancipated" children succeeded equally to the property of a deceased father upon his intestacy.

The whole complex and voluminous system of Roman inheritance depends upon a remarkable theory of indissoluble unity between the heir and his ancestor. "The notion was that though the physical person of the deceased had perished, his legal personality survived and descended unimpaired to his heir or co-heirs in whom his identity (so far as the law was concerned) was continued" (Maine's "Ancient Law," p. 181). "The testator lived on in his heir, or in the group of his co-heirs. He was in law the same person with them" (*Ib.* p. 188). "In pure Roman jurisprudence the principle that a man lives on in his heir—*the elimination, so to speak, of the fact of death*—is too obviously for mistake the centre round which the whole law of testamentary and intestate succession is circling" (*Ib.* p. 190). Sir Henry Maine explains this idea by reference to the period when the family, and not the individual, was the "unit of society."

"The prolongation of a man's legal existence in his heir, or in a group of co-heirs, is neither more nor less than a characteristic of the family transferred by a fiction to the individual" ("Ancient Law," p. 186). In English Law there is a well-known maxim, *Nemo est heres viventis*, but this was no principle of the Roman Law. The moment a child was born he was his father's heir. The word *heres* originally means "lord" or proprietor. The namesake of the Apostle, Paul the Jurist, who lived in the third century after Christ, observes that there is a species of copartnership in the family property between a father and his children; "when therefore," says he, "the father dies, it is not so correct to say that they succeed to his property, as that they acquire the free control of their own." This inchoate partnership of an unemancipated son in his father's possessions, and his close identification with his person, may be regarded as some set-off against the quasi-servitude of his position under the formidable *patria potestas*.

In the light of the theories of Roman jurisprudence incongruity disappears from this great Pauline metaphor, and we discern in it a new sublimity. Instead of the death of the ancestor being essentially connected with the idea of inheritance, we find this circumstance "eliminated." The heir has not to wait for the moment of his father's decease. In and through his father, he is already a participator in the family possessions. The father does not die, but lives on for ever in his family. Physically absent he is spiritually present, not *with* so much as *in* his children. In this phrase, "the heirs of God," there is presented a most vivid view of the intimate and eternal union between the believer and God, and of the faithful soul's possession in present reality, and not merely in anticipation of the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven.

St. Paul's references to spiritual "inheritance" in the Roman sense are frequently rendered more obscure by the introduction of allusions to the Roman *will.* The word *diathēkē,* which in the Authorised Version is sometimes translated "covenant" and sometimes "testament" or will, occurs thirty-three times in the New Testament. Three of the Evangelists employ the word in their report of our Lord's sacramental declaration, "This is the blood of the new testament." Here, of course, it is no more than the translation into Greek of the original language spoken by Christ. The word also occurs once in the Apocalypse, and with these exceptions it is exclusively used by St. Paul; that is, assuming that he was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The double meaning of the word *diathēkē* has occasioned both translators and commentators extreme difficulty. This may be seen particularly in the mass of exegetical literature which deals with the famous argument concerning the two covenants or two testaments in the 7th, 8th and 9th chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The principal perplexity of commentators has arisen from the apparent incongruity between a covenant or contract and a testament or will. A will is not a contract, and a contract is not a will, and yet the same word is used for both. Even in the Revised Version, although *diathēkē* is translated "covenant" in every other part of the three chapters referred to, from an obvious necessity it is rendered by the word "testament" in Heb. ix. 16, 17. Another perplexity arises from the discussion of the priesthood of Christ, which in these chapters is interwoven with the discussion of the covenants or testaments.

The explanation of these difficulties must be found, if at all, in the Roman Law of will-making; and this is a quarter in which apparently the commentators have not looked for assistance.

It need hardly be said that St. Paul, in any metaphor based upon will-making, could only refer to the Roman will. The Romans were the inventors of the will. The Rabbinical will, only admitted in exceptional cases, was unknown before the Roman conquest of Palestine, and was directly based upon the Roman model.

The double meaning of the word *diathēkē* is explained at once when it is remembered that the Roman will was in its origin actually a contract *inter vivos;* and that in the time of St. Paul it retained at least, in general usage, the form of a contract.

Originally the testator *in articulo mortis* sold his estate or "family" to the person whom he wished to be his heir. A nominal price was paid. There were present the scale-holder, who weighed out, or purported to weigh out, the purchase-money, five witnesses to testify to the transaction, and the heir himself, who had the name of *emptor familiæ,* or purchaser of the estate. The ceremony in its essential features remained the same in the time of St. Paul and for many centuries later. The Prætorian or written will, already employed in the first century, was only an alternative form, and was comparatively little used. But long before the time of St. Paul some important modifications had taken place. The ceremony was not deferred until the last moments of life. It had become rather a contract to deliver than an out-and out sale. The *emptor familiæ* was no longer the heir himself, but the executor or trustee who took the estate subject to the obligation to hand it over to the real beneficiary; and the testator at the time of the fictitious sale gave verbal directions as to the destination of his property. In the position of the *emptor familiæ,* at this stage of the development of the will, it is possible that an explanation may be discerned of the description of Christ as the "*mediator* of a new testament," and the "*surety* of a better testament."

Viewed in the light of Roman Law, it will be found that in the twofold discussion of the priesthood of Christ, and the two "testaments," there is no more real lack of harmony than in the twofold use of the word *diathēkē.* The heir was a hierophant. The institution of will-making itself is supposed to have been due to the extraordinary horror with which the heathen Roman contemplated the neglect at his decease of those obsequies which were the first and most important function of the heir, and which upon the failure of natural heirs must have remained unperformed save for the institution of the testament. But the duty of the heir was not limited to the observance of funeral rites. The death of the head of a family was, as has been pointed out, in a measure ignored. He was supposed to preside in spirit over the destiny of his representatives. His image was retained in the household. It was for the duly constituted heir to keep up the communication, so to speak, between the departed and the survivors. It was for him to propitiate the *manes* of the deceased and to secure his tutelary aid. Ancestor-worship is supposed by some to have been the orgin of all religion. The Christian may rather discern in this practice some pathetic reminiscence of a purer primeval faith, and trace in the idea of the godhood of the father some dim survival of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God.. The sacerdotal aspect of inheritance only disappeared with the prevalence of Christianity.

The Prætorian will has been mentioned as affording already in the time of St. Paul an alternative to the more ordinary or Mancipatory will. In the Prætorian will the ceremony with the scales was dispensed with: the testator's directions instead of being verbally delivered were reduced to writing, and fastened up by the seals of seven witnesses. The seven witnesses represented the five witnesses of the older form, together with the scale-holder and *emptor familiœ*. The seals served the double purpose of securing secrecy and providing a means of authentication. This species of will was the first and only instrument known to the Roman Law which required sealing. More than that: "This was the first appearance of sealing in the history of jurisprudence, considered as a mode of authentication" (Maine's "Ancient Law," p. 210). There is probably a reference to the Prætorian will in Ephesians i. 13–14: "In whom having also believed ye were sealed with the Holy Ghost of promise, which is an earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession to the praise of His glory." As translated it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign any precise meaning to this passage. It should rather be rendered, "In whom having also believed ye were sealed with *the Holy Spirit of testimony*, which is an earnest of our inheritance *until the ransoming accomplished by the act of taking possession* (*of the inheritance*) to the praise of his glory." Here, as elsewhere, the Holy Spirit is referred to as a witness. It is His seal which authenticates the new testament, by which we obtain the inheritance. The spiritual inheritance, as in other passages, is referred to by St. Paul as succeeding upon a state of bondage. When a slave was appointed heir, although expressly emancipated by the will which gave him the inheritance, his freedom commenced not immediately upon the making of the will, but from the moment when he entered into the inheritance. This is the "ransoming accomplished by the act of taking possession." In the last words of the passage, "to the praise of his glory," an allusion may be found to a well-known Roman custom. The emancipated slaves who attended the funeral of their emancipator were the praise of his glory. Testamentary emancipation was so fashionable a form of posthumous ostentation, the desire to be followed to the grave by a crowd of freedmen wearing the "cap of liberty" was so strong, that very shortly before the time when St. Paul wrote, the legislature expressly limited the number of slaves that an owner might manumit by will.

There is one passage in the writings of St. Paul which relates to the law of guardianship in connection with the law of inheritance, and which possesses some points of peculiar interest. "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant (R. V., bond-servant), though he is lord of all, but is under tutors and governors (R. V., guardians and stewards) until the time appointed by the father." This passage refers to the guardianship of orphans under an age which for practical purposes may be stated as fourteen. The expression "until the time appointed by the father" would be better rendered "until the time of the father's appointing"—*i.e.*, the period over which the father's power of appointing a guardian extended. This period was arbitrarily fixed, and could not be extended by the father's testamentary directions. The "guardian" was the "*tutor*" of Roman Law—that is, the protector of his person and estate. The "steward" was the slave of the "*tutor*," appointed by him when necessary as a bailiff to manage some distant portion of the infant's property. Tutelage was a device for artificially prolonging the *patria potestas*, notwithstanding the decease of the father. The text has sometimes been regarded as applying to a child whose father was living. But this is obviously an error. The *filius familias*, so long as he remained a *filius familias*—that is, so long as his father lived—was not less in the condition of a bond-servant at forty than at fourteen.

The chapter commencing with the passage which has been quoted, and the chapter preceding it, abound in legal allusion and legal argument, into the detail of which it is not necesary to enter here. The problem to which St. Paul is addressing himself in this and other parts of his writings is one which evidently caused no little perplexity amongst Christian converts. Christianity was in effect the substitution of what St. Paul calls the "Law of Faith," or, more shortly, "Faith," for the Ceremonial Law. Current speculations enable us to grasp more readily than those to whom St. Paul addressed himself the idea of an evolution, so to speak, from the Law of Moses to the Law of Christ. We may recognise a development of spirituality in the supersession of ceremony by Faith. But the early convert remembered that the reign of ceremony had itself superseded a previous reign of Faith. There was Faith, as St. Paul so earnestly insists, before the Law. The progress of religion between Abraham and Christ was a progress "from faith to faith." Now if the Law of Faith were a sufficient religious rule, how came it to have been superseded at all? Did not the very fact of the imposition of the Ceremonial Law imply its necessity, or at least its superiority over the simpler form of religion which preceded it?

St. Paul is fond of personification, but his personifications are not poetical, but legal. In his argument he figures the Jewish nation as a child, who was heir to the inheritance of Abraham. The Mosaic Law is a guardian appointed to protect the infancy of the nation, and to train it up for the period when in the fulness of time it should enter upon the inheritance. This inheritance is the advent of the Messiah. But although upon the advent of the Messiah the period of tutelage is past and the inheritance entered upon, the child—still a child—is not left without protecting care, for he gives himself in "adoption" to God, and is received into the family of the great Father; and whereas he was formerly but the heir of Abraham, he now becomes by a new and better title the heir of the Deity. The result of the whole argument is that the Law of Faith is the law of the family. It was the law of patriarchal households, and it is to be the law of the new and mystic household—"the household of faith."

The life of the patriarch was solitary. He dwelt apart from men, surrounded only by his family and servants: to these he was the only lawgiver and the only priest. Duty towards God was unencumbered with ceremonial observances. Duty towards men needed no elaboration in specific rules. A ritual law would have been as much out of place in the primitive family as a civil law. The simple principles of affection and faith were a sufficient substitute for both. The imposition of the Law of Moses was coincident with the transition of the family into the nation. When the family develops into a tribe and the tribe expands into a nation, affection is no longer a sufficient rule of conduct between individuals. The paternal authority is superseded by custom, and custom is consolidated into codes of law. Worship becomes national and public, and the head of the family relinquishes the functions of the priesthood to a consecrated order. The home is replaced by the society; and this is in itself an explanation of the Dispensation of Discipline. But Christ's mission was to restore the family, not by disintegrating society, but by comprehending it. All men were to become brethren, and all the sons of God. The purpose of the Law was accomplished; the training of the long orphaned nation was complete; and the reign of Faith was restored.

The supersession of the Law of Moses by the Law of Faith is the subject of a very long and very elaborate argument in the Epistle to the Romans. Among Hebrew and Gentile converts alike the question had arisen, what law of religious observance and conduct was henceforward to be observed. Our Lord was not ostensibly a legislator. He did not explicitly enact a code, or formulate a system of Church government. Even after the faith had been accepted, the believer might not at once, or readily, perceive that the faith involved and comprehended a code; that Christ's life was in itself a law; that His precepts were the summary of a spiritualised jurisprudence; that, in truth, the epoch in Divine government had arrived for discarding detailed rules of conduct and ritual, and their replacement by great principles, the particular application of which was reserved for the forum of the individual conscience. It was not easily apprehended that it was in this sense that Christ had come not to destroy, but to fulfil the law. Moreover, much of that part of the law which related to civil matters was, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, still the common law of Judea; and there never was any question of abrogating the moral law contained in the Mosaic legislation.

It is worthy of note, that at the period when St. Paul wrote, and for a long time previously, Roman jurisprudence had been deeply engaged with a problem extremely analogous to that which perplexed the early Church.

The Roman Republic was as exclusive in its spirit as the Jewish theocracy. The ancient Quiritarian Law, elaborately ceremonial in its character, was regarded as the peculiar heritage of the Roman citizen. Foreigners were jealously excluded from participating in its benefits. A separate system and separate tribunals were established for those who were outside the pale of citizenship. Every student of Roman Law knows how this subsidiary system, distinguished for its extreme simplicity and based on reason instead of immemorial usage, was gradually brought into competition with the old Quiritarian jurisprudence, and finally superseded it. Originally disliked and despised, the Prætorian Law, by means in part of the influence of the Stoical philosophy, came to be the object of peculiar admiration. It was lauded as the Law of Nature, restored from the Golden Age ; it was eulogised by the name of Equity.

What the Prætorian Law was to the Quiritarian Law, the Law of Christ was to the Law of Moses. Like the Prætorian Law, the Law of Christ was characterised by its simplicity. It consisted of the great principles which underlay the rigid rules and forms of the Mosaic Code. What the Prætorian Law was conceived to be by current speculation, that the Law of Christ actually was—a law of millennial perfection. During the first century the schools resounded with discussions concerning the origin and nature of the Prætorian Equity, and the degree and manner in which it ought to supersede the Quiritarian Law. In the light of these juridical controversies we may discern some explanation both of the nature of the difficulty which beset the early Church, and of the method of reasoning which the Apostle adopts in dealing with it.

Further illustrations might be adduced of metaphors and lines of argument in the writings of St. Paul which appear to be derived from the Roman Law. St. Paul is, perhaps, of all writers either ancient or modern the most difficult to understand. It cannot be that his obscurity is deliberate. It is due chiefly, no doubt, to our ignorance of the intellectual atmosphere of the age in which he lived. It is not suggested that a study of the Roman Law, as it existed in the first century, will afford a universal picklock to the perplexing passages in which the Pauline Epistles abound. But it is certain that no satisfactory commentary upon these Epistles will ever be produced except by an author who, in addition to his other qualifications, is a thorough master of the history of civil jurisprudence.

In these days few students of divinity have even an elementary acquaintance with Roman Law. Even students of law show little taste for a branch of study which has no direct, and very little indirect, bearing upon the every-day practice of their profession. They read the little that they are obliged to read with reluctance, and forget it with alacrity. The Roman Law, indeed, as every reader of English history is aware, was always unpopular amongst the Common lawyers. But it was not always a department of learning neglected by the clergy. In former times Church dignitaries were often eminent "Civilians," to use the term which has been commonly applied in this country to proficients in the study of Roman jurisprudence. The Canon or Ecclesiastical Law, including the law of testate and intestate succession, was based upon Roman Law. The Roman Law which is embodied in the English system of equity was mainly imported into it by ecclesiastical Lord Chancellors.

It may excite some surprise that "Civilian" divines of olden days have left little or nothing to show their consciousness of St. Paul's frequent use of the language of that jurisprudence with which they were familiar. It may be that the unbending dogma of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures which formerly prevailed would in any case have deterred them from looking in any purely mundane direction for the elucidation of an Apostle's language. But in truth they were not in a position to discern so much as may now be discerned of the legal element in the writings of St. Paul. The Roman Law with which they were acquainted was the refined system which was elaborated and consolidated under the authority of Justinian in the sixth century after Christ. This system was widely different from that which prevailed in the time of St. Paul. The discovery of the Institutes of Gaius, in the year 1816, threw a flood of light on the remoter history of the law and of the juridical ideas of the Roman people. It was not until the year 1861 that the great work of the late Sir Henry Maine on "Ancient Law" made the public—or even the lawyers—aware of the full importance of this discovery. It may be that commentators and theologians still fail to appreciate the value, for the purposes of Scriptural exegesis, of Gaius and his modern expositors.

SOME PAGAN EPITAPHS.

From *The Cornhill Magazine* (London), August, 1891.

In the Reading-room of the British Museum, on the lower shelves of Press No. 2608, there stand some very big books.

They are great folios, heavy and ponderous, hard to lift and awkward to handle. They are collections of Greek and Latin inscriptions. There are the five volumes of Boeckh. There is the colossal *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of the Berlin Academy, which already numbers eighteen volumes. There are the contributions of our own countrymen, which are only just commencing. The contents of these big books have been gathered from all parts of the ancient world. Generations of scholars have contributed the results of their copying or ingenious guessing, and the work is still going on. By and by everything will be taken down, every letter that survives in bronze or marble will be gathered into these folios. Meantime a great deal has been done, and these ponderous tomes stand there in Press No. 2608 as a happy hunting-ground for the antiquarian, the philologist, and the historian.

But it is not with any very erudite intentions that I have been disturbing the repose of these heavy folios. The object of this paper is not to unsettle orthography or to reconstruct history. I have been looking only at the epitaphs, and the few I have selected and copied into my note-book are of purely general interest, and may have some attraction for readers who don't care about the internal economy of Athens or the administration of the Roman provinces. I cannot say that I have found many of much literary merit, though I have looked at a great number of inscriptions. But age lends some interest even to the most commonplace things, and these epitaphs have the dignity of many centuries to recommend them.

Perhaps the first impression one gets in looking over these pagan inscriptions is, that the ancient stone-cutters and epitaph-makers were very much like their modern successors. Like them they had their favourite epitaphs which they repeated over and over again. They had their stock phrases, their set forms. They had a fondness for verse and an inability to write verses that would scan. They made pretty much the same kinds of mistakes as amuse us when we look over the old tombstones in country churchyards: bad metre, bad grammar, bad spelling are extremely frequent.

We know, for example, that the Romans were rather uncertain in the use of the aspirate, and we get a curious illustration of this when on one tombstone we find *ossa* (bones) spelt with an initial *h*.

An Athenian gentleman shows a confused syntax in the following example:

> Here Hippocrates hides in the earth his dear kind nurse, and now longs for thee.

Again, there is very much resemblance in the ruthless way in which an epitaph (generally in verse) is adapted to suit a different set of circumstances. Everyone knows the doggerel rhyme which is so very frequent on rustic tombstones—

> Here lies my precious (John) bereft of life;
> He was the best of husbands to a wife.

This is sometimes used with a woman's name in the first line, while the second, regardless of rhyme, is altered to—

> She was the best of wives to a husband.

Now in the Vatican Galleries there is a vase which presents the exact counterpart of this. There are inscribed on it some couplets of elegiac verse. These are very bad verses, and a little examination shows that their mistakes arose from the engraver having altered the masculine endings into feminine in order to make the inscription appropriate for the lady whose ashes the urn was destined to contain. He made these alterations and left the verse to shift for itself, but curiously enough in one place, when a change could have been made without violation of metre, he has left the masculine of his original copy.

Again, the common sentiment on the tombs of children is the prayer that the earth may not press heavily upon them. 'Lie lightly on the young' is a very usual phrase, and I have noticed one case where this with a grotesque inappropriateness is altered to—'Lie lightly on the middle-aged.'

One prominent feature in these general inscriptions is the request that nothing may be done to dishonour the tomb. Greek and Roman alike paid the greatest respect to the remains of the departed, and were very anxious that nothing should disturb the ashes or the bones of the dead, or violate the sanctity of the sepulchre. Everybody will recall the lines on Shakespeare's tomb at Stratford-on-Avon, but for downright intensity of anathema the following would be hard to match in modern times:

> I give to the Gods below, this tomb to keep, to Pluto, and to Demeter, and Persephone, and the Erinnyes, and all the Gods below. If any one shall disfigure this sepulchre or shall open it, or move anything from it, to him let there be no earth to walk, no sea to sail, but may he be rooted out with all his race. May he feel all diseases, shuddering and fever, and madness, and whatsoever ills exist for beasts or men, may these light on him who dares move aught from this tomb.

This is from a tomb at Athens erected by a sorrowing wife to her husband, 'most sweet,' but similar expressions are very common. Sometimes in addition blessings are invoked on the man who leaves the tomb undisturbed, or who will make libations to the dead. Sometimes we meet the request that flowers may be thrown upon the tomb.

In some cases the sanctity of the tomb is defended, not by supernatural terrors, but by the prosaic statement of the fine to which the offending person made himself liable. Sometimes the particular form of desecration which was most to be feared was mentioned with a simple directness which one may admire but dare not imitate.

It often happened that a man erected a tomb in his own lifetime. In the case of the larger mausoleums the inscriptions generally stated for whom the erection was intended—so and so—'for himself and his descendants.' Freedmen were often to be buried with their patrons. On one tomb at Rome we read that Marcus Aemilius erected it 'for his brother, his wife, himself, his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, with the exception of Hermes, whom for his bad conduct I forbid to have any approach, access, or entrance to this monument.'

The specification of such exception was not infrequent, and the triplication of terms was the correct legal phraseology. We may quote here from the famous will of Dasumus. The testator specified that only three freedmen, whom he names, were to be buried in his mausoleum, and then continues:

> I wish all whom I, before this will or by this will, have manumitted to have access, approach, and entrance to the mausoleum, except you, Hymnus, who, although you acknowledge that I have done a very great deal for you, yet have shown yourself so ungrateful that, on account of what I have endured from you or feared from you, I think you ought to be kept away even from my tomb.

Poor Hymnus! did he feel his exclusion very much, I wonder? Eighteen centuries have passed since then, and the reader may be a little curious about his misdeeds. One can hardly read many of these epitaphs without seeing that the ancients were less conventional than we are. One sees at least that they were outspoken in the expression of their feelings. Grief and vanity alike find a franker and more unrestrained utterance on these tombs than is usual in our Christian churchyards. Occasionally there was some very plain speaking about the deceased. Of one man we read that he was poor because he was too fond of good living:

'If he had known how to use moderation he would have been rich.' This epitaph concludes with a very feeble attempt at praise—the deceased was like Socrates in one thing, viz. that he knew well enough that he knew nothing.

But this candour on the part of the survivors was not common; as a rule, the epitaphs commemorate the virtues of model husbands, good wives, and dutiful children.

The praise of personal beauty holds a prominent place in many of these inscriptions. Over one Roman tomb the passers-by are asked to contribute the tribute of their sighs and tears: 'for Beauty's pattern perished when my Lyda died.' And, among the Elgin marbles of the British Museum, there is a remarkable epitaph which an Athenian husband, Ermeros by name, put up to Tryphera, 'his dear wedded wife,' who died at the age of twenty-five. Mention is made of her golden hair, her fair eyelids, her bright eyes, her sweet voice, her rosy lips, her ivory teeth, and then we are told that 'she had all kind of excellence in her lovely form.'

This may not seem to us to be in very good taste, and poor Ermeros's verses do not flow very smoothly, but we may hope he was sincere. Did he marry again, I wonder? Did he ever find again a lady with the bright eyes, and the golden hair, and all the rest of it? And, if so, did this second lady read the epitaph and point out the mistakes of metre, and try and make poor Ermeros ashamed of it?

Perhaps the most beautiful of all the epitaphs of this tender kind is one to a girl called Myia. It is so simple and direct and frank, that it might have been written by Catullus. I must not attempt to translate more than a few lines:

> The deep tomb holds you now unconscious.
> You can't get angry now and leap upon me, and show your white teeth in sweetly playful bites.

So the inscription ends, and one feels that though Myia was not what she ought to have been, though she had never worn the yellow bridal veil, yet there was one man who really loved her and was sincerely sorry when she died.

There is another interesting epitaph on a girl who, like Myia, had died young. She is represented as lamenting her hard lot.

'O pleasant light of day!' she begins, 'O pleasant joy of living!'

She tells that she had been a slave, and, with a not unpleasing play on words, she begs for blessings on the mistress who set her free and gave her a place in the family vault.

Then she continues, 'And you, O youth,

whom the Phrygian land brought forth—lament me not! Your kindnesses were pleasant to me while I lived, and now are pleasant to my ashes.'

These pagan mourners did not feel it necessary always to pretend to be resigned to the stroke of fate. We find on some tombs the utterance of the most poignant and unrestrained grief.

'When the grave engulphed you,' says one 'most unhappy father,' 'it took away my sole delight and cut the prop of my weak old age—so desolate and lonely [*i.e.* without any relations] do I live, that if the Manes had not forbidden I would have buried myself alive with you.'

Sometimes the bitter sense of injustice intensifies the grief of the poor mourner.

One 'most unhappy mother' commemorates the sad fact that in the space of four years she had lost three children, and then continues—'For ever and ever I am accursed with the Gods above and the Gods below.'

The following is from a slab of marble found at Athens:

> If there ever was a thoroughly good woman I am she—both in reference to righteousness and in all other ways. But being such I got no just return, neither from those from whom I expected it nor from Providence. Unhappy, I lie apart from my mother and father. I say nothing about what gratitude they showed me. Not they but my sons provided for me.

The high praise which this unfortunate lady is represented as claiming for herself leads us to hope that the epitaph was not her own composition, but the work of her sorrowing friends, perhaps of those sons 'who had provided for her.'

Again, where an Athenian youth assures the reader of his epitaph that he was a sculptor not inferior to Praxiteles, we may wonder whether that was the young gentleman's estimate of himself or the partial judgment of his fond friends.

A singer records that he 'was clever at all things, far the best of the Muses, most musical bird of all the Greeks.'

But this was probably the sentiment of his wife, for the epitaph goes on to say that she had had a splendid tomb put up to his memory in another place.

Still, it seems not to have been unusual for a man to compose his own epitaph. In some cases it is distinctly stated that this was done. Thus, the gentleman of Carthage, Vitalis by name, informs the public that he had his tomb made while he was alive, and that he used, as he went by, to read the verses he had inscribed on it. He says that every man of sense should follow his example. But this individual has very little to say for himself. He went over the whole province partly at the public expense. He hunted hares and afterwards foxes. Then he took to drinking, as he knew he wouldn't live long. One is sorry to think that Vitalis should have been anxious to hand down such a pitiful record; and then his grammar is bad and his spelling is bad, and there is a feeble attempt at something like a pun.

Still worse in grammar and spelling is the epitaph of Praecilius, a banker at Cirta. He, too, informs us that this inscription was got ready in his own lifetime, and there is a remarkable mixture of self-satisfaction and something like gratitude in what he says of himself:

'I was always wonderfully trustworthy and entirely truthful,' he remarks. 'I was sympathetic to everybody; whom have I not pitied anywhere?'

Then he states that he had a merry life, and a long one—'I celebrated a hundred happy birthdays; good fortune never failed me.'

Some curious and interesting facts about the deceased are occasionally recorded in their epitaphs. Thus an inscription tells us of a couple who died at the age of twenty-three at the same time from eating mushrooms. The husband, who was just two months older than the wife, earned his living by his needle; the wife was a weaver of wool. They were so poor that all their possessions only just sufficed to pay the expenses of the funeral pile. Their friends, who seem to have been poor too, made a collection amongst themselves and bought an urn, and hired a professional mourner, and the pontifex was good enough to give them a place for it free of charge.

Among the curiosities we may put the epitaphs on a tutor, who, with the two children he had in charge, perished in an earthquake, and on a little girl whom the 'hand of magic' — '*saga manus*' — 'snatched away' in some mysterious manner at the age of four.

'Parents, guard your children well,' is the advice given.

On some tombs we find it inscribed that the occupant was murdered by robbers. In one of these instances it was a lady who had met this cruel fate, and her sorrowing husband attributes it to her too profuse display of jewellery.

> If you love your wife [he says in her epitaph], don't give her too many bracelets. When she

> throws her arms round your neck and tells you she deserves some return for her goodness, give in a little to her in the way of dress, but refuse any glittering adornments. That's the way to keep off the robber and the gallant.

Again we have a little girl who dies at the age of five years seven months twenty-two days.

'While I lived I had plenty of fun,' she says, 'and everybody was fond of me.' Then she goes on to make a curious revelation. All through her life she had passed herself off as a boy. Her hair, which was red, had been cut short, and no one knew the secret of her sex except her mother and step-father.

A little boy who lived and died at Smyrna gives in halting verses a dreary catalogue of his complaints. 'Physicians were in vain,' and it is not easy to see what really ailed the little fellow.

> Then another very bad complaint got hold of me—much worse than the first complaint. For the sole of my foot had a dreadful wasting in the bones. Then my father's friends cut me open and took out the bones ;

and so it goes on in a very bald, disjointed sort of way. The poor boy recovered from that complaint ; but another ensued, and he died when a little more than four years old.

In this example, as in the last, the months and days were given, and this exactitude is quite usual. But we may class among the curiosities of the subject a certain epitaph of a Roman husband on his departed wife. He mentions the years, months, days, and even the hours that they had lived together, and then concludes :—'On the day of her death I gave the greatest thanks before Gods and men.'

I have not come upon any inscription so heartlessly frank as this. But a good many husbands seem a little formal in the expression of their grief. The Latin epitaphs especially tend rather to conventional phrases when the virtues of a wife are to be set forth ; 'Incomparable' is a favourite epithet. 'Of whom I make no complaint' strikes one as rather faint praise. 'De Qua N. D. A. N. Mortis' (*i.e.* 'De qua nullum dolorem accepi nisi mortis')—'who never grieved me except by her death'—is several times met with. It is significant, too, that a wife is often praised as 'a stayer at home,' or as having spun wool.

One husband remarks that his wife was not greedy. Another, 'She never scolded me.' 'We never had a quarrel' is often found—let us hope with a fair approximation to truth.

But in many cases a more genuine grief appears.

'You were a good wife,' one bereaved husband repeats more than once in a short inscription, as if he could find nothing else to say.

Another Roman epitaph gives a more fanciful and poetic expression to a husband's grief :

> I shall see you in dreams. I shall always repeat your sweet name, Flavia Nicopolis, so that the Manes can hear it. I shall often shed tears over your tomb. Might I see fresh flowers growing there, the amaranth or the violet, so that the passers-by might see the flowers, read the inscription, and say—'This flower is the body of Flavia Nicopolis.' "

Again, at Cagliari in Sardinia, there is a sepulchre in honour of a wife's devotion. She and her husband lived happily together for forty-two years. She shared his 'heavy misfortunes'—*i.e.* probably his exile to Sardinia. There he was ill, and like to die, and she prayed that she might die instead of him. She does die, and her husband recovers, and commemorates her devotion by building a sepulchre which strangers may take for a temple, and by inscriptions on the sides of it in Latin and Greek. In one of these he, too, begs that her bones may turn to flowers, and he goes on to give quite a long list of the kinds he wants to see.

In another epitaph a Roman wife expresses her deep grief for her husband's loss. 'We loved each other,' she says, 'as boy and girl. O most holy Manes,' she goes on, 'guard my dear husband well, be very kind to him, and let me see him in the hours of the night, and then come swiftly and sweetly where he is.'

The wish to see the departed in dreams is very often found. 'I should die could I not in fancy talk with you.'

Reference should be made, in this connection, to the beautiful epitaph which was discovered at Rome in the fifteenth century. It is perhaps the best known and most admired of all, and speaks of a woman 'whose parents called her Claudia. She loved her husband from her heart.'

It would be hard to do justice to this beautiful epitaph in an English version. There is, in the second line, a quite untranslatable play on words—'Sepulchrum hau pulchrum pulchrae feminae.'

Perhaps the most touching and pathetic of all epitaphs are on children. I give one of these in the exact form of the original :—

D. M.
TERENTIAE P. F. ASIATICAE.
P. TERENTIVS QVIETVS ALVMN
HIC JACET EXANIMVM
DILECTAE CORPVS ALVMNAE
QVAM PARCAE INSONTEM
MERSERVNT FVNERE ACERBO
NONDVM ETENIM VITAE DECIMVM
COMPLEVERAT ANNVM
ET MIHI CRVDELES TRISTEM
FECERE SENECTAM
NAMQVE EGO TE SEMPER
MEA ALVMNA ASIATICA QVAERAM
ADSIDVEQVE TVOS VOLTVS
FINGAM MIHI MERENS
ET SOLAMEN ERIT. QVOD TE
IAM IAMQVE VIDEBO
CVM VITA FVNCTVS IVNGAR TIS VMBRA FIGVRIS

This epitaph may be paraphrased as follows :—

> Here lies the lifeless body of my beloved foster-daughter, whom, innocent, the Fates overwhelmed with bitter death. For she had not yet completed the tenth year of her life. And to me the cruel Fates have made a sad old age. For, my dear child, I shall be always seeking for you. Continually shall I call up your face as I grieve, and it will be my consolation. Soon, soon shall I see you, when life is done, and I, as a shadow, shall again embrace thy form.

Perhaps still more interesting is an epitaph on a little boy who died suddenly at the age of two. His grandparents seem to have felt his loss keenly. ‘He would so delight his grandfather,’ we read, ‘with his little voice, that all the neighbours used to say, *O dulce Titu!* In the space of two years he lived as if he had lived sixteen years, for he had such intelligence as if he was hurrying to the grave.’

Then we have a little girl who died before she was eight years old, just when ‘her wanton playfulness was beginning to contrive sweet freaks of mischief. Had you lived,’ the inscription ends, ‘no girl in the world would have been more accomplished than you.’

Here I may mention the epitaph on a young actress who died at the age of fourteen, just after she had made a most successful *début*. She was ‘taught and trained almost by the hands of the Muses,’ but she had to die, and her professional ‘zeal, her trouble, her love, her praise, her honours are hushed and silent in ashes and in death.’

Very pathetic, too, is the simple expression of grief which, in slightly varying forms, is found on several tombs.

‘Well may’st thou rest, my son. Thy mother begs thee to take her to thee.’

A great variety of moral sentiments is to be found among these epitaphs. A very large number are inspired by the thought of the vanity of life and the certainty of death. Here are some specimens :

> Weary traveller who pass me by, though you may walk about for a long time, yet you will have to come here.
>
> At your birth the Fates gave you this home.
>
> Our wishes deceive us, time cheats us, and death mocks our cares. Anxious life is nothing.
>
> Nothing we do is of use. Glory is vain.
>
> Live joyfully. However thou livest, life is a gift of little worth.

This gloomy moralising was generally coupled with the advice to enjoy life while it lasted, and to get as much pleasure as possible. ‘Eat and drink and amuse yourself,’ appears on many a tomb as the sum and substance of what the dead man had to say. His whole system of philosophy was in those three words. The trite maxim ‘Live for the day—live for the hour’ is as frequent in these epitaphs as it is in the poems of Horace. The shallow sophistry of this teaching is contradicted by one of the inscriptions I have noticed. ‘Don’t live,’ this sensible individual says, ‘as if you were immortal, nor yet as if you had such a very brief space, or you may have the unpleasantness of an impecunious old age.’

Now and then the sentiment or the precept is of a loftier strain :

‘The gifts of the wise Muses are best.’

‘Live the rest of thy life nobly.’

But these moralisings, or immoralisings, are not more diverse than the views about death and the future life which are expressed or implied on these tombstones. Sometimes we find the flattest negation :

‘I was nothing. I am nothing.’

The following reminds one of the epitaphs which the late Professor Clifford composed for himself :

‘I was not. I am not. I grieve not.’

A Greek inscription found at Rome is still more outspoken in its denial of the current theological belief.

‘Traveller,’ it says, ‘don’t pass by this inscription, but stand, and hear, and learn something before you pass on. There is no boat to Hades, no boatman Charon, no dog Cerberus, but all the dead are bones and dust and nothing else.’

In direct opposition to these sceptical views stands one of the Latin epitaphs :—

‘If you think there are no Manes, enter into some compact’ (*i.e.* back up your opinion by a stake of some kind), ‘invoke them, and you will see.’

On the other hand, many epitaphs express the hope of some sort of reunion with the departed and the expectation of some reward for virtue :

‘I lived honourably. This now is of service to my remains.’

This sentiment is often repeated.

‘Special honours will be given you from Pluto and from Proserpine’ is the pious hope of an affectionate Athenian.

Some epitaphs express a bolder faith :

> Thou art not dead, but gone to a better land ; thou dwellest with full delight in the Isles of the Blest. There, in the Elysian plain, freed from all ills, thou rejoicest amid soft flowers. Cold hurts thee not, nor heat ; disease does not molest thee, hunger nor thirst can trouble thee.

This is from a Greek epitaph found at Rome. One dug up at Smyrna nearly two and a half centuries ago expresses a still more audacious confidence.

'The house of the blessed Gods holds me,' it says. 'I dwell with the blest in the starry heavens, and sit on golden thrones,' and so on through sixteen hexameter verses.

More of such citations might be given, and the inquiry naturally arises, what really was the popular belief among the Greeks and Romans as to a future life? But this question cannot be even briefly discussed at the end of a paper like this.

RE-MARRIAGE OF DIVORCED PERSONS.

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, July 10, 1891.

A REMARKABLE report has been presented by the Lower House of Convocation to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, on which many of their lordships are already pledged to act by their previous promise ; and the debate on the subject will be read in our columns this week with much interest.

The *gravamen* is that licences for marriage are issued from the courts and by the registrars of the Bishops to petitioners in divorce cases whose decree has been made absolute. It is true that they are the innocent parties, but by thus offering them facilities for being married quickly and privately, and with episcopal sanction, an approval is given by the authorities of the Church of England to connexions which have from primitive times been highly disapproved of by the Church, and in many cases forbidden. It goes of course without saying that no Bishop, or Archdeacon in his name, would grant any facility or the remotest favour to the re-marriage in church of the guilty party, and the clergyman who would perform such a marriage deserves to be inhibited by every Bishop on the bench, and to be "avoided by the whole multitude of the faithful." Whatever doubt might have existed in the mind of a Christian in ancient or modern times as to the second marriage of an innocent person after divorce, there has never been the slightest doubt as to the wickedness of the marriage of guilty persons.

Good Bishop Horsley in the House of Lords thus expressed himself on the subject : "The marriage of a divorced adulteress with an adulterer is itself adultery by the law of God ;" and "I must again assert that the cohabitation of a wife divorced for adultery with a new husband is adultery, by the Divine law, since I have for that opinion the plain decision of our Lord Himself."

We specially dwell upon this point, because it has been reported in the papers that Mr. Parnell has expressed his intention to have the civil marriage, which was lately performed by himself and Mrs. O'Shea before the Brighton Registrar, "consecrated" by the Church's blessing and prayers, as soon as he can find time to complete the necessary residence in some London parish. That he will be foiled in his profane endeavours we can have no doubt. A more disgraceful piece of legislation was never perpetrated than the Act of 1857, which compels a clergyman, in spite of the Bishop and the law of the Church, to open his church, or chapel, and allow it to be used for the marriage contracts of guilty divorced persons, provided they can obtain the services of some clergyman (who must, of course, be licensed to officiate in the diocese), whose principles are lax enough to be purchased for the occasion. Luckily in Mr. Parnell's case this Act is inoperative. He and his partner are already "married" by the civilian ; and so far as the law is concerned, this cannot be reiterated.

A clergyman would be liable to prosecution, as a National Registrar, if he re-entered, as a legal document on the actual page of the Church Registrar, a marriage which has already been registered, and in the case of Mr. Parnell no doubt a prosecutor would be forthcoming. On the other hand, the fact of his marriage having been already registered at once relieves any incumbent from the unpleasant predicament of having perchance to permit his church to be so used.

It is sad, nevertheless, to think that it should be possible to find a clergyman, who for filthy lucre would pronounce the benediction of the Holy Trinity, and of Christ Himself, upon those, of whom God's words spoken by Moses said :—"The adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death," and who under the New Law are both dead to the Church, and, unless they repent and forsake their sins, are cast out as withered branches. For the hardness and unbelief of men's hearts the State may choose to permit such polluted contracts; but the only words of comfort which the Church could pronounce to them are those of her Master, "Go and sin no more;" absolute separation from the paramour, and a future life of celibacy are the only moral reparations possible, and the only evidences of repentance. The mere performance of a sham ceremony, which rivets two persons in the bonds of iniquity, could only imprint upon their consciences more deeply the Divine anathema of the Judge, whom they have mocked, "Whosoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery."

There is no question that these second marriages of the divorced, whether guilty or innocent, have caused that fearful increase in adultery, which defiles the land and its newspapers. The judges tell us so in letters addressed to the public. Common sense confirms their opinion. Without it adultery would almost cease to exist. The hope of being remarried suggests the sin. Whilst a woman is innocent, she is tied to her husband; but lust and this wicked divorce law, both the progeny of Satan, suggest that she can liberate herself by crime, and acquire new privileges, heightened by the romance of passion into something as desirable as Heaven, but which will be proved hereafter to be bitter as the Apples of Sodom.

Statistics prove it. Before the Divorce Act of 1857 the average of divorces in England was four in the year. Four in the week would now fall far below the mark. When this wicked craze for easy divorces commenced in Prussia, whence it spread to us, the Protestant and Evangelical pastors combined in 1851 to refuse to pronounce a marriage benediction on those divorced for adultery. They were supported by the State in their recalcitrance, because the number of divorces had actually reached about 3,000 a year, or ten a day; and the result of their action was that applications for divorce fell at once by one-third, and has continued to decrease.

To return to the question of Bishops' licences being issued for the re-marriage of the petitioners who are sinned against, our readers will feel thankful that the committee have so strongly urged upon the Bishops absolutely to withdraw them. It is most expedient in any case, and in most cases it is a scandal. Lord Eldon solemnly declared that nine out of every ten cases of divorce were founded upon the most infamous collusion between husband and wife; and it is so still. The evidence is carefully withheld from the court, and it is difficult to get legal proof of it; but it is thoroughly well-known in the neighbourhood, where the parties have resided.

As to the Divine law, it is well to remember the fact that our Lord thrice repeated, without limitation, the words, "Whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery." He uses the same word each time, which means "loosed from the bond," and, in each case, the word stands absolutely by itself, and is not preceded by any definite article which can limit it to any particular case. The greatest of Greek scholars, Bishop Middleton, on *The Greek Article*, translates it, "*any one* that is divorced;" and he writes, "we must not render it *her* that is divorced (*i.e.*, for any particular cause, whether just or unjust), but generally, *any one* that is divorced for *whatsoever* cause." Winer also, in his *Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, writes to the same effect. Consequently, the case of the Christian wife is put beyond question. If she be innocent, she cannot make herself any party to the divorce *a vinculo;* and, if she be the guilty one, her re-marriage is prohibited as adultery. Thus St. Paul interprets our Lord's words in the Gospel, "Let not the wife depart (procure a divorce) from her husband. But and if she depart (procure a decree of separation) let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife." The only question left, therefore, is this: Is the husband, when placed in a certain predicament, permitted, in any case, to have a dissolution of alliance?

Canon Jeffreys, a very cautious and learned divine, does not believe that in primitive times there was any such thing as divorce *a vinculo,* from the chain of Matrimony, but only a separation from "bed and board." The Church of Rome also affirms that the marriage bond can never be dissolved, even by adultery (Council of Trent, Sess. xxiv. Canon 7); moreover, she pronounces an anathema on all who say she is in error in so affirming. Again, there is a long catena of early Fathers of the Church, both in East and West, who agree in so deciding, and who explain in another sense those words of our Lord in St. Matthew, which are altogether omitted in St. Mark and St. Luke, "save for fornication;" many of them suppose that our Lord simply meant to put on one side the case of πορνεία, which includes incest and adultery, and all the grosser forms of such sin, because the

Law of Moses (as well as that of many heathen nations) had already dealt with it by condemning those guilty of it to death. This, however, is a point too long for consideration. It is sad to think how Rome by the dispensations she has given to the rich and powerful, and by the various trivial causes for which she has decreed to annul the marriage contract, should have brought her own anathema on herself, and given reason to the civil powers to lightly esteem that bond, which is the source of domestic harmony and national righteousness. It is safest and best to accept the decree of the Council of Arles, as rightly interpreting the mind of Christ, and clearly expressing the voice of the Church, and with this decree the report of our committee are in exact accordance. Six hundred bishops (our own British bishops among them) assembled at Arles, A.D. 314. Some of those present wished to prohibit divorce even for adultery, as well as second marriage after it; but the Council having considered the case over-ruled the absolute prohibition, and resolved that whilst the innocent parties should be strongly advised to use every effort to refrain from a second marriage during the lifetime of their adulterous wives, yet that in their judgment the marriage was by our Lord's word permissible. The words of the 10th Canon of that Council are "Concerning those who convict their wives of adultery, and who are young, and are forbidden to marry, *it is decreed* that, *as far as possible,* advice should be given them not to take other wives during the lifetime of their wives, although they be proved adulterous." Those who may wish to pursue the subject more deeply we recommend to read Bishop Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons, No. 50, and another in the volume on Religious Restoration—both preached in Westminster Abbey.

THE DUTY OF PROGRESSIVE MEN AT A TIME OF THEOLOGICAL REACTION.

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS BROWN, D.D., OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, July 25, 1891.

EVER since men began to think, there have been parties among the thinkers. The simplest and broadest distinction between them is the one that divides those who are sure they know enough from those who are eager to learn more. Those who are thoroughly satisfied with what they know are apt to believe an attempt to learn more to be not only superfluous, but unsettling and dangerous. Those who are eager to know more may be agreed with their contented and motionless brethren on some fundamental matters, but they join issue at two points, and the more decidedly, the more alive they are to the lessons of history and the possibilties of the truth. For one thing, they cannot for a moment concede that truth at present not recognized is therefore unimportant; for another thing, they are convinced that the value of truth at present recognized depends largely on additions to the store made along the lines of growth. They hold that unless we keep on learning, the truth we already have loses its vitality. We cannot have life without the processes of life, and the processes of life mean expansion, longer reach, larger comprehension, firmer grasp. The progressive attitude is therefore sharply and of necessity opposed to the stationary and the reactionary. The two are always in conflict.

Human nature being as it is, these types are not always found in theoretical completeness. There are reactionaries with some progressive desires; there are progressives with something of the timidity and sluggishness of reactionaries. This makes the situation at a given time intricate, and right action difficult. Just now I am not concerned to help the reactionaries who would like to move on, but do not quite see the way. I am desirous only of setting down one or two rather obvious suggestions which, as a progressive, I make to myself, in the hope that they may be an encouragement to others like-minded. If I appear to assume too confidently that the progressive side is the right side in the conflict now going on in our Presbyterian Church, let it be remembered that I am not making a defense, or trying to gain sympathizers, but speaking to those who believe, as I myself do, that the progressive attitude is the only tenable one for a truth-lover, and who find their Church suddenly arraying itself, to all appearance, and by a great majority of its representatives, on the reactionary side. This is the situation. On a test question the General Assembly has declared itself against advance, and in favor of immobility; against breadth, and in favor of narrowness; against thoroughness, and in favor of superficiality; against the freedom of the spirit, and in favor of the bondage of the letter; against the power of the truth to win its own victories, and in favor of devices on various levels of human action to secure temporary advantage. Whether this was all intended and desired or not, this is the position of affairs as it presents itself to fair-minded progressive men. Under these conditions, the duty of such men must be serious and pressing. It appears to me to follow certain general lines, and if agreement can be had on these, there is great hope for the future, by as much as truth is stronger than its foes.

I. At a time of theological reaction, the first duty of men who desire to grow in the knowledge of the truth is *courage*. A large majority is doubtless a formidable opponent, but in matters of religious opinion a mere incidental majority settles nothing. It is not a thing to be really afraid of. A majority has no power, in the field of theology, beyond the intrinsic worth of the opinion it stands for. It may do much harm. It may injure the prospects of men. It may inflict deep pain. It may seem to put an end to human usefulness. It may threaten the prosperity of institutions. All these things, in the highest view, are by the way. The attainment of such ends as these is a triumph unworthy the thought of Christian people—an essentially unholy purpose, wherever and by whomsoever entertained. In the domain of truth these considerations have no pertinence. But these things exhaust the power of a majority, when the majority is wrong. No true belief is crushed by voting it down. No true teacher is really silenced by a gag. The wind is not held in check by shutting the doors. The sun is not extinguished by closing the blinds. All fresh truth has, in its time, had the majority against it. It has always conquered in the end. The Church of Christ is still in the minority on this earth. Preachers have no function more pressing than that of persuading men to shape their lives in resistance to the sweep of the current about them. So long as not all are perfectly wise, the same appeal is as needful in the sphere of thought as it is in the sphere of action. Those who desire to learn must have courage to press forward in the face of those who do not desire to learn, and do not desire that others shall learn. Progressive men are bound to be respectful to those who honestly differ, but they are also bound not to be overawed by them, and clamor ought to have no effect on them at all. Loyalty to truth is in question. Those who resist all change are sometimes inclined to think of themselves as the only loyalists. They do so without right. The greater loyalty is surely on the side of the greater confidence. The man who trembles for the truth does no honor to the truth. Repugnance to unfamiliar opinion is quite as likely to be prejudice as it is to be fidelity, and dread of advance is more nearly akin to fear lest the truth may not be strong enough to maintain itself than it is to reverence for truth's mandates. I am speaking in generalities. Let me say distinctly that progressive men in the Presbyterian Church have no right to be downcast at the great reactionary vote in the General Assembly. That vote has settled nothing, so far as the principles at stake are concerned. If it should prove—which I do not for a moment believe—that this vote means a commitment of the Presbyterian Church to the policy which was successful at the Assembly, this would signify, no doubt, weakening and disaster to the Presbyterian Church; but the kingdom of God is greater than any one Church, and would still grow and prevail. The duty and opportunity of all those who see in such a policy the attempt to put hindrances in the way of an advance into the regions of living truth which God himself, in his Word, in history, in external nature, in the soul of man, is opening to the inquirer, is to be bold, unfaltering, calm, and confident. It is time not for weakness, but for strength; not for hesitancy, but for decision; not for timid silence, but for valorous speech and vigorous action. Along such a path we shall march to real success.

II. The second duty of progressive men is *unity*. Independence tends to division. Each man who really thinks is tempted to follow his own course, regardless of his fellows. It is the strength of conservatism that it raises no questions. A conservative victory is won by standing still, and there are not so many ways of standing still as there are of going forward. The most conservative religious bodies in the world, such as the Roman Catholic Church, and still more the Greek Church, are the most solid and the most difficult to face, because, while they have their schools of thought,—their subordinate sections—they are still, in their large body, committed to standing by the traditional and opposing the unfamiliar. The strength of every reactionary influence lies in the fact that it wants nothing done. Passive unity is easier than active unity. But if the men of progress are to maintain themselves, and not be cut down one by one—especially if they cherish any desire of really influencing their Church and winning the victory, not for themselves alone, but for all their brethren and for the truth, they must work in concert.

The essential matters now under debate are two. One is the question of liberty, the other is the province of historical theology. The question of liberty is fundamental. There is no possibility of advance in theological thought, unless, within the limits of our common Christianity, and on the basis of our inherited creeds, there is freedom to inquire in what direction advance is possible, and freedom to attempt an advance along the way that promises an open passage to the resolution of difficulties, and the answer to the imperious questionings of the soul. With really disloyal thinking we are not concerned. Such thinking is not a matter of debate in the present crisis. No fairly intelligent man pretends that it is. Liberty for honest, reverent, Bible-loving, truth seeking inquiry is what we must have, if there is to be any larger appropriation of God's truth in any of its forms. Progressive men should see to it that they sink all minor differences in the determination to reserve such liberty for themselves and their kind at the present, and for the whole Church of the days to come.

The question of liberty is the formal question. The material question relates to historical theology—that is to say, to theological study conducted in the historic spirit. Insistence on this is simply insistence on the fact that whatever is historically true is to be attained by historic methods ; that historical lessons are to be learned only by historical study ; that nothing is dogmatically true which is historically false ; that it is far more fruitful to know what has been and what is, than to dogmatize about what must have been or must be, and that this greater fruitfulness is due to the greater truth of the method—its conformity to the reality of things ; that the faculties with which we are endowed are given to enable us to arrive at truth by this method, and that, while neither this nor any other mode of ordinary mental operation can ever for a moment stand in the place of that inward and abiding conviction which is the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of those who trustfully receive him, yet that this is the only possible mode of assuring ourselves of those historic elements in our faith that connect us with the past, make the Bible the revelation of God's dealings with mankind in grace, and the Church the perpetual witness to his power and his love. Applied to the record of events, the historic method brings us to the only real certainty we can secure, as to the reality of the events and the accuracy of the record. Applied to the record of teachings, the historic method brings us to the only real certainty we can attain as to the original setting, and therefore the original significance, of the teaching, and this offers the only sound basis for determining what is the significance of the teaching for ourselves in this later day. No method of study can be made a substitute for direct experience of divine power. This is not a sermon, and I am not trying to emphasize the personal and practical elements of religious certainty. I am speaking of the student's obligation to the truth held out to him, and of the way in which, by the intelligent use of his endowments, he is called upon to build the buttresses of the structure of truth which the Holy Spirit erects in the trusting soul, and to enrich its contents from the patient toil of the mind. The General Assembly has seemed to say, by its vote, that it will approve what it has been in the habit of thinking true, to the exclusion of that which the only possible method of real study points out as true. The issue, be it observed, is not about the way of salvation, the love of God, the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the opportunity of men—those great themes which lie underneath all Christian theology, and in regard to which the Church decided, last year, that it desired a new and fuller expression of its faith. It is about matters which belong chiefly in the field of historical inquiry, which depend upon facts not upon theories, which party votes cannot establish nor disprove. Liberty for a historical study of theology, and historical study of theology is the student's proper use of Christian liberty—these are the great matters upon which, as the ringing watchwords of the struggle, progressive men in this reactionary year ought heartily to unite, these are the ends which, in the name of the Church of the present, and still more in the name of the Church of the future, they ought to secure.

III. A third duty of progressive men in a time of reaction is *simplicity*. This involves frankness, and therefore depends upon courage. It involves direct perception of issues, and therefore works to unity. It signifies also straightforward thinking and dignified, self-respecting action in all the relations of theological life. It is impossible to trimmers, for trimmers are always more or less thoroughly, and more or less consciously, double-dealers. It means adherence to conviction, which need not be unconciliatory, but must be uncompromising. It means refusal to be threatened or cajoled or persuaded into acquiescence in any situation from which the barriers to progress have not been removed. It means sturdy resistance to the idea, often plausibly put forward, that one may secure a measure of peace by amiable concessions and still gain the ends which in the circumstances can be gained only through conflict. It means unwearying, simple fidelity to the men and the ideas about which the issue centers. Diplomacy is sometimes useful, but when reactionary men are carrying things with confidence and a high hand, diplomacy is out of place. Temporizers at such a time league themselves with the enemies of progress.

These are not divisive words. The party of progress has no desire to cut the Church in two, or to drive out of it those who differ. Nor does it desire to foment disputes within the Church. It does, indeed, long to have a comprehensive Church. It does believe that just as parties in a State check and educate each other, and the State is better off because they are there, just as it would be an unspeakable calamity if the defeated party in a political election were to attempt to withdraw and set up a new State, so the two tendencies of thought—the one holding primarily to the old, the other pushing forward eagerly to the new—have mutual functions and compensate each other, and together serve to make a better Church than one could be without either of them. The party of progress is never the party of intolerance. The sharp division has been made by those who would like to cast out the party of progress altogether. We are not willing to go. We insist on our right to stay—and not on sufferance, but as a part of the Church, equally entitled to all its privileges with every other part. We seek no quarrels. For myself, no man living shrinks more instinctively than I do from theological conflict, or feels more keenly its wastefulness and its incongruity with the higher ideals of the Church of Christ. But to avoid it now would be pusillanimous and faithless. The responsibility for it is not with those who express their honest, earnest apprehension of God's truth as revealed to men, but with those who try to intimidate, to repress, and to silence. We desire from the bottom of our hearts to work with all who are working for our Lord, in doctrine and in practice. The field of the world is white to the harvest. We long to have the Lord send forth well-equipped laborers into the harvest, and to labor in it ourselves, for him. We do not wish to spend our days in acrimonious and expensive debate. But Christian liberty and the attainment of fresh truth are conditions of the most effective service. We dare not allow ourselves to be deprived of the one nor held back from the other. We intend—I am sure that in this I may speak for the progressive men as a body—we intend to hold on our way, with courage and unity and simplicity, trusting in the God of truth, and leaving the results with him. Our firm belief is that he will so order the affairs of his Church—so stimulate those who are holding back, and so guide those who are pressing forward—that all his faithful ones will at last work shoulder to shoulder, heart beating with heart—all learning his lessons, all doing his will, all rejoicing in the variety and beauty and power of his kingdom on the earth, all entering at his summons, with clarified vision and the assurance of his grace, upon the larger lessons and more satisfying service of his kingdom in heaven.

DENOMINATIONAL HONESTY.

BY REV. W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D.

From *The New York Observer* (Undenom.), July 23, 1891.

Honesty is as important in theology as in trade and commerce, in a religious denomination as in a political party. Denominational honesty consists, first, in a clear unambiguous statement by a Church of its doctrinal belief; and, second, in an unequivocal and sincere adoption of it by its members. Both are requisite. If a particular denomination makes a loose statement of its belief which is capable of being construed in more than one sense, it is so far dishonest. If the creed of the denomination is well drawn and plain, but the membership subscribe to it with mental reservation and uncertainty, the denomination is dishonest. Honesty and sincerity are founded in clear conviction, and clear conviction is founded in the knowledge and acknowledgment of the truth. Heresy is a sin, and is classed by St. Paul among the "works of the flesh," along with "adultery, idolatry, murder, envy, and hatred," which exclude from the kingdom of God (Gal. 5 : 19–21). But heresy is not so great a sin as dishonesty. There may be honest heresy, but not honest dishonesty. A heretic who acknowledges that he is such, is a better man than he who pretends to be orthodox while subscribing to a creed which he dislikes, and which he saps under pretence of improving it and adapting it to the times. The honest heretic leaves the Church with which he no longer agrees; but the insincere subscriber remains within it in order to carry out his plan of demoralization.

The recent discussions in the Presbyterian Church have disclosed a difference of sentiment respecting the value of denominational honesty. Some of the secular newspapers charge intolerance and persecution upon Presbyterians, when departures from the Church creed are made the subject of judicial inquiry, and when individuals are required to conform their teaching from the pulpit or the chair to the denominational standards. In this way a part of the public press is conniving at denominational dishonesty. It would permit church officers to subscribe to a creed and derive the benefit of subscription in the form of reputation or emolument, while working against it. The creed of a Church is a solemn *contract* between church-members; even more so than the platform of a political party is between politicians. The immorality of violating a contract, a portion of the press does not seem to perceive when a religious denomination is concerned; but when a political party is the body to be affected by the breach of a pledge, none are sharper to see and none are more vehement to denounce the double-dealing. Should a faction arise within the Republican party, for example, and endeavor to alter the platform while still retaining the offices and salaries which they had secured by professing entire allegiance to the party, and promising to adopt the fundamental principles upon which it was founded and by which it is distinguished from the Democratic and other political parties, the charge of political dishonesty would ring through the whole rank and file of Republicanism. And when in the exercise of party discipline such factionists are turned out of office, and perhaps expelled from the political organization, if the cry of political heresy-hunting and persecution should be raised, the only answer vouchsafed by the Republican press would be that of scorn. When political dishonesty would claim toleration under cover of more "liberal" politics than the party is favoring, and would keep hold on party emoluments while advocating different sentiments from those of the mass of the party, it is curtly told that no one is compelled to join the Republican party or to remain in it, but that if a person does join it or remain in it, he must strictly adopt the party creed and make no attempts, secret or open, to alter it. That a Republican creed is for Republicans and no others, seems to be agreed on all sides; but that a Calvinistic creed is for Calvinists and no others, seems to be doubted by some.

The advocates of this view of a church creed and of creed subscription defend it upon the ground that it is proper to introduce improvements into a denominational creed; that the progress in physics and the spirit of the age require new statements of ethics and religion; and that this justifies the rise within a denomination of a party to make them and requires that the denomination quietly look on and see it done. This means, for illustration, that a Church adopting the historical eschatology is bound to allow such of its members as think restorationism is an improvement, to attempt the introduction of it into the articles of faith; or that a Church adopting the Wesleyan Arminianism is obligated to let any of its members who think unconditional election preferable to conditional, endeavor to Calvinize it by introducing this tenet. But should a corresponding liberty be demanded in the political sphere, it would meet with no favor. If in the heart of the Democratic party a school should arise who should claim the right, while still remaining in the party, to convert the body to Republican principles and measures, it would be told that the proper place for such a project is outside of Democracy, not within it. The right of the school to its own opinions would not be disputed, but the right to maintain and spread them with the funds and influence of the Democratic party would be denied. Democrats to a man would employ Luther's illustration in a similar instance: "We cannot prevent the birds from flying over our heads, but we can prevent them from making their nests in our hair." They would say to the malcontents, "We cannot prevent you from having your own peculiar views and do not desire to, but you have no right to ventilate them in our organization." Should the officers of the New York Custom-house or Post-office insist upon employing the salaries of these large institutions in transforming the politics of the party that placed them there, no cry of "persecution" would deter the party from immediately cashiering the whole set. And yet some of the secular press, and some also of the religious, contend that it is proper for subscribers to the Westminster

Confession to attempt a radical alteration of the denominational theology from within the denomination, and that it is suppressing free inquiry and the right of private judgment when seven-eighths of the Presbyterian Church, represented in its highest court, put a veto upon such an attempt.

In such ecclesiastical action there is no denial of the right of private judgment and of free inquiry into any system of doctrine whatever; only, it is claimed that those who dissent from the accepted creed of the denomination, if they are a minority, must go outside of it if they wish to construct a new scheme. The satisfied majority have the right of free inquiry and private judgment as well as the dissatisfied minority, and in the exercise of it stand by the creed as it is. Consequently, if discontent with the denominational standards arises in the minds of some, the proper place for their experiments in theologizing is within a new organization, and not in the old one which does not like their experiments. For this reason, from time immemorial, a religious denomination has always claimed the right to expel persons who are heretics as judged by the denominational creed. Only in this way can a denomination live and prosper. To throw down its doctrinal limits and convert itself into an unfenced common for all varieties of belief to ramble over, would not be useful either to society or religion.

But here the question arises, Who is to interpret the church creed, and say whether a proposed scheme of doctrine agrees with it, or contradicts it? Who is to say what is heresy from the standpoint of the denominational system? Certainly the denomination, and not the individual or school who is charged with heresy. This is a point of great importance. For those who are charged with heterodoxy commonly define orthodoxy in their own way, and claim not to have departed from what they regard as the essentials of the denominational system. The Arminian party in the Dort controversy contended that their modifications of doctrine were moderate and not antagonistic to the Reformed creeds. The Semi-Arians in the English Church asserted that their view of the Trinity did not differ essentially from that of the Nicene fathers. In each of these instances, the accused party complained that their statements were misapprehended by their opponents, and contended that the Church was mistaken in supposing that they could not be harmonized with the ancestral faith. The same assertion of being misunderstood and the same claim to be orthodox marks the existing trial in the Presbyterian Church.

Now in determining what is the true meaning of the phraseology in a proposed alteration of the denominational creed, and what will be the natural influence of it if it is allowed to be taught, it is plain that it is for the denomination to decide. In case of a difference in understanding and interpreting a written document containing proposed changes in the church creed, the rule of the common law applies, that the accused party cannot be the final judge of the meaning and tendency of his own document, but that the court must be. And the denomination is the court. There is no hardship or unfairness in this. A denominational judgment is very certain to be equitable, be it in Church or State. The history of politics shows that the decisions of the great political parties respecting the real meaning of their platforms, and the conformity of individuals with them, have generally been correct. And the history of religion also shows that the judgments of the great ecclesiastical bodies respecting the teachings of their standards and the agreement or disagreement of particular schools of theology with them have been accurate. Those individuals and parties who have been declared to be heterodox, politically or theologically, by the deliberate vote of the body to which they belonged, have generally been so. It is rare that the majority has been in error, and the minority in the right.

SEVEN BLESSINGS FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN.

BY REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, July 23, 1891.

THE Bible is a book that both drives and draws. It drives the sinner out of his perilous places and his refuges of lies; it portends that day of judgment when God will drive away into endless punishment the willful rejecters of His grace. But the chief power of the Bible and of Christianity is its drawing power. If its righteous threatenings are terrible, its invitations into the way of life are as winsome as divine love can make them. God holds out the most urgent arguments and attractive promises; it seems sometimes as if He went down on His knees to implore guilty men to become reconciled to Him and accept the offers of His love.

One of the most alluring group of promises to be found in the Bible is that which is contained in the closing verses of the Ninety-first Psalm. It is a passage seldom preached about, and thousands of Christians may pass by this nugget of pure gold without picking it up to examine it closely. Here are the seven blessings which God promises, not to everybody, but to those who love Him and serve Him. "Because he hath set his love upon Me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him on high because he hath known My name. He shall call upon Me and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honor him. With long life will I satisfy him and show him My salvation." All these precious blessings belong to those who set their hearts on God. It is love for love. What a wonderful paymaster God is! In return for what we give Him, He bestows things a million-fold richer. Brother, just look at what your Heavenly Father sends to you as distinctly as if your name were written on the parcel, and surely if there were in the post office a letter addressed to you and inclosing a check for a thousand dollars you would call quickly at the office for it.

1. The first blessing is *deliverance* in all the far-reaching signification of that word. You were down in that dark hole of guilt and bondage—"sold under sin"—just as Paul describes it in the seventh chapter to the Romans. Christ struck off your fetters. The hand pierced for you on the cross led you up out of the darkness into the daylight. "There is *no condemnation* to them" that Christ has delivered from the tyranny and the hell-deserts of sin. With this deliverance comes joy, such as the one feels who has been snatched out of a building in flames. All you did was to grasp hold of Christ by faith, and He brought you out and put the new song into your mouth.

2. The second blessing is *safety*. God sets every forgiven, redeemed soul upon a fortified rock where neither foe nor flood can destroy him. When I intrust my soul to Jesus He says to my soul, "I am thy salvation." There is no guesswork about the salvation of the genuine follower of Christ any more than there is about the rising of to-morrow's sun. It does not depend on my say or the say of any man. Only God can give the decisive and infallible assurance to us that we are *safe* for this world and for eternity. We open the ivory chamber of St. John's Gospel and read these glorious words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth My word and believeth Him that sent Me hath eternal life and cometh not into judgment." Again Jesus says in the same Gospel: "I know My sheep and they follow Me, and I give unto them eternal life and they shall never perish; and no one shall snatch them out of My hand." While we stay in His hands we are safe, and we have a right to feel all the serenity which Christ's ownership can inspire. Faith in Christ is the milk, assurance of salvation is the cream which rises on it. The richer the milk the more abundant will be the cream. Paul had the witness of the Spirit that he was Christ's. There was an inward conviction and an outward life; the two corresponded with each other. They both corresponded, also, to the Bible description of a true Christian. When a tree produces the leaves and blossoms of a peach and the fruit of a peach we are sure that it is a peach-tree. When a man feels the love of Jesus in his soul and strives to keep the commandments of Jesus every day he has the witness of the Holy Spirit that he is in Christ, and being in Christ he is safe. Go about your life work, my brother or sister, and do it thoroughly. God is responsible for the results and your reward. If I check my baggage to Boston, it is not mine till I get there; it belongs to the baggage-master. Surely I ought to have as strong an assurance that my soul is safe in Christ's keeping as I have that my trunk is safe in the charge of a railway official.

3. The third blessing is, "He shall call upon Me and I will *answer* him." Don't misunderstand this, and imagine that it gives you an unlimited key to God's storehouse to help yourself to all you fancy. His promises are not unconditional. He does not promise to cash every check you see fit to draw. All He agrees to do is to "*answer*" you, and the answer is not to be dictated by your selfish wish but by His wise and holy will. "Delight thyself in the Lord and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart." Then you and He are at one. He loves to bestow when we covet the *best* gifts. The right to decide what is for our real benefit and for His glory belongs to Him. I suppose that the richest blessing that prayer can bring is to bring us into entire submission to God and closer fellowship with God. A man stands in the bow of a boat and draws upon a line attached to the shore. His pull does not move the solid ground, but it does move his boat toward the land. Your faith cannot move the everlasting throne but it draws you closer to it, and the more your heart gets into har-

mony with God the more will you receive of what your heart desires. But I don't believe that God ever left a reasonable and unselfish prayer entirely *unanswered* yet, or that He ever will do so while the eternal throne stands.

4. The fourth blessing is God's presence in times of trouble. The promise of the Master is, "Lo! I am with you always;" and that means that when and where we need Him most He is sure to be with us. When the midnight tempest howls His form is on the billows, and the sight of Him keeps the heart calm and quiet. When the furnace grows hot He is beside us. I don't care much about my family physician when my pulse and appetite are all right; I want him when sickness begins to coat my tongue with fever. A Saviour that should desert me when I need Him most would be no Saviour for me. And trouble with Jesus at my side is a better condition for me than a dangerous state of prosperity without His eye on me and without my heart on Him.

5. "I will *honor* him" is the fifth promise to every genuine Christian. Conversion brings us into the royal family and gives us a right to all the privileges of the sons of God. We sit at the King's table and can feed on the royal dainties. Fashion may outlaw us, or "society" snub us, or injustice defame us, but God never turns His back on a righteous man. "Them that honor Me, I will honor." There will be a wonderful overturning and changing of places in the next world when the last shall be first and the first shall be last. Christ will be the "executor" of His last will and testament, and the heirs will all come into their magnificent inheritance.

6. Then, however long or short our earthly lives may be according to the calendar, we shall be "*satisfied.*" We live in deeds, not years, although it is actually true that keeping God's commandments has a tendency to promote health and long life. But whether the date on our tombstones mark an early or a late home-going every child of God lives long enough to fulfil the heavenly will, and after that to depart and be with Christ is far better.

7. The seven-fold jewel cluster of promises closes with this thrilling announcement, "I will show him My salvation." The real meaning of that passage is, as I understand it, that God will show us the inexpressible glories of heaven. He shall introduce His faithful children into these looked-for splendors and these longed-for joys. The only disappointment will be that heaven is infinitely beyond our most ecstatic expectations. What a seven-fold chorus of blessings are these with which that Ninety-first Psalm concludes! And if these are only a portion of the blessings which the religion of Jesus Christ can secure to us, who would not wish to be a Christian?

A CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH IMPERIOUS ECCLESIASTICISM.

BY JAMES M. KING, D.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, July 30, 1891.

As the representative of "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," an organization of patriotic citizens of differing religious and political beliefs, whose purpose is thus expressed, "to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common-school system and other American institutions, and to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds," we have had occasion and opportunity to study the question of Indian education, because it involved the questions both of the integrity of the American free common-school system of education and sectarian appropriations by the National Government, which we claim to be not only contrary to both the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution, but a perilous example in its influence upon the several States.

The crisis to which we refer is the dissolution of partnership between the United States Government and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, a dangerous partnership which never ought to have been consummated.

The action of General Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in severing official relations between the Indian Office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, is one of great significance, is worthy of careful study, and should receive the cordial indorsement of every American citizen. While it is true that the immediate occasion of the action was the unstinted abuse which had been heaped upon him by the bureau and its attaches, we are quite sure that the commissioner would never have resorted to so serious a measure even for the sake of administering a well-deserved punishment.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to what we regard as the real significance of this action. In the first place, it is a very proper assertion of the official dignity of the head of a great Government Bureau. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is charged with the responsibility of administering one of the most difficult offices of the Government. His duties are various, complex, delicate, and continuous. Unfortunately, the bureau over which he presides has been for many years regarded, whether justly or not, as corrupt, and it is very difficult, under the most favorable circumstances, for any commissioner, however honest or able, to administer it satisfactorily. During his administration of two years the present commissioner has shown himself honest, able, and fearless, and has won for himself the strong support of those best acquainted with his services.

When, notwithstanding this, he was persistently vilified and slandered by a bureau that was in almost daily official relations with his office, he had a right to say to that bureau, as he did, that instead of dealing with it, he would deal directly with the schools that it represented. In his official position he represents the people of America, and is under the highest obligation to uphold by all proper means the essential dignity which, for the time, in his sphere, he represents.

In the second place the action is significant as an assertion of the right of the Government, which represents the whole people, to transact public business with a view to public ends, and not at the dictation of an organization representing only a small minority. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which represents a respectable but small part of the American public, has been prosecuting its work by its own peculiar methods for more than twenty years, and has succeeded not only in diverting to its own treasury millions of dollars of public funds, but has grown insolent and dictatorial, and has attempted to control the Government in both its administrative and legislative functions. It is notorious that for some years past the Indian Office has been in its educational work largely controlled by the Catholic Bureau, and Commissioner Morgan in refusing to submit any longer to its dictation has simply performed a most obvious duty devolving upon him as a public servant.

That feature of the situation which is, perhaps, most obnoxious to the American people is, that the Catholic Bureau is a strictly sectarian institution, an ecclesiastical organization, representing a Church, one of the many Churches which enjoy the freedom of America, which, contrary to the whole spirit of our American institutions, insists arrogantly and offensively in asserting its right as an ecclesiastical body to control Government action. Its presence at the capital is a menace to Protestantism, awakens widespread unrest, and threatens serious religious controversies. Commissioner Morgan in refusing any longer to subject his office to this sectarian control has performed an act of patriotism.

Then, again, this action calls the attention of the American people very strongly to a most glaring misappropriation of public funds. The appropriation of public money for the maintenance of parochial schools among the Indians is violently antagonistic to the spirit of our Constitution, at variance with the genius of our institutions, and clearly opposed to public policy. While the action of the commissioner in severing relations with the bureau does not strike directly at sectarian appropriations, it indirectly forces that question to the front, and calls for its consideration. When it has been fully considered by the American people, there can be no doubt whatever that they will utterly condemn such misuse of public money.

It is worthy of special note that the commissioner, by his action, while continuing the support of Church schools at public expense as he must for the time, brings these schools more immediately under Government supervision, which will insure more harmonious relations between the Church and the Government schools, and will promote the work and efficiency of Indian education. It is well-known to many that in several respects the work of the schools under the control of the Catholic Bureau is very defective. The industrial training, particularly of boys, is almost wholly neglected, inferior teachers are employed, and the one essential work of training Indian pupils in the use of the English language is largely overlooked. Too much stress is laid upon the inculcation of sectarian dogmas, and too little upon the preparation of the Indian pupils for useful citizenship. The superiority of the Government schools in almost every respect for the ends for which such schools are organized is clearly apparent to every one acquainted with the facts.

And this leads to a final observation,

which is that the action of the commissioner has an important bearing upon the welfare of the public-school system of America. Since 1876 the Government has been engaged in the work of developing a system of Government industrial schools for the Indians, and while the work is still in its infancy some of these schools, as at Carlisle, Genoa, Lawrence, Chilocco, and Albuquerque, have been brought to a high degree of efficiency. During the two years of Commissioner Morgan's administration this work has received a great impulse, and more has been accomplished for it than ever before in the same length of time.

The one great purpose of these Government institutions is, by a system of moral, intellectual, and industrial training, carried on by persons specially chosen because of their fitness for the work, and in accordance with the most approved modern methods, entirely free from partisan or sectarian control, to fit the rising generation of American Indians for the responsibilities and privileges of freedom. The parochial schools represented by the Catholic Bureau, administered solely in the interests of the Church, making the Catholic catechism the substance of its instruction, have of necessity for their chief purpose the propagation of Catholicism. Not only are these two theories radically repugnant to each other, but they have been the source of much friction in the practical work of Indian education. Those representing the parochial schools and favoring their extension are jealous of the Government institutions, do all they dare to do to prevent or limit their success, and by threats and ecclesiastical penalties keep away from them Indian children over whom they have any control. If there is one matter which is dear to the American heart it is the success of the public-school system, and the course of Commissioner Morgan in asserting the right of the Government to establish and maintain for the Indians an efficient system of public schools, unsectarian and without partisan bias, is worthy of all praise.

We believe that when the American public fully understands the merits of this controversy they will well-nigh unanimously and heartily approve the action of the commissioner as wise, patriotic, and statesmanlike. The thoughtful and patriotic sentiment of our citizenship will sustain the President and the Secretary of the Interior in what we believe to be their determination to sustain their manly and trusted representative—the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

THE DENOMINATIONS AND CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

BY REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, August 6, 1891.

It is a fundamental principle of Christian endeavor that in no sense whatever does it seek to damage, or in the least to lessen, denominational fealty. Both in principle and method Christian endeavor does precisely otherwise. The whole trend and influence of Christian endeavor is to make, for example, a young Baptist Christian but the more thoroughly and devotedly a Baptist. That Christian endeavor sedulously helps rather than hinders denominational fealty was strikingly shown, both in announcement and action, in the recent marvellous Christian Endeavor Convention at Minneapolis.

IN ANNOUNCEMENT.

Here are some specimens. Every one of these announcements was unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed and ratified by the vast hosts of Christian endeavor, from twelve to fifteen thousand strong, and representing a constituency beyond a million, in convention assembled :

"This convention disclaims all authority over the local societies. The sole authority, under Christ, to which any Christian endeavor society should look, is the church of which it is a part."

"That we recommend that all our societies adopt the so-called 'revised pledge,' which contains the clause, 'I will make it the rule of my life to support my church in every way, especially by attending all her regular Sunday and midweek services, unless prevented by a reason which I can conscientiously give to my Saviour.'"

"To emphasize this underlying principle, we also recommend that each society submit important measures and proposed lists of officers to the pastor and the official members of the church for their approval."

"That we deem the employment of salaried State secretaries as unwise, as conflicting with the principle that each Christian endeavor society exists solely in and for its own church."

In the re-affirmation of Christian endeavor principles, these were declared to be among it principles—steadiest personal love and service for the local church in which a society of Christian endeavor exists. The church for each local society is the local church with which it is connected.

"Christian endeavor interposes no barriers to the denominational control of the young people, and rejoices when denominations suggest special lines of scriptural study, of denominational indoctrination, of denominational missionary activity, local, home, and foreign."

It is surely safe to ask if words could put the duty of denominational fealty more plainly or more strongly?

IN ACTION.

But not only did Christian endeavor announce such principles of denominational fealty, but acted on them; and its action was as thorough and unanimous as were its words.

It was a most surpassing and inspiring sight when all those thronging thousands stood up to declare that they would, each one of them, systematically give a definite sum for foreign missions, and that each one would also promise to seek to make every one of the million or more of Christian endeavorers do the same. But those pledging thousands by that solemn standing, promised also that all the moneys accruing thus to foreign missions, and the amount will be hundreds of thousands of dollars, should be sent to and disbursed by the foreign mission boards of their several denominations. The systematic beneficence of the members of Christian endeavor societies in our Baptist churches, will go to our beloved Missionary Union—precisely there, no other where.

But not only did Christian endeavor thus announce and act in this direction of denominational fealty, it acted in rigid accordance with this principle of denominational fealty, even though to so act, all these gathered thousands must annul an action just taken. I am sure in all my life, I never saw a grander or more noble sight. I do not think such sight and deed could be matched in all the Christian annals since the Spirit came at Pentecost. On Sunday afternoon, when the enormous hall was thronged to repletion, it was proposed that in the evening a collection be made, in which every member of Christian endeavor present should give five cents, no more, in order that Father Endeavor Clark might take a tour around the world in the interest of the Christian endeavor movement. Appeal was made to do this as an expression of affection for our beloved and honored president, Dr. Clark. It was one of those suggestions which in any convention, are likely to occur. It was lovingly, though unintentionally, sprung upon the convention without previous passage through the proper committee. Any one who knows how members of Christian endeavor love and honor Dr. Clark, can understand how, as with the swiftness of a lightning flash, all Christian endeavor hearts rush for the chance to tell their affection for him. The whole vast audience sprang to their feet to declare their assent to the proposition. But when, a few moments afterwards, it was explained to those hosts of consecrated and loving young Christians, that, inasmuch as Christian endeavor will not carry a semblance even of control over the young people which could be so much as imagined to clash with the right denominational control; that, therefore, Christian endeavor deems the employment of salaried State secretaries unwise because such method would conflict with the principle that each Christian endeavor society exists solely in and for its own church, and that the action of the convention just taken might be understood as conflicting with such fundamental Christian endeavor principle, then, even though in this case, President Clark, beloved and honored, was personally concerned, without a moment's hesitation, without so much as a hint of debate, those Christian endeavor hosts annulled the action they had just taken, and rising, every one of them, in every part of the vast hall, voted that such money, instead of being devoted to Father Clark, albeit it was to be used for helping on the Christian endeavor movement, should be given instead to the cause of missions, and should be sent to, and disbursed by the various mission boards and societies of the denominations there represented. It was a specimen of what our beloved Father Endeavor Clark calls "fidelity," inexpressibly splendid.

The truth is—oh! that brethren would see the truth—this Christian endeavor movement comes as the summer comes to each seed and shrub and tree in this garden and in that, not to make the bloom and verdure in each garden less, but to make it, in each garden, more. Oh, blessed and benignant movement of Christian endeavor! Let me write again what I have before so gladly said—written—the best thing that can come to any pastor is a Christian endeavor society in his own church.

THE OLD GOSPEL AND THE NEW.

BY REV. NEWMAN HALL.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 23, 1891.

THIS is an age of novelties. Science multiplies its revelations of Nature, Art its inventions, Commerce its methods, Industry its machineries, Philosophy its theories, Politics its plans. Many are eager for novelties in religion—modern thought, new light, theology adapted to the present day. They are weary of the old Gospel of Luther and Calvin, of Leighton and Baxter, of Wesley and Whitfield. Perhaps in many cases this may arise from lack of personal experience of the old Gospel, dislike of its claims, indifference to its privileges, and a worldly restlessness, which ever is saying: "Who will show us any good." But it may also simply mean weariness of the methods of a former generation; not of the truth itself, but of the mode of stating it. On the other hand, there are multitudes who more and more cling to the "old Gospel," and demand it as the chief essential in Christian preachers.

There can be but one Gospel. Is not this both old and new? St. John in his old age said: "Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the beginning." (1 John ii. 11.) In the preceding part of this letter he had stated the fundamental truths of the old Gospel—the Incarnation, universal depravity, the Propitiation for the sins of the world, deliverance from the guilt and power of sin by the blood of Christ, who is our "Advocate with the Father;" and *walking* in the light, as the test of *possessing* the light. This is the Gospel of which he says: "Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you." I do not in my old age announce any new discovery after many years of contemplation. I have no fresh development of the faith once delivered to the saints. It is the old truth taught by Christ himself, and by the Holy Ghost through the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, "the word which ye have heard from the beginning."

Yet he adds: "Again, a new commandment I write unto you." "Again," *i.e.*, viewed in another aspect, not something different, but the old word otherwise contemplated. The old, with which you are familiar, is newly stated, is again enforced, with new experience of its value, new proofs of its power.

The old Gospel is ever new to every soul to whom it is first proclaimed; new both to him who thus announces it, and to him who thus receives it. How new it is to the heathen world, and equally new to the ungodly around us when revealed by the Spirit of God. What a wondrous revelation, what a new existence! "From darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God!" They who may be tempted to weary of it as old have only to urge it on the attention of some one who is ignorant of it, and it will become new as he teaches it and watches the blind eye opening to behold it!

The old truth becomes new by fresh reception and experience. The Gospel presented is old, received is new; looked at outside is objectively old, received within is subjectively new; old as the storehouse, new as my daily supplies; old as the ancient fountain gushing from the rock as it did millenniums ago, new as the particular water which fills my empty cup to slake my returning thirst; old as the sun, new as the beams that each morning stream through my windows to rouse me from slumber and help me in the new work of the new day. The Tree of Life is the same which grew in Paradise, but it ever produces new fruit, old in nature and efficacy, new to me in the nourishment it yields, in the life it sustains. It will still be both old and new in the Paradise above. "It yieldeth its fruit every month, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations."

We have no other Gospel than the old, which Christ and the Apostles taught. But as St. Paul became "all things to all men," so new circumstances may require new adaptations—new modes of speech, new methods of work, additional evidences. We need no new theology, but ever new power from the Holy Ghost in new efforts to enforce the old. There is danger of young preachers thinking that to satisfy the demand for other novelty is the best evidence of intellectual power. But is it not easier to attract and please by novelties than so to preach the old truth that it is felt to be ever new? Is there not enough in the old Bible in passing events and existing conditions to furnish new illustrations and enforcements of old truths? Would not the soundest learning and the strongest intellect, sanctified by the Divine Spirit, be better employed and manifested in holding up to view, so that men must be arrested and interested, the reality of the old Gospel, than in multiplying gaudy pictures of our own fancy, lighted up by flashy squibs?

In following the example of the Apostles in preaching this old and new Gospel we are their true successors. We are more. St. John says: "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you that ye also may have *fellowship* with us." *Fellowship* is more than *fellow-ship;* it is partnership more than successorship. We have their Gospel, their Christ, their Holy Spirit. We work their higher miracles. Christ said, "Greater works than these shall ye do." It is a greater work to raise a soul from spiritual death to life eternal than to raise from the grave a dead body which will soon return to it. If thus we are actual partners with the Apostles and in preaching their old Gospel are daily witnessing such miracles, "God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ."

LONDON, ENGLAND.

A SABBATH IN THE LAND OF DYKES.

BY REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D.

From *The Illustrated Christian Weekly* (Undenom.), New York, August 1, 1891.

HOLLAND is a country full of interest to Americans. Here is the source and fountain-head of much of the science, theology and politics of our own country of federated States. Here a little Protestant republic defied the might of the Inquisition, of the Pope, of giant despotism, of Spain. Here the Puritan refugees from Great Britain found rest and shelter. Here the Pilgrims were mellowed and tempered for their mighty work in a new world. Here, too, was wrought out that prolonged experience in republican government, which both the first founders and the constitution-makers of our country utilized so well in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To no one country on earth is Christian civilization more indebted for invention, science, art, political wisdom, practical charity, learning, agriculture, engineering, and the manifold forces that make up modern life, than to Holland. Other nations, more territorially and otherwise materially great, have outstripped her in the race for glory, but the debt of the world to "Netherland," and the inspiring example of the Dutch Republic to America must never be forgotten.

One of our purposes in spending a month in the land lower than the sea level, was to pry into the secrets of the power, tenacity and seriousness of the Dutch character. We wanted to learn how and why a tiny country, about the size of one of our smaller States, was able at one time to lead Protestant Christendom in the assertion of intellectual freedom. How it came to pass that for two centuries this country maintained a republic, in which toleration and many of the principles which we count peculiarly American were paramount, was the purpose of our inquiry. How was it?

We cannot here, in one letter, tell all we think; but, besides considering the race traits with which God gifted the Germanic peoples, one thing must not be forgotten. Holland was one of the first countries in Europe to possess the Word of God in the common language of the people. In this respect the Netherlands excelled England, for many thousands of cheap Bibles were printed, read and studied beyond the dykes and drives of Holland before even a printing-press for the making of Bibles was set up in England. One of the striking features in Dutch churches to this day is the great number of large-print Bibles lying within easy reach of the men on the ledges in front of the pews, and the abundance of copies of the Word in the hands of all the people.

The roots, then, beneath the trunk and flower are many and deep. So let us look at one only, probably the tap-root of all. Let us turn away from steam and windmills, from electric motors and iron-clad cannon and Schiedam schnapps, and look at the Dutchman on the Lord's day at worship. "God made the sea, we made the land," is one of his ancient proverbs, so let us see Mynheer and his vrouw at rest from labor on land and water.

At Goes (pronounced and meaning, and having on its coat of arms, a goose), a little city of Zeeland, and containing only 6,500 people, we spend our second Sunday in Holland. Small as it is, it has most, if not all, the good things of a great municipality. All facilities of travel by land and water, canal and railway, homes for orphans and aged people, corn exchange, market square, fine old town hall with valuable archives, medieval relics in the form of old walls, moats and castle. The gentleman's social club is called "Society Free from Things Unpleasant."

At 9:30 A.M. our Dutch friend, who speaks English and knows pretty much all about the history of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, calls at our hotel. We go together with the crowd, into the great church, which was finished and consecrated seventy years before Columbus made landfall at Cat Island. What a mass of brick! What an area of glass! What vastness of nave and transept! What soaring of height! Why so immense an edifice, able to seat possibly ten thousand people? Wherefor this waste of the three dimensions? These questions we ask as we approach the mighty minster, and as we thread the stone floors, roughened by the sculptured heraldry and inscriptions. As we take our seat in one of the raised "banks" in the fraction of one-fourth of the edifice furnished with pews, we remember that medieval churches were built for the necessities of spectacular worship through processions and sensuous display. Our worship to-day must be through the powers of the soul; spiritual, not sensual; or, not at all. All now is bare of color. The columns and walls—once tinted and painted with pictures, and hung and decorated with embroidery, sculpture and symbols—are now whitewashed. Cold and empty of all that appeals to the senses, the glory of God and the communing soul of man must fill the house.

In throng the people, until possibly twelve hundred—to a Yankee parson used to counting his audience—have seated themselves. Here are scores of folks in the latest fashions of attire. Here also are probably two hundred in the local Zeeland costume of pretty lace caps, with gold ornaments of squares and balls projecting from the sides, bare arms, reddened by sunshine, and showing at the line of demarcation with the original white, how sensitive to light is the human skin. With exquisitely neat bodices, and cheeks as rosy as ripe apples, the Zeeland peasant girls come, as all the women and young folks come, with pocket or hand edition of Bible and psalms. for the men large octavo and folio Bibles lie on the board seat on the back of the pews, fronting each line of readers. The orphans, old ladies and old men from "the home," bronzed farmers, gentlemen in fine clothes, small boys—remarkably like some we wot of, in having occasional differences with the sexton—are all in their seats at 9:30. Then the door is not only shut, but locked. Formidable indeed is the key; a dreaded matter of detailed etiquette is departure from church during service.

On the dot, the fore-reader, who has a little desk fronting the pulpit, announces a psalm and reads it: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, oh God." The sentiment touches our heart, and lifts our soul at once in inspiration, though we cannot follow the dialect in which it is read. Then enters the dominie or minister, accompanied by the elders, the deacons being already in their places. The church officers all sit within the enclosed space especially reserved for them. Then follows the invocation.

Up to this moment, strange to say, a number of the men and boys, as well as the women, had their heads covered. It jarred upon our sense of reverence, caused disgust, and tempted us to believe the Dutch were irreverent, when we first saw them with hats on at church. Were they Quakers or boors?

Neither. Nor were they irreverent. The refrigerator-like churches, unwarmed even in Winter—etiquette or gallantry allowing the women to toast their soles over foot stoves, but compelling the men to suffer icy feet and invite pneumonia—is the cause. Of necessity, the men, especially the elders, get into the habit of keeping on their hats. Nevertheless, at the first word of prayer, all male heads are uncovered. Two hours of service in Winter is a great trial to a thin-blooded man. In the more modern church more sensible ideas prevail, and heat is used.

Grandly the mighty organ leads off when the psalm for singing is announced. The Protestant Dutch have no choirs, no precentor, no hymns of secular origin, only psalm singing and organ. Yet, how grandly the people sing! How rich is the congregational praise, very slow in measure, but hearty and full of enjoyment. It is the people, not the quartette, who are praising God.

Then follows the prayer, all reverently bowing or standing. I like the Dutch dominie's prayer, so warm, fervent, so like what we associate with Jacob and the angel. We could not understand the sentences, but we are sure that heart led heart before God.

The sermon was from Acts 17 : 28, "For we are also his offspring." It began at 10 A.M. At 10:30 we thought it was over, for the preacher announced two verses of a psalm, and in a moment or two the words of music and song were grandly rolling. Then the deacons, in black suits and gloves, manipulated skilfully the fishing-poles and scoop-nets, and gathered up the silver and copper. Evidently the Gospel fishers of men had long ago caught many fish with coins in the mouth. I watched carefully the right arms and heads of the congregation. There were no bows, no polite refusals, or sublime ignoring of the receptacle of alms. Here was "liberal" Christianity of the right sort. For centuries, as all records, art, and superb institutions in stone and brick in every city in Holland show, the Dutch have well cared for their poor, their orphans and their aged. A beggar in Holland is almost a contradiction in terms. I thought of Amsterdam's *one hundred* charitable institutions supported wholly by voluntary contributions. Practical charity is one of the strong points in the Dutch character.

But. what does this mean ? My Dutch friend, after dropping his coin, lays his purse out on the Bible-ledge before him. Why does he not put it in his pocket again ?

And, behold, the preacher again resumes his discourse.

Ah, now we see, remembering also former reading. The sermon is in two sections, double-decked, like the old war-ship we visited lately.

The first part is, in technical language, the *exordium remotum*, or, in common talk, the explanation. The subsequent procedure is the application.

Ah ! but the collection is also double-jointed. The first offering was for the poor. The second is for the church. Again, while the sermon proceeds—the dominie being in no way discomfited, nor the people—the fishing-poles, twelve feet long, reach the uttermost occupant of the longest pew. Soon the heavy weight at the distant end of the pole taxes the wrist strength of the deacon. Then, too, when the tribute of the church-officers who sit under the pulpit—my heart yearns with pity in sympathy with their craned necks—much skill is required to avoid hitting pulpit or preacher with the long poles. Meanwhile, the small boys and the sexton have infelicitous disagreements which afford a fine field for the study of facial variations. Except the cushioned chairs for the ladies, the seats for men and boys are of hard wood, with perpendicular backs, and the service nearly two hundred minutes long.

These are the shadows of fancy. We frankly avow them. They were but for a moment. What impressed us was the earnestness of faith, solidity and fruitfulness in practical works, tenacity to conviction, in our Dutch brethren. We met many others during our month's stay—the three varieties in the Reformed Church, the Established, the Christian Reformed (their organization dating from about 1845), and the Doleerende or Complainants ; The Free Evangelical or Congregational, and the Lutheran. We heard "Moody and Sankey's" tunes played on American organs and grandly and heartily sung in homes on Sunday evenings. On the title-page of the Dutch version we read, "42d edition." While there is much that may be criticised, not a little unbelief, indifference, and even aggressive infidelity, in Holland, the heart of the people is sound, and the secret of their quiet strength now, as in the past, is their faith in God. No one can understand or appreciate the Dutchman or his country, or his history, who forgets or ignores his religion. When one, too, remembers the long roll of Holland's one hundred thousand martyrs for faith and home-land, he can forgive what may seem the hardness of the Dutchman's creed and the baldness of his church service. We must know their religion, founded on the Bible, in order to understand the men who tamed the ocean, humbled Spain and turned a sandy morass into a flower-garden.

PILGRIMAGE TO THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS.

BY REV. DR. W. A. P. MARTIN, PRESIDENT OF THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE, PEKING, CHINA.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 23, 1891.

THE dust of the great sage reposes near the place of his birth, at Chiufu, in the Province of Shantung. For twenty-three centuries official offerings have been made to his bones ; and emperors, princes and scholars have repaired to his sepulchre to do him homage. Yet Chiufu is not to China what Mecca is to the Mohammedan world—not that Confucius is less esteemed than the founder of Islam, but because the pilgrimage to his tomb is not enjoined as a religious duty.

Ten days would have sufficed to carry me to the sacred spot ; but as I desired first to visit an ancient colony of Jews in the central Province of Honan, I spent four weeks wandering through the heart of China before arriving there, and forty-six before reaching Shanghai.

On the 2d of February, 1866, I set out from Peking on what was then a route unfrequented by Europeans ; and so few are the changes that have taken place in the interior of that most conservative of empires that my narrative, which is now for the first time given to the public, is as true to the life as if its date were of yesterday. No new canal has been excavated and no railway constructed in that region.

Kaifungfu, the abode of the Jewish colony, and one of the ancient capitals, lies 500 miles to the southwest of Peking. I engaged a cart, drawn by two mules, to carry me to that point in fifteen days.

Bestowing in it my baggage and a servant, I accompanied the vehicle on horseback, taking pains to keep in sight. As these carts have no springs, this mode of traveling by cart (*i.e.*, to keep on the outside) is to be commended, on the score of comfort, the chief drawback being exposure to wind, dust and cold. My driver being liable to a fine for loss of time, made it a point to rouse me from my bed before daylight and to continue on the road far into the night, sometimes covering a distance of forty-five or fifty miles. In the morning the cold was intense, and as I trotted along the icicles formed on my beard tinkled like a chime of bells. My servant, Yungan, "Everlasting Peace," who was snoring in the cart, had a better time; and this is so well understood by the Chinese that the master always takes the cart and puts his attendant on horseback.

In less than a week, my horse becoming lame, I sold him for a song and soon became reconciled to the snug birth of Yungan: taking long walks to stretch my stiffened limbs.

After a full month of this luxurious mode of motion, I had to descend to a humbler vehicle, because the road became so narrow that it would accommodate only one wheel. My wheelbarrow, the common conveyance in that region, was pushed by one man and drawn by another, the passengers balancing each other by sitting on opposite sides when they did not chose to walk.

Some of these barrows were fitted with mast and sail, so that when the wind was fair, the driver had nothing to do but hold the helm and "keep her steady."

Coming to a spur of the mountains, our ship of the plains had to be abandoned. I might have continued my journey on foot, as I had become accustomed to walking; but for the sake of expedition, I hired post horses and soon found myself at the banks of the grand canal. For comfort, commend me to a Chinese canal-boat. With no passengers and no noise, if you are not pressed for time, you have no occasion to wish for a smoky steamer or a rattling railway.

Except in the capital of Honan, I failed to find on this long journey anything that could be called a decent lodging place. The larger inns were caravanseries, like those of Western Asia, for the entertainment of camels; the smaller offering accommodations for foot passengers only. Not one of them is more than one story in height; and all have floors of earth with a divan of brick or wood which serves for bed at night and sofa by day. The guest provides his own bedding, and his food too, if he is nice on that point.

Many of them are kept by Mohammedans, as I learned, to my cost. One day, when my servant had set the table, and I was about to begin my breakfast with a slice of ham, the innkeeper appeared and implored me by all that was sacred to abstain from pork, for his sake, if not for my own. Sending it away, I addressed myself to a piece of corned beef. To this the host also objected, saying that the cow was a sacred beast; and it is so in Southern China. To spare his feelings, I said I would break my fast on bread and butter. "Not on butter, I beseech you," he exclaimed; "butter, too, is forbidden. My dishes have not been greased with it for five years." Swallowing my dry morsel with a cup of tea, I left the place, resolving the next time to ascertain the religious faith of my innkeeper before unpacking my cart.

In places the country had been swept by hordes of rebels, and it was scarcely possible to obtain for any price a chicken or an egg, while rice was out of the question, and coarse millet the only available food. In one place the inn was too poor to afford a candlestick; but by way of substitute the innkeeper showed me a trick which would have delighted the economical Diogenes. Cutting a turnip in half, he turned the flat side down, and thrusting into it a bamboo chopstick—"There's your candestick," he said, in a tone of triumph. My candle supported on that sharp stick gave as good a light as if it had rested on silver.

In most of these inns the whited walls serve the double purpose of ledger and visitors' book. The names of lodgers being scrawled there along with various effusions in prose or verse. In one was a pasquinade on "Lady Shen," the wife of the Prefect, who must have been a remarkable woman to exercise a "reign of terror over her husband, and through him, over the whole district." In another, I read in verse this sad confession of an opium smoker: "For a time I dallied with the lamp and pipe. Pleasure became disease and I sought in vain for antidotes. Now in poverty and pain I am glad to consume the ashes from another's pipe." The experience of the writer may be taken as that of a large class. At a third, I read a satire on a noted general, who had been beaten by the English, ending with the query,

"When he fights and runs away,
Is it fight, or is it play?"

To these rude verses add rude pictures, not always decent, and you have an idea of the embellishment of our wayside hotel.

Away from great cities the people always exhibited a friendly and unsuspicious disposition. "He speaks our language," they said; "if his whiskers were shaven off he would be as good-looking as we are." They asked me not from what country, but "from what Province" I came; and occasionally inquired whether I was Tartar or Chinese. In one case, the most learned man in a village, after talking with me in the evening, came back in the morning to say that he had not been able to find the name of my country in his Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. I inquired the date of the work, and found it was two hundred years old.

Arriving late and starting early, I usually escaped annoyance at the hands of the curious; but where I stopped for Sunday their curiosity knew no bounds. Gathering in immense throngs, they would force themselves into my inn, breaking down doors and windows, and were only appeased when I came out and placed myself on view. When I spoke to them on the truths of religion they listened respectfully; and they were always glad to get a few tracts, though but few were able to read them. One man said he had received a Bible from a foreigner, but remembered only one word of its contents; that, he said, was the name "Jehovah." That name, I told him, was the subject of the whole book; and it served me for an excellent text.

Except in the districts affected by rebellion the people appeared well fed and well dressed; and the absence of beggars testified to the comfort of their social condition. In one village every man wore two hats, one superposed upon the other. Before noting it down as a custom of the country I learned on inquiry that those people were coming home from a fair, where each had provided himself with a new hat for the New Year, to begin the next day.

The next day, they wore only the new one. The shops and gateways were adorned with new inscriptions on fresh red paper; everybody appeared in bright apparel, and the streets were thronged with people paying visits of ceremony. My innkeeper threw himself at my feet and wished me a happy new year, expecting and receiving the usual *cumshaw*. My servant performed the same ceremony, and then asked my permission to offer the prescribed token of respect to his mother. She was far away, but, turning his face toward Peking, he bowed his head to the earth nine times and wished her long life—a beautiful expression of that filial feeling which has created the worship of ancestors and made it a living force among the Chinese people.

In China a city always has a wall, and it is sometimes called a large city when it has very few inhabitants. After leaving Peking, I passed through more than twenty cities of four grades in political importance, Paoting and Kaifung, with a population of one and two hundred thousand respectively, being the largest. Isolated farmhouses were nowhere to be seen, the people all congregating in villages for convenience and mutual protection. The country is thus deprived of its beauty; and what Akenside calls "The mild dignity of private life," is practically unknown. Through the greater part of the region that came under my view, the population was sparse compared with that of the sea-coast, though soil is extremely fertile.

The cities were, in most cases, empty fortresses—their streets here and there spanned with honorary portals or *pailows*. One was inscribed to a father and son, who had both risen to the rank of Cabinet Minister; another recorded the fact that one family had for four generations given a viceroy to some Province of the Empire; a third was in honor of a widow, and bore the legend:

> "Her virtue was as pure, and her heart as cold, as ice."

This does not imply that chastity, "pure as the icicle that hangs on Dian's temple," is at all rare; it only means that Lady Ping, being left a widow at an early age, had resisted all temptations to marry again. Such portals are erected at private expense, but not without a license from the Emperor, which it costs something to obtain.

A similar portal spanning the roadway near a humble hamlet informs the passengers that "here were born six or seven famous kings of the Dynasty of Shang,"—*i.e.*, between three and four thousand years ago. It was amusing to note that the names of these kings were not given, but that of the public-spirited donor was duly recorded.

This reference to antiquity reminds me that I passed through a deserted city whose walls of baked clay were in good condition, though their facing of brick had been removed. It had been the capital of Chao, a small but warlike state in the feudal period, when Babylon was in her glory. Fancy could conjure up the armies that had issued from those silent gates; and the Chinese, who have a dread of ghosts, though they pass through it in daytime, always give it a wide berth at night.

Another spot of antiquarian interest was the town of Yangku, which is supposed to have been the site of an astronomical observatory in the reign of Yao, B.C. 2300.

At present it contains nothing suggestive of science.

Situated in the fertile plain, with a range of hills in shape like the arc of an ellipse to bring the *bungshni* influence to a focus, Chiufu, the goal of my travels, is deemed equally favorable for the birth or the burial of great men. Trade, it has none—living on the emoluments which a grateful nation has thought fit to confer on the greatest of its benefactors. A lineal descendant of the Sage has here his palace, with the title of duke and ample domains. Twelve of the nearer branches of the family, and sixty of the more remote, have likewise been provided for by imperial bounty.

The city is in the form of a rectangle, a mile in length by half a mile in breadth. One end of the inclosure is occupied by the Temple of Confucius, and the tomb, which is outside of the city, is connected with it by an avenue of stately cedars. This avenue bears the name of *Shentao*, the "spirit road," meaning that the spirit of the holy man, when invoked with proper rites, passes through these trees, back and forth, between tomb and temple. He has a temple in every city of the Empire, and his effigy is adored in every schoolroom in the land. His worship is accordingly not localized, and hence, but little zeal is shown to make the pilgrimage to this holy city. Yet the tomb and temple are both on such a scale of magnificence as to be worthy of an empire whose most sacred traditions are here embodied.

The temple is a vestibule to the tomb; and we shall visit that first.

On the last day of February, just as the sun was rising, I presented myself at the great gate; but as the porters saw me approaching they closed it in my face. That meant nothing more than a demand to be paid for opening it. A red card thrust through a crevice and a promise of *cumshaw* proved to be an "open sesame," and the great shrine stood full before me. The moon being at the full, a company of young men in rich attire were paying their devotions to the spirit of their illustrious ancestor. I was politely requested to amuse myself in some of the adjourning courts until the service should be completed. It was not long—chiefly consisting of the *kotow*, or nine prostrations, accompanied by a repetition of the titles of the Sage, in form, something like a hymn of praise.

In the meantime I entered a spacious court, paved with stone and studded with sculptured *pailows*, or honorary gateways that lead nowhere. From this, I passed into another of equal extent which had a little canal meandering through it, excavated for the sole purpose of giving occasion for a dozen or more beautiful bridges of shining marble. A third court contained a solemn grove of funereal cypress, some of the trees being of enormous size, and their deep shade being profoundly impressive. One of them, it is alleged, was planted by the Sage himself.

Beyond these, in another court, stood a forest of granite columns, range on range, each covered with laudatory inscriptions, and sheltered by a pretty pavilion. Each column had been erected by a sovereign of the Empire; and some of them, dating as far back as the dynasties of Han, Tsin and Wei (from fifteen to twenty centuries), were so defaced by time as to be illegible. The habit of taking printed copies from the stone had helped to obliterate the inscriptions. Some of later dynasties were more distinct. One by Chenghua (A.D. 1465) particularly attracted my attention. It styled Confucius the "Heart of Heaven," "without whom we should have been wrapped in one unbroken night." Expatiating on his virtues, it concludes with a hymn of praise.

The library was a wooden tower, four or five stories in height, in the finest style of Chinese architecture. Instead, however, of being filled with books, it is tenanted with innumerable pigeons, and if it ever contained books there is now no trace of them.

The central shrine, where I had seen the descendants of the Sage at their devotions, resembles the Confucian temple at Peking, but is vaster in its proportions. Like all of its kind, it consists of a long hall, rising in one story to a great height. In this, however, the front pillars are of stone instead of wood; and a more important difference is the fact that here the Sage and his principal disciples are represented by statues of stone, while elsewhere they have only tablets inscribed with their names. The statues are not the work of a Phidias; and the simple tablets, which even here are the chief objects of adoration, are far more impressive.

The tablet of Confucius bears on it the inscription: "The seat of the spirit of the most holy ancient Sage, Confucius."

Numerous inscriptions on gilded tablets, some fixed in the vaulted roof, others pendant from the ceiling, set forth the Sage's virtues in phrases like the following:

"The model teacher of all ages."
"With Heaven and Earth he forms a trinity."
"His virtue is equal to that of Heaven and Earth."
"The force of Nature could no farther go."

"Of all the sages he was the grand consummation."
"His holy soul was sent down from Heaven."

The tablets of seventy-two, out of his three thousand disciples, who became conspicuous for wisdom and virtue are ranged on either hand, each in a separate shrine, while in niches, around the walls, are to be seen the tablets of some of his eminent followers of later times, all participating in the cloud of incense offered to the great Master.

Attached to this building, are several others less conspicuous, one of which is devoted to the memory of the father of Confucius, of whom nothing is known except that he died too early to influence the character of his famous son. A shrine to the "Holy Mother" pays deserved honor to the woman who trained and taught China's teacher. His ancestors for five generations all have places of honor, and wear the posthumous title of prince, though in life they were poor and unknown.

The most curious of these collateral shrines is one of the "Holy Lady, the wife of the Sage." As she was divorced, it suggests the dilemma that if put away for cause, she does not deserve a shrine; if without cause, the Sage was not so perfect as the world supposes.

A well, where the Sage is said to have drawn water, and a hall filled with portraits on stone of himself and his disciples, were the last objects of interest that I had time to inspect.

On my way to the city gate I noticed a gilded inscription on a marble arch at the entrance of a street, informing the passer-by that "This is Poverty Lane, where Yenhui, the favorite disciple, formerly dwelt." He died young, but left behind him the invaluable example of love of study and contempt for luxury.

Beyond the gate, pursuing for half a mile the graceful curves of the "Spirit Road," I came to a column marking a limit where riders are required to dismount and proceed on foot to the entrance of the *campo santo*. The wall of the holy ground incloses a space of about ten acres, shaded by great trees and filled with tombs of the Sage's descendants, excepting an area of two or three acres on the side facing the city, which is occupied by a mound so large that it might be described as a hill. This is the Sage's tomb. The earth of which it is formed is a more enduring monument than brick or stone, and a few spadefuls are added every year, so that with the flight of time the hillock may yet become a mountain. A paved court and a granite column comprise all that art has done in the way of embellishment. On one side an old tree leaning on crutches informs you that it was planted by the hand of Teze Kung, one of the Sage's personal followers; and near it a tablet marks the site of lodge in which this devoted disciple passed six years, watching by the grave of his master. The very grass that grows within this inclosure is sacred, and supposed to be endowed with powers of divination much beyond that which we attribute to witch hazel. It gives rise to a brisk trade which I encouraged by buying a bundle of stalks (forty-nine in number—7 × 7), not that I cared to learn from them the secrets of futurity, but to prove that I had won the honors of a *hadji*.

Though he has a temple in every city, Confucius is not deified. The honors paid to him are purely commemorative, and he is never invoked in the character of a tutelar divinity. The homage rendered to him is not, therefore, a direct obstacle to the acceptance of the Christian Faith.

THEOLOGY OF PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S "GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD."

(*A paper read to the Presbyterian Ministerial Association of New York.*)

BY REV. W. T. SABINE, D.D.

From *The Episcopal Recorder* (Ref. Epis.), Philadelphia, July 30, 1891.

STANDARDS of doctrine, systems of religious truth have been much ignored, and made light of in our time. Catechetical training has largely fallen in desuetude in the last five decades.

This being so, it may be questioned whether believers are as well armed as at some other periods to detect and resist the wiles of the enemies of truth.

A book of half truths, distorted views of the Gospel, insidious doctrinal errors, put upon the New England market to-day, would find proportionately much readier acceptance and wider influence, than it could possibly have done fifty, much more one hundred years ago. And what is true of New England in this respect, is measurably true of the rest of the country.

If this be so, the mere saying of it is a call to all who love God's Word in its integrity to be on the alert, to have an eye open upon what assume to be religious issues of the press, to detect and expose such of its teachings as may be defective, erroneous and dangerous to the spiritual life, and to put

Christian people generally upon their guard against them, even at risk of being charged with "*heresy-hunting.*" To this they will be prompted the more earnestly, the graver the error and the greater the peril, and extent of its probable influence.

True, the publication at the head of this article is not a theological treatise, and yet it has a theology, a statement which might be made of hosts of books, whose writers count themselves quite free from any theological bias, and who, perhaps, are so thought by their readers.

All men, however, have their beliefs, even those who pride themselves on being creedless, and who would be shocked to be told that after all, and in spite of themselves, they have a creed; and these beliefs color thought and action everywhere; speak out in their writings, no less than their deeds.

This must be doubly true of books whose purpose is religious, and which run out along religious lines.

Wide attention has been called to the brochure in question, and it has gained an immense circulation. Written in a clear and fascinating style, for its author is a master in English, gotten up in the newest, most dainty and attractive dress, good type and pretty bindings, vigorously pushed upon the market at all points by publication houses, bookstores, news stands, hotel and railroad salesmen, far and wide; commending itself largely in the treatment of a very noble theme to the religion of the natural heart; it has found hosts on hosts of readers, and won its way to wide popularity and influence.

Many Christians avowedly evangelical have put this tractate, with warm commendations of it as a most remarkable and valuable presentation of truth, into the hands of fellow-believers. Others of keener spiritual insight have been alarmed by its rapid diffusion and extended acceptance.

An eminent teacher in the American pulpit has so far appreciated and recognized the justice of this concern, as to issue what clearly appears, without indeed at all assuming to be so, a reply to its position.

We certainly cannot afford to be uncognizant of, or indifferent to a treatise thus heralded, and likely to be influential for good or evil upon the beliefs of so many hearts and lives.

The theology of "THE GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD," is objectionable rather for what it lacks, than for that which it contains. Its sins are largely sins of omission. It says many excellent things, and says them admirably well, but what it forgets or neglects to say (and which it is essential should be said in such connections, as being vital and fundamental to all true spiritual living), makes it dangerously misleading to those who are uninstructed, or but half instructed in the things of God.

For one thing, this very popular little treatise nowhere makes statement of, or even seems to assume the guilt, condemnation and helplessness of human nature in its fallen state. There may be here and there a sentence, which faintly appears to point in this direction, but the author certainly nowhere explicitly avows belief in it. And after perusing these pages, we might be tempted even to doubt his recognition of this fundamental truth.

He indeed says, pp. 35–36: "Hence it is not enough to deal with the Temper. We must go to the source and change the inmost nature, and the angry humors will die away of themselves. Christ, the Spirit of Christ, interpenetrating ours, sweetens, purifies, transforms all. This only can eradicate what is wrong, work a chemical change, renovate and regenerate, and rehabilitate the inner man. Will-power does not change men. Time does not change men. Christ does. Therefore, 'Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.'"

These terms assume, as indeed the whole treatise does, the imperfection of human nature. We are not what we might be, and may become, by Christ's infusion into the inmost nature of His Spirit; but it is loose language at the best, and by no means a clear and effective statement of the truth which underlies the biblical theology, that man is very far gone from original righteousness, and helpless for recovery.

We conceive that Unitarians of the school of Channing and Peabody, and others of much looser views, would assent to every word of this quoted statement. Indeed, multitudes of men who quite scout what hitherto has passed for orthodox theology, might accept, with slight alteration, the book as a whole.

The failure to assert, or even clearly to imply this vital and fundamental doctrine, is a very serious and perilous defect in a treatise like this, put forth in times like these.

These pages seem to teach, that the way in which men may become what they ought to be (we understand the author to be writing not to believers alone, but to men in general) is by the cultivation of love, love to their Maker, love to their fellows.

"The supreme work," says Mr. Drummond, "to which we need to address ourselves in this world, is to learn love. Is life not full of opportunities for learning love? Every man and woman every day has a thousand of them. The world is not a play-ground; it is a school-room. Life is not a holiday, but an education. And the one eternal lesson for us all is how better we can love. What makes a man a good cricketer? Practice. What makes a man a good artist, a good sculptor, a good musician? Practice. What makes a man a good linguist, a good stenographer? Practice. What makes a man a good man? Practice. Nothing else. And the constituents of this great character are only to be built up by ceaseless practice."

Now if the guilt and depravity of human nature had been set forth, if the necessity of conviction of sin, of pardon, of reconciliation with a justly offended God had been emphasized, or in any way distinctly implied in these pages, all this might have passed without stricture, but since they are not so stated, nor do they appear to be even so assumed, what is all this but the teaching of a mere morality. Where is the Gospel in it? the Gospel that man needs, the Gospel which offers renewal of his nature, transformation of his will, divine empowering of him to do that which (when he truly comes to know himself) he knows he never can do by himself? It sounds like mockery, a bidding of him to do the impossible!

Cognate to this, indeed implied in, and necessarily going along with it, is the omission in these pages, of any recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life to the soul.

Mr. Drummond is writing of love, exalting, glorifying love, insisting with much earnestness and eloquence that men shall prize love as "the greatest thing in the world," acquire, cherish and exercise the power of loving.

Paul wrote to the Galatians v. 22, "The fruit of the *Spirit* is love." It would seem almost impossible that in treating such a theme, mention of this should be omitted, yet never a word upon these pages to indicate that love is to be had only as a result of the Divine operation of the Spirit on the soul.

Mr. Drummond emphasizes the point that it is the contemplation of Divine love which is to foster human love. "Because He loved us, we love, we love everybody. Our heart is slowly changed. Contemplate the love of Christ, and you will love."

But Paul says, Romans v. 5, The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. Yet so completely is the relation of the Spirit ignored, we might read this treatise which so magnifies and glorifies love from end to end, and if we had never learned it from some other source, rise from its perusal to say with certain disciples of Ephesus, "we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost!" And this is again a very radical and decided defect.

As for the Doctrine of Atonement, the expiation of sin by the dying of the Lord Jesus, that great central truth which lies at Christianity's heart, and with which chapter after chapter of the New Testament is blood red, there is neither word nor implication of it here.

The men who stigmatize the truth on this great subject as "the butcher theory," and deplore "the religion of the shambles," may read these pages without shiver or qualm. They will find nothing to disturb, nothing to offend them.

It will be said, perhaps, in reply to these strictures, that no one book, certainly no brief treatise like this, can be expected to enter upon a discussion of these profound and serious tenets of Christian faith, and that it is unreasonable to blame it for its failure to allude to them.

Our answer is an illustration. If we were writing to England to urge the cultivation of some fruit indigenous to our American soil, and having descanted at length upon its taste and nutritiousness, its beauty of form and color, and economic value, should say scarce a word of the place where it is obtained, of the proper method of its culture, of the soil and the climate, and the sort of attention essential to its thrifty growth, our effort would be radically defective, and practically useless—almost absurd.

The case is in point. When Professor Drummond eulogizes Christian love, and calls us to its cultivation, his exhortations are worthless if he tells us nothing of its origination and the conditions indispensable to its production, life and development.

The defects of this treatise, as so far considered, have been negative. We have dealt with its omissions. But a positive charge must be brought against it, namely, its iterated and reiterated depreciation of the root grace, the mother grace, the grace of all graces—Christian faith.

Mr. Drummond opens his book with a slur upon faith. "We have been accustomed to be told that the greatest thing in the religious world is faith. That great word has been the key-note for centuries of the popular religion; and we have easily learned to look upon it as the greatest thing in the world. Well, we are wrong. If we have been told that, we may miss the mark."

"Yet we have certainly been told," says Dr. James H. Brookes, "by the Holy Ghost, that by faith we are saved, by faith we stand, by faith we walk, by faith we overcome the world, by faith the heart is purified, that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, and that without faith it is impossible to please God."

The apostle John appears to differ in this from Professor Drummond. Closing the last Gospel, he declares, "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." The production and nurture of faith in Jesus was the first, the permanent object of the Gospel, this inspired author affirms.

It was written, not that ye might be amiable, generous, helpful, self-sacrificing, loving—these indeed by and by, and farther on—but first and foremost, that ye might believe, accept, rest upon Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.

The philosopher and the humanitarian tell us that "love is the greatest thing in the world." The Gospel of the infallible God declares, "These things are written that ye might believe."

"This word believe," says Dr. Brookes, "at which the Professor almost sneers, occurs one hundred times in the Gospel of John alone, and salvation is never represented as obtained by *loving*, which is impossible to the unregenerate soul, but by believing."

Love! oh yes. Rejoicing! oh yes. Amiability! devotion! self-sacrifice! oh yes! All these as the fruits, but not as the roots, for the fruit can never be the root. Nay, nor be before or without the root.

Faith is primary, initial, underlying mental condition, as Dr. Gordon, of Boston, has so beautifully shown by a scriptural analysis in his admirable little pamphlet, "The Primacy of Faith."

Faith in Jesus is the first, the eldest born of all the graces. More than that, it is the mother grace, of which all others are begotten in the soul, and without which none of them could be.

One may more admire the daughters, think love and hope and joy and unselfish devotion to the good of others, fairer, sweeter, more beautiful than their mother, faith; but after all the mother is the mother, and must be accorded her own primacy, her queenly and right royal precedence as the first, the indispensable, the begetting, the necessarily conditional grace, and faith, not hope, joy, sacrifice, love, but the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, the very key-note of the New Testament, is in reality the greatest thing in the world.

To all this, reply will be made in Paul's words, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, "Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity," and we shall be asked if this is not the conclusive settlement of the matter.

We answer, undoubtedly, on the principle enunciated, 2 Cor. iii. 11, "For if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious." Love is the greatest, the surviving, the immortal grace. Faith yields to sight and is not. Hope disappears in fruition and is not. Love lives on forever, being in this sense certainly the pre-eminent grace.

In the matter of Christian attainment, also, it is the crowning, the surpassing grace, the top and jewel of them all.

But observe. This is no promiscuous saying flung out for all the world.

Paul is writing to believers. He expressly addresses "the Church of God, which is at Corinth, them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all others that call upon the name of Jesus Christ."

To these, and none others, he here speaks.

Paul did not say this on Mars Hill and to Athenian philosophers.

This was not the truth needed on Mars Hill, and it would not have been wise or safe to say it there. So neither, and for the same reason, did Paul say it to heathen sailors on the decks of the Alexandrian corn ships. It might have misled these men to their spiritual ruin.

He wrote it alone to those who could understand and appreciate it, who already had faith, and knew somewhat of its essentially fundamental relation as antecedent to and conditional for Christian love.

Truth has its applications and occasions. There are necessary and important physical truths which we carefully keep from our children till they have reached the age of discretion.

So there are spiritual truths, which are as meat to milk, and are only to be pressed upon those who have got through the stage of spiritual infancy, and come at least to know that faith is first of all and root of all.

Said a venerable clergyman not long since: "I know of a man, wealthy, moral, influential, but a despiser of the Gospel of Christ, of God's day and Word, who, on hearing the title of this book, at once said in effect, 'That's the religion for me! Love is everything—to love our neighbors as ourselves is all!"

It is easy to see how men thus minded will wrest to their own destruction this glorious truth, if it be flung broadcast, without qualification, limitation, explanation, on the world. They will surely find it another gospel than that of Paul—of Christ.

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

BY REV. S. F. HOTCHKIN.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia, August 1, 1891.

THERE is a majestic silence in Holy Scripture. A miracle, which in a worldly narrative would be introduced with much preparation, and dismissed with pages of comment, stands alone in its grandeur in the Gospels. The quiet working of God is like that of his servant the sun, or the noiseless process of vegetation.

After our blessed Lord left this earth, his words seemed still to echo in the East, and the footsteps of his apostles resounded. That mystic land knew a devout life to which the busy toiling West is too often a stranger. The American thinks that common sense and logic must guide his way; the Easterner, in his warm climate and leisure, was given to meditation.

A sanctified imagination is, however, supplied in Holy Scripture with much food. The vineyard of Isaiah, and the spiritual flowers and banquet of Solomon's Song, and the "new heaven" and "new earth," with its gold and pearls, in the Revelation of St. John, are but a part of this kind of teaching. The miracle-play and oratorio, and much religious poetry, and many hymns, fall under the same category.

The idea of the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels was to fill up the gaps in the divine narrative, and they took apostolic names, according to the fashion of their age, to give credit to their spiritual romances. The object of this paper is simply to indicate some beauties and defects in these writings, without entering on the question of their orthodoxy. In the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, dragons are represented adoring the infant Saviour, while lions and panthers worship him as he goes to Egypt. These beasts guide Joseph and Mary, bowing their heads, and showing submission by wagging their tails. Jesus encourages his mother in her first fear of the beasts. Lions walk with oxen and asses, and are tame among sheep and rams, according to Isaiah's prophecy. The lions direct the path of the oxen drawing the provision wagon. A palm-tree bends at Christ's command to give Mary fruit; and opening a vein of water at its root, a spring of clear and sparkling water flows for the company and cattle, at another command of Jesus. Jesus gives the palm the privilege of having one of its branches carried to the Paradise of God, and there planted, that those who conquer may have the palm of victory. An angel of the Lord takes a branch, and flies heavenward with it.

Jesus is represented as miraculously shortening the way to Egypt; so that when Joseph complains of the boiling heat, and wishes to rest in some seashore city, one day does the work of thirty, and the mountains and cities of Egypt are soon seen. These attempts to paint animate and inanimate nature as obedient to Christ are above the mythological dreams, or the legends of *Gesta Romanorum*, and evince a desire in their solemn style to glorify God. The Egyptian idols fall before the infant Jesus, and are broken, and lie on their shattered faces, as Isaiah had prophesied the moving of the idols of Egypt. The governor of a city containing an idol temple adores Jesus, and bids his army do likewise. The story of the boy Jesus making sparrows of clay, and causing them to fly, is another effort to show his power over the world of his own creation. The wonderful reticence of the true Gospels, in condensing the life of Christ for a third of a century into a few pages, contrasts strongly with the poor taste and incongruity of the Apocryphal Gospels, though there are brilliant exceptions. The Apocryphal Gospels, it has been said, display what kind of a gospel uninspired man would indite.

The precocity of Jesus leads him to instruct his teacher Levi about the meaning of the Hebrew alphabet. Longfellow has beautifully drawn out these stories in his "Golden Legend," making Christ say,

> "What Aleph means I fain would know,
> Before I any farther go!"

The child Jesus is represented as healing the sick and raising the dead. He sows wheat, which multiplies exceedingly, and he gives it to the poor. The Jordan divides for his passage.

The account of the carpenter Joseph making ox-yokes of wood, "and plows, and implements of husbandry, and wooden beds," may have come down by tradition. A piece of wood cut too short is lengthened by Jesus. At school the Divine Child reads not from the book, but speaks by the Spirit of the living God as from a full fountain, and people and teacher adore him. When the boy slept, by day or night, "the brightness of God shone upon him." In the cradle he says to Mary that he is "Jesus the Son of God, the Logos," and that his Father had sent him "for the salvation of the world," according to the Arabic Gospel of the Saviour's infancy. The simple story of the flight into Egypt becomes a showy narrative, when the water which washes the boy Jesus heals a girl who has the leprosy, and cures the son of a princess, who showers gifts on the Virgin Mary. A story of enchantment adorns the questionable narrative. The robbers who are to die on the cross with Christ are met by the Holy Family, and the good one pays the evil one to allow the company to pass unspoiled. Judas Iscariot appears as a demoniac boy, and attacks Jesus; but Jesus weeps, and Satan flees from Judas.

While silly stories occur in these writings, there is one beautiful scene where the boy Jesus is a king, and the other boys spread their clothes on the ground, and he seats himself on them, while they place a crown of flowers on his head, and stand as servants around him. Those passing by were dragged by the boys to adore him. The sacred Boy heals the bites of serpents, and teaches astronomy to an astronomer, and describes the relation of soul and body to a philosopher, who adores him.

The age of persecution was the era of these writings, and we see in the story of Joseph's imprisonment and release by Christ what was naturally in the mind of the early Christian. The cooling water, and "smell of perfumes," and kiss of Christ, are refreshments to a sufferer. The story is in the "Gospel of Nicodemus."

In the "Acts of Pilate," the runner sent by Pilate to bring Jesus adores Christ, and spreads his cloak on the ground for him to walk upon, declaring that he had seen his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The standards in the hands of Gentiles bow of themselves, adoring Jesus, and strong men cannot control them. Compare the banner which is said to have shown the cross of Christ in the heaven of Constantine. Many Jews are weeping before Pilate before the fearful sentence against Christ is given. The man who was infirm thirty-eight years, and the blind man who heard Jesus passing, are introduced as witnesses for Christ.

In the dialogue between Satan and Hades, Satan is depicted as sharpening a lance to pierce Christ, and tempting him, and rousing the Jews against him, and preparing wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him. This direct manner of speaking of the acts of Satan is in the mode of Holy Scripture. Tartarus fears the coming of Christ, and orders "the cruel gates of brass" to be shut, and "the bars of iron" to be put up, that the entrance of Christ might be bravely resisted. David and Isaiah speak of their prophecies, and of the coming glory and deliverance when "the sting of death" and victory of Hades shall be destroyed. Christ's coming lightens darkness and bursts chains. Hades and Death ask Christ who he is, so lowly, and yet so exalted; a soldier and a commander; a wonderful warrior, but in a slave's form; the King of Glory, dead, but alive, though slain on the cross. The sympathy of the ancients for Adam as their common ancestor is touching. The Lord is here represented as holding him by the right hand, and speaking peace to him and his children, while Adam kneels before him. The Lord delivers Adam to Michael the archangel, and the saints follow Michael "into the glorious grace of Paradise."

Certain rabbis are depicted as kissing Karinus and Leucius when they rose from the dead. With what transports should we greet our friends, if God were thus to restore them; but we must wait for that coming day when all shall arise. On Mount Amalech thousands of those who had risen with the Lord suddenly appear singing praises, and speaking of Christ's resurrection, while the beholders fall to the ground in fear. Adam wonders at the vast number of his posterity, and Isaiah cries to "Father Adam" and those standing around, that his prophecy concerning light to the people sitting in darkness has been fulfilled by the appearance of Christ in Hades. John the Baptist is seen as a hermit, and David as if imperial. Patriarchs and prophets recognize each other, and quote their prophecies. Jeremiah speaks of his prophecy that the Son of God would be seen on earth and dwell among men. The exultant saints cry out, and Satan trembles and vainly seeks to escape; but Hades and his satellites keep him bound and guarded. Christ binds Satan, and commits him to everlasting flames for his unresting wickedness. Adam kisses the hands of Christ, weeping, and saying, "Behold the hands which fashioned me." Eve also says, "Behold the hands which made me." The saints ask Christ to leave the sign of his cross in Hades as a token of victory for eternity, that those absolved by his blood might not be held there, and he complied. This is in accord with a striking expression in these writings concerning God, which styles him "pitier affectionate and most high." So love and majesty blend together.

Pilate's report represents men in glorious robes appearing suddenly, as winter lightning, a countless multitude with thundering voice crying out that the crucified Jesus was risen. The full moon hides her face with a blood-like covering, by reason of Jewish cruelty in slaying Christ; but, at the resurrection, the sun shone with a glory never known before, and all the heaven was bright. The angels' song of "Glory to God in the highest" was followed by the call of angels to those in Hades to come up; and mountains and hills shake at this voice, and rocks burst, and chasms appear. Then the patriarchs are raised from the dead.

In the "Giving up of Pilate," Cæsar is introduced as rebuking Pilate, and saying that Christ was manifestly the King of the Jews. Pilate confesses ignorance in crucifying Christ, and his repentance is accepted; and, when a prefect beheads him, an angel of the Lord receives his head, and his wife Procla immediately dies joyfully, and is buried with her husband.

In the "Death of Pilate," Veronica is carrying a canvas to a painter, that she might have a picture of our Lord painted on it, that, when he departed, the painting might console her. She meets our Lord, who takes the cloth, and returns it "impressed with the image of his venerable face."

The Christian heart is drawn toward these old writers when it beholds them exalting Christ's power with all their might. There is many a scene for poet and painter to spur Christian work in these writings.

The nearness and might of God are visible in these old authors. The work of angels and evil spirits which the Scriptures describe is present, and we are too faithless in not acknowledging that the same powers work for good and evil to-day as in the time of our Lord. The subjection of heathen rulers to Christ, and the fall of idolatry, were facts in the history of the early church, and how many portents accompanied the advance of the church! In this busy, dusty, toiling, work-day, American life, it is well, sometimes, to strive to catch that early spirit of faith which saw a waiting Christ by the side of every dying martyr, as he was near St. Stephen; and the eyes of the early believers in Christ saw angels clearly, where we see them not. May God open our eyes, that spiritual matters may be as visible to the soul as the fleeting toys of a day which stir heart and brain are to the bodily eye!

THE TESTIMONY OF PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CHIEF FACTS OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY CANON ROW.

From *The Universalist*, Chicago, July 18, 1891.

1. THESE letters prove as an unquestionable fact that St. Paul, from the date of his conversion, was firmly persuaded that Jesus Christ rose from the dead; that this belief was the foundation of the existence of the Church as a society, and that it was the sole ground on which, after his crucifixion, Jesus was again proclaimed to be the Christ. Also that, during his career as a persecutor, he had been unable to discover how this belief could have originated except in the reality. This carries the belief in the resurrection as a fact up to within five or six years of the crucifixion at the latest.

2. They prove that all the churches, when the apostle composed these letters, accepted the resurrection of Jesus as the sole groundwork of their existence, and considered it fundamental to their spiritual life.

3. They further prove that this belief was not one that had recently sprung up, but that it was contemporaneous with their first acceptance of Christianity.

4. They prove that it was the accepted belief, not only of the churches formed by Paul, but also of those with whom he had no connection.

5. They prove that the fact of the resurrection was accepted equally by those who denied Paul's apostleship as by his followers. As the former were Judaizing Christians, who claimed the authority of the church of Jerusalem for their opinions, this establishes the fact that it must have been the fully accepted belief of that church. This carries us up to the date of its foundation, and proves that the church was reconstructed on the basis of that belief immediately after the crucifixion.

6. They prove that the following persons believed that they had seen Jesus Christ alive after his crucifixion—viz., Simon Peter, James, the eleven apostles on two occasions; more than five hundred persons on another occasion, of whom upward of two hundred and fifty were alive when St. Paul wrote his first letter to the Corinthians; and finally, Paul himself.

7. They prove that St. Paul and the churches to whom he wrote were firmly persuaded that a number of supernatural gifts were possessed by many of their members, and that their manifestation was an habitual phenomenon among them. The xii., xiii., and xiv. chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians contain a very full description of these gifts, and of the mode of their operation I must ask you to read them through with the utmost care, in order that you may be able to rightly estimate their bearing on the present argument. They establish, beyond all contradiction, that the belief in the presence of supernatural powers in the Church was not of a late growth, but coeval with its origin.

8. They prove, on the most undeniable evidence, that the Church was in the possession of an account of the chief facts of our Lord's ministry, which, in its leading outlines, must have agreed with that which is contained in our present gospels. The number of direct references to it is not large, but the incidental ones are very numerous. Of these latter I will give a few examples for the purpose of enabling you to form an idea of their general character. "I beseech you," says St. Paul, "by the gentleness and meekness of Christ." Such an exhortation would have been meaningless unless the writer felt certain that those to whom he wrote were well acquainted with an account of his actions, which exhibited him as a bright example of those qualities. "We have the mind of Christ." Such an expression as "the mind of Christ" proves that the Church must have believed itself to be in possession of very considerable details of his teaching. "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." This proves that there must have been treasured up in the Church a sufficiently extensive account of the actions of Christ, as to enable a comparison to be instituted between them and those of Paul. "Even so Christ pleased not himself." There must, therefore, have been a number of his well-known actions which exhibited him as the greatest of self-sacrificers. Numbers of similar examples you may easily find for yourself. Nothing can be clearer, as the Church was based not on a set of abstract dogmas, but on a personal history, than that it must have been a matter in which its very life was concerned, to keep an account of his actions and his teachings steadily before it.

I ask your earnest attention to the fact that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is not like an occurrence that has passed away without leaving behind it any traces of its existence. On it is based the greatest institution which has existed among men—the Christian Church. This has lived with a continuous life for eighteen centuries, and has exerted an influence which is absolutely world-wide. So closely connected is the resurrection of Jesus with the origin of this great institution that unless his followers had been firmly persuaded of its reality it could never have come into existence; and if it could be proved that Jesus is now sleeping in his grave, mighty as it is, it would crumble into ruins.

In surveying the evidence of the resurrection, it is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the Church as a visible institution. It exists now. Nothing is more certain than that it was in existence and in a state of vigorous growth in the year 40 of our era. Equally certain it is that it was not in existence in the year 20. Its birth, therefore, took place in a definite and well-known period of time. It originated in the following facts: A person called Jesus appeared, who claimed to be the Christ whose coming was predicted in the Old Testament Scriptures. He collected together a body of followers, whose bond of union was that they believed that he was this Christ. On account of this claim he was publicly crucified at Jerusalem, under the authority of the Roman government. As it was impossible that a dead man could be the Christ, his public execution, unless it had been redeemed by the belief of his resurrection, must have been fatal to the existence of this society and have caused its certain dissolution. But the Church did not perish. It was reconstructed immediately after his crucifixion. How was this effected? What alone rendered it possible? His disciples affirmed that he was risen again from the dead and that they had seen him alive. In the firm belief of its truth they proceeded to reconstruct the society. They proclaimed him to be a living Christ; and, as such, he became again the centre of the Church's life. The attempt proved a great success. The society spread rapidly, until it became the greatest institution in the world. After eighteen centuries it still lives with unabated energy, having affected by its influence the whole course of human civilization. To this hour the centre of its vitality continues to be attachment to Jesus as a living person. These are facts that it would be madness to dispute.

The account which this great society has ever given of its origin is worthy of profound attention. Such an account has a right to be accepted as the true one until it can be shown to be impossible. The Church cannot have been mistaken as to the cause that gave it birth. When, therefore, it affirms that its renewed life was due to the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, it is certain that it must have been owing to this and to no other cause. I ask, therefore, your deep attention to the following consideration: If Jesus really rose from the dead, his resurrection is a cause fully adequate to account for the origin and the past history of this great society. The sternest system of philosophy must admit that the cause which the Church has ever affirmed to have created it, is one, if true, that is entirely adequate to have produced the results, and is a complete solution of all the facts of history. This being so we are, on every ground of reason, entitled to accept the resurrection as a fact, until some other cause can be pointed out that was sufficient to have produced all the phenomena before us. If unbelievers affirm that the resurrection is a fiction, they are bound by every principle of a sound philosophy to point out clearly and distinctly what causes other than its truth originated the Church, and have been adequate to produce its subsequent history. So far then, the Church is a standing witness to the truth of the resurrection.

BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS.

From *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.) Chicago, July 29, 1891.

THIS is a powerful organization for promoting Catholicism among Indians, and to this end it seeks to secure the largest possible number of Catholics in the government Indian service. As a result of these efforts many Indian agents, their clerks and other employés are Catholics. It has made a special point of securing the control of as many government schools as practicable, several of which are entirely officered by Catholics, and are as absolutely parochial schools for the distinct propagation of Catholicism, as if they were supported by church mission funds instead of public funds. The Roman catechism is the basis of all the instruction, the mass is celebrated in some of them, and especial pains are taken to drill the pupils in all the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church. This bureau has accomplished its greatest work, perhaps, in procuring immense sums of public money for the support of its mission schools. The growth of these appropriations is seen in the following exhibit: The amounts secured have been as follows: 1886, $118,343; 1887, $194,635; 1888, $221,169; 1889, $347,672; 1890, $356,957; 1891, $363,349. The bureau is in close contact with the cardinal and all the hierarchy, and can summon to Washington at short notice very powerful support—archbishops, bishops, priests, and influential laymen to wait upon the president, or to lobby with senators and members of congress in order to carry through any scheme it has on hand, such as securing new legislation, influencing appointments, or defeating measures which they regard as in any way detrimental to the interests of Catholicism. During the last administration the superintendent of Indian schools, Mr. Riley, was a Catholic, as was the chief of the education division in the Indian bureau, his first assistant and principal clerk. The commissioner of Indian affairs was subservient to Catholic interests, and in fact, the Indian bureau was completely dominated by the Catholic bureau, in consequence of which the government Indian schools were neglected, and the Catholic schools fostered in every possible way.

When the present commissioner announced his intention of developing a system of non-partisan, non-sectarian government Indian schools, modelled after the public schools, the Catholic bureau immediately became alarmed, and entered upon a most vigorous campaign to obstruct his work. The Catholic congress assembled in Baltimore appointed a strong delegation, with Bishop Ireland at its head, to wait upon the president, and demand that he should recall the nomination of General Morgan, which he declined to do. The head of the Catholic bureau then filed charges before the senate committee, accusing the commissioner of falsehood, bigotry, and dishonor, and a tremendous outside pressure was brought to bear upon individual senators to induce them to vote against his confirmation. The attempt was made to combine the democrats against him as a party measure, but without success. An effort was then made to secure enough votes to defeat him from among republican senators, and among those thus influenced were Pierce of North Dakota and Ingalls of Kansas, both of whom have just failed of re-election. But notwithstanding all these efforts, the commissioner was confirmed. In the papers submitted to the senate the Catholic bureau made a violent attack upon the government schools, with a view of preventing an increase of appropriations for them, but congress voted nearly half a million dollars more for Indian education than ever before, raising the amount to nearly two million dollars.

During the past year articles emanating from Washington, and presumably inspired by the Catholic bureau assailing the commissioner's policy and personal character, have been widely published, and apparently no pains have been spared to weaken his hands and destroy his work. Indians have been instructed not to patronize the government schools, and have been told that if their children went to these institutions they would die and go to hell. A petition drawn up in Washington was sent to a certain tribe and circulated for signatures, protesting against the establishing of a government school among them, but when questioned about it, the Indians did not seem to know what it was that they had signed.

When the Sioux troubles arose an effort was made to throw the blame upon the commissioner, and "Father Craft," who was once expelled from the Sioux country for inciting the Indians to disloyalty, published a pretended interview with Chief Red Cloud, complaining bitterly of the interior department. This interview has been pronounced spurious by Dr. Bland, the personal friend and correspondent of Red Cloud. Father Craft, in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, lays the blame of the trouble upon "the blunders and cruelties of the commissioner." The Catholics, having refused to accept the very liberal award of money made for parochial schools, withheld their contracts until they became seriously embarrassed for money, and then attempted to throw the responsibility upon the commissioner. Resolutions inspired, and probably framed by those connected with the Catholic bureau, calling for the investigation of the Indian bureau, have been presented to congress, and are now before the committee on rules. This brief recital of the principal events in this effort of the Roman hierarchy to strike down a public official for refusing to promote their scheme for diverting millions of dollars of public money into the coffers of the Catholic church, for the propagation of Catholicism, has awakened wide public interest.

A GOOD 'Varsity story is told of the Bishop of Melbourne, who has just been presented with a pastoral staff. He rejoices in a striking combination of names—Field Flowers Goe—and the story goes that, failing to satisfy his examiners at a *vivâ voce* examination, he was sarcastically told by one of them that "The Field is ploughed, the Flowers are plucked, and you, sir, can Goe."

PARAGRAPHIC.

PHILLIPS BROOKS, Dr. McVickar, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Robinson, the builder of Boston's Trinity church, were once in Leeds, England, together, and formed a stalwart party, as Dr. Brooks is more than six feet tall, Mr. Robinson six feet two inches, and Dr. McVickar six feet four inches. Hearing that a lecturer would address the working classes on "America and Americans," they determined to hear an Englishman's opinion of their countrymen. Unfortunately the lecturer stated that Americans were, as a rule, short of stature, and if there were any in the audience he would be pleased to have the opportunity of demonstrating the statement. Phillips Brooks rose to his feet and said: "I am an American, and, as you see, about six feet in height, and sincerely hope that if there is any other representative of my country here he will rise." After a moment's interval Mr. Robinson rose and said: "I am from America, in which country my height—six feet two—is the subject of no remark. If there be any other American here, I hope that he will rise." The house was in a jolly humor. Waiting until the excitement could abate in some degree, and the lecturer regain control of his shattered nerves, Dr. McVickar slowly drew his majestic form to its full height, and exclaimed: "I am an—" But he got no further. The audience roared, and the lecturer said no more on that subject.—*Christian Herald.*

REV. W. HARPER has lately written a paper on the hindrances to missionary work in India. Among other things he says, "Time permits me to mention only one other hindrance. It is the evil done by what our American friends would call tall writing and tall speaking about our work. The missionary who, as things go, asserts that India will presently be Christianized is either vehemently piping to the popular ear or he is singularly defective in sound judgment. The great evil of this is that, among the home churches, it raises false hopes, nourishes impatience for results, and stimulates that tremendous moral pressure for results which many missionaries cannot altogether resist. It feeds the fever for statistics; it formulates estimates for so many and so many conversions within a given time; and from first to last, it is the mother of endless humbug. It discourages the humble, earnest, true worker; it encourages the multiplication of mock missionaries with their mock results, and it fills the churches less or more with wolves in sheep s clothing. My belief is that the best missionary work in India is but little heard of, and but little thought of, while the Lord is laying the foundations of Zion in India. 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' The missionary dreamer, or fiction weaver, though popular, is a great hindrance in the way of hastening slowly; and in the way of humble, patient waiting on God—the secret of true success."—*Central Presbyterian.*

OF Thomas Valpy French, ex-Anglican bishop of Lahore, and a missionary to Muscat, Arabia, who died recently, a fellow-laborer says: "For several years his life has been the steady carrying out of two great principles: 1. That the lands under the rule of Islam belong to Christ, and that it is the bounden duty of the Church to claim them for our Lord; and, 2. That that duty can only be performed by men who are willing to die in carrying it out."—*Northwestern Christian Advocate.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Peace of the Church. (The Bohlen Lectures for 1891.) By William Reed Huntington, Rector of Grace Church, New York. New York: Scribner, 1891. Pp. xvi., 239, 12mo, cloth, $1.25.

This volume, for which we predict a large circulation, consists of six lectures delivered in 1891 on the Bohlen foundation. Its purpose is to expound and indicate, as a basis of church unity, the Four Articles proposed by the American bishops, and adopted with slight modifications by the Lambeth Conference of 1888; "the Chicago-Lambeth basis," as it is aptly named. It is a masterpiece of art, voicing in eloquent words the aspirations of all Christian hearts for the speedy fulfilment of the prayer of the Great High-priest, "that they all may be one," "that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

To many who most ardently desire it, church unity seems but a dream, beautiful but illusive, a mere "will-o'-the-wisp," which allures only to elude. The union of all the scattered and discordant denominations of this land into one American Church, is it an impracticable ideal? In laboring toward such a consummation are we not sure at least that "we are laborers together with God," and while to men it may be impossible, with God all things are possible? Most of the multitudinous churches of this land, whose present divisions are the shame of our Christendom, were originally one. Of the same race, speaking the same language, dwelling together in the same island homestead, inheriting the same laws, institutions, and traditions, they were martyrs and confessors of the same faith. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, the three great families into which we now group them were marshalled under the same banner, stood side by side on many a bloody field, fought together the battles of civil and religious freedom, and sealed with their blood the chartered liberties we inherit to-day. While the men of war were still battling on the field, sages met in council, and thus again Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents sat together in the Westminster Assembly, framed by their joint counsels a symbol of the common faith accepted by Parliament, Convocation, Conference, and General Assembly, and declared by statute to be the Confession of the whole United Kingdom. And such it remains substantially to this day. The Prayer-Book is but a revised edition of the old Confession, formulating the same articles of faith and reiterating the same doctrine as to the Church, the sacraments, and the ministry. It was not theological or ecclesiastical, but political differences which led to the separation of Anglicans and Puritans. And now that in this land the causes of separation have passed away, why should not the differences themselves cease?

The question is beginning to be asked on every side, and proposals looking toward its solution have come from many quarters. The most hopeful of all these, we are persuaded, are the Chicago Lambeth articles. Had they been offered by the Anglican bishops to the Puritans in 1661, the division had never taken place. Brief as they are, they are sufficient for the end proposed, a statement of present agreements among evangelical churches as a basis for conferences looking to a larger agreement. Of the Four Articles, the first relates to the Standard of Faith, always the vital question, but in these times of ours of present and pressing and pre-eminent concern. With no uncertain voice the supremacy of the Scriptures is declared. The Second Article relates to the Creed, and gives us the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as "sufficient," leaving the sublime mysteries of the Romans and Ephesians, as unfolded in the XXXIX Articles and the Westminster Confession, for those already saved; it proposes to take the simple Gospel which Paul declares he preached to the unevangelized of his day to the unevangelized masses with which we are confronted at home and abroad—"How that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." Milk for babes, strong meat for men was Paul's method. The Third Article relates to the sacraments, limits their number to Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, and requires their observance as originally instituted.

The fourth and final Article relates to the historic episcopate. Of least intrinsic importance, as belonging to the polity of the Church, it has for adventitious reasons been thrust into the place of supreme importance. "The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church." Such are its terms, carefully chosen and securely guarded. Scrutinize them closely as you will, you can find nothing affirmed of the episcopate, either expressly or by implication, which does not belong to the common faith of Protestant Christendom. It is not a biblical nor an apostolic, but an historic episcopate, and so the old controversies on the subject are all adjusted. It does not claim for existing episcopates, Anglican or American, divine right or apostolic succession, but only historic unity. The office of the episcopate as to its functions and methods of administration is not fixed in one invariable form, but is subject to indefinite variations and adaptations to the needs of different nations and peoples. Historically there have been presbyter bishops, and parochial bishops, and diocesan bishops, and metropolitans, and patriarchs, and popes. Which one of these or what combination of some or all is to be chosen is left an open question for conference. The authors of this Article had no doubt very positive convictions of their own on the whole subject of the episcopate. Some of them we may believe held a theory we could not accept. But nothing of this appears on the face of the Article itself. And in the paper which accompanies it they are careful to disclaim in emphatic terms all latent meanings and indirect ends. They declare that "this Church does not seek to absorb other communions;" that with reference to "modes of worship and discipline and traditional observances," the peculiarities of the Prayer-Book, "this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own." It is a magnanimous declaration, and deserves to be met without suspicions or whisperings, in the same spirit. The Episcopal Commission, which speaks with authority, says in its letter to the committee of the Presbyterian Church: "The only authoritative deliverance in respect to the threefold character of the Orders of the Sacred Ministry that our Church hath put forth is found in the preface to our Ordinal, wherein it is declared 'that is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons.' This we believe to have been placed in that position as the statement of what is historic, what is evident unto all men, and not at all as a dogmatic article of faith. It is placed there as a declaration of ecclesiastical polity, as this Church hath intended the same." "An historical fact," "a matter of ecclesiastical polity, as this Church has intended the same, and not at all a dogmatic article of faith;" we are glad to meet and confer with our Episcopal brethren on such a basis as this.

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THE CHURCH: HER MINISTRY AND SACRAMENTS. Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1890. By HENRY J. VAN DYKE, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1890. 8vo, pp. ix., 265. $1.50.

The recent translation of the author, as in a moment, from the labors of earth to the rewards of heaven, adds a peculiar element of interest to this volume. He was a man of marked character: genuine and earnest in his convictions, vigorous and cultivated in intellect, manly in his advocacy of whatever he believed to be the truth of God, resolute in opposing what he regarded as evil, a devoted and successful servant of the Church, a lover of good causes, a faithful friend, a man among men everywhere. It was my privilege to place in his hands the insignia of his induction to the highest place of honor in our Presbyterian Zion. It was my greater privilege to enjoy in later years the advantages of an extensive correspondence with him, and of most intimate and brotherly intercourse, especially in connection with certain important ecclesiastical interests. His labors in behalf of a thorough revision of the Westminster Confession, always sincere and earnest, and in a high degree judicious and effectual, are known to all who are familiar with recent movements in the denomination to whose highest development and welfare he was so zealously devoted. His death, just at the acme of his powers and his influence, and while standing on the threshold of what seemed to be a new sphere of peculiar honor and usefulness, was a denominational bereavement, and an occasion of sadness in wider relations. In view of that sudden death one reads with a tearful interest these words (p. 73) from the volume here noticed:

"I am a Presbyterian, not only by birth, but by conviction, and yield to none in loyalty to the denomination in whose service my life has been spent, and in whose bosom I hope to die. But I do not expect to be a Presbyterian, nor anything of the kind, in heaven. And as my sun grows larger and more mellow toward its setting, I would gladly exchange everything that is not essentially Christian for a few of the days of heaven on earth, in the unity and peace of the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood."

This treatise was first delivered last year at Princeton Seminary on the Stone foundation, as a special series of seven lectures, and was published shortly after, with a valuable appendix, for more general circulation. It discusses at the outset the broad doctrine of the *Holy Catholic Church*, and of the *Kingdom of Christ* on earth, with particular reference to the practical problem of the *Unity of the Visible Church* among men. It then considers the question of church-membership, and especially the *Membership of Infants* in the household of faith, and also the question of *Ordination to the Ministry*, and the qualifications for that sacred office. It closes with two interesting lectures on the *Lord's Supper* and the proper *Administration of the Sacraments*. The appendix is explanatory of topics not so fully set forth in the lectures themselves.

The general position of the author, as might be anticipated, is strongly Presbyterian and in a marked degree churchly, and yet in a high degree generous and catholic. He rejects the papal and episcopal claims as unwarranted, yet emphasizes "the grace of orders," and with great earnestness exalts the ministerial office to its proper place of dignity and influence within the Church. He rejects also the antique dogma of church government *jure divino*, even in the Presbyterian form, and recognizes the propriety of variety in forms and usages, according to the developing needs of the church as an organization, in any given country or age. The present necessity for existing denominations is admitted, and loyalty on the part of each to his own denomination is urged on the ground that only thus can the highest usefulness of the whole be secured; but at the same time the evils of denominationalism, and especially of a narrow and antagonizing sectarianism, are strongly presented, and the worth of a spiritual catholicity as strongly advocated. Believing in creeds and advocating them as helpful, if not indispensable in the present condition of Christendom, the author nowhere lifts even his favorite creed of Westminster above the Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith, or claims for it an unwarranted measure of supremacy over other Protestant beliefs. As he frankly says in his preface, he is *high-churchly* in his doctrine of the divine origin and authority of the Church and its ministry and sacraments, and at the same time *broad-churchly* in his views of the constitution of the Church, and his readiness to subordinate differences in doctrine, government, and form to the fundamental matter of unity among all who love Christ.

His teaching on some particular points, more or less in issue in our time, is worthy of thoughtful consideration. For example, he affirms with great earnestness the extraordinary possibilities of salvation, even outside of the territory of the Church; maintaining that "no human soul will be lost whom it is possible for God to save consistently with His own attributes, with the freedom of the human will, and with the best interests of the intelligent universe." He declares that the Church has no right to shut the gates of mercy by excluding any from salvation, and that "*Christ has cosmic relations* which, because they do not come within the sphere of our agency and responsibility, are but occasionally hinted at in Scripture." In wide contrast with this fact, he maintains that modern millenarianism is a pessimistic perversion of that comprehensive Gospel, fundamentally out of harmony with the teachings of the Holy Word. He affirms boldly the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, not as an abstract theory, but as a good and necessary inference from the biblical doctrine concerning the character and especially the grace of God. As to the place and relation of the children of believers within the visible Church, he takes high, if not extremely high ground, though he strongly repudiates the dogma of sacramental grace in connection with baptism. He emphasizes the divine element in contrast with the human elements in ordination to the ministry, going so far as to affirm the presence of a special type of grace conferred at such ordination upon every true minister. His view of the eucharist, as to its nature and its relations to the spiritual life, is characterized by the same tendency of thought, rising at some points almost to the verge of affirming what is called eucharistic grace.

Other illustrations of the fresh, suggestive, practical, as well as speculative teachings of this treatise must be omitted. Would that its author might have been spared to formulate his system of theology more fully, and to make other contributions to our knowledge and our faith! How elevated and inspiring such a service might have been is beautifully apparent in these sentences from the preface to this volume:

"I claim to be a minister, not only of the Presbyterian Church, but of the one visible Church of Christ: *and the larger relation dominates and moulds my thoughts and feelings.* I long for the time when all the ministers and churches of Christ shall cease their rivalries and their witness-bearing against each other, and shall unite in the larger and more important work of testifying the grace of God in all the world to every creature, and in co-operation for *the triumphant establishment of Christ's Kingdom in all the earth.*"

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The Psalms. A New Translation, with Introductory Essay and Notes. By John De Witt, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xxxvi., 325, $2.

Perhaps the most useful notice of this book will be one that shall merely attempt to differentiate it from other translations of the Psalms into English. There is no best method for such translation; that which is best from one point of view is not so from another. There are advantages in a simple rendering of the sense, with no attempt to transfer the outward poetical form; one who translates thus can give his entire attention to the correct and adequate presenting of the meaning. The method most unlike this is that of the so-called metrical versions, found in our hymn-books and elsewhere. Many of these are fine from a literary point of view, and a few are good translations. As a rule, however, they are either poetically clumsy, or else are not translations, but original poems suggested by the psalm in hand. And yet some of them catch and convey the poetic fire of the psalm in such a way as largely compensates for the lack of exactness in the rendering. But between these two extremes many middle courses are open to the translator.

Of the course most commonly followed a good example is found in the Revised Version of the Old Testament, where the external form of the poetry is marked by dividing the lines and occasionally by paragraphing, so as to indicate the strophes. This method has the advantage that the translator is not cramped by it. Commonly he is just as free to conform his work exactly to the sense of the words and the syntax as he would be if he paid no attention to the lines. It has the further advantage of strongly emphasizing parallelism of statement as the prevailing outward mark of Hebrew poetry. But it has the disadvantage of enabling the translator to indicate mechanically that what he is translating is poetry, and thus often of relieving him from the responsibility of making his translation really poetical; and the further disadvantage that it may give the mistaken impression that parallelism of statement is the only external mark of Hebrew poetry, to the exclusion of rhythm and all like marks.

Present Hebrew scholarship emphasizes the doctrine that Hebrew poetry is marked by rhythm as well as by parallelism of statement. What are the laws of the rhythm, or even whether it has laws that are capable of being briefly and simply stated, are questions in dispute; but the fact that the rhythm exists is not disputed. In illustration of this many attempts have been made to transfer the rhythm of particular psalms to English translations. One takes the Hebrew as it stands, and translates, line by line, so that the succession of long and short syllables and of accented and unaccented syllables shall be the same in the English lines as in the Hebrew. Others attempt to formulate the laws of Hebrew rhythm, and then translate into English lines subject to the same rhythmic laws. Work of this kind, patiently and well done, is of very great value for certain purposes, but is generally too cramped for true and spirited translation.

Yet another method is possible—a method which depends largely on the gifts of the individual translator, but which, in competent hands, combines some of the advantages and avoids some of the disadvantages of those thus far mentioned. Translate the Hebrew line by line, aiming to make the translation correct and spirited, but making the English lines distinctly rhythmic, and rhythmic in such fashion as to present to the ear some analogy to the rhythm of the Hebrew. Where convenient, let the English line carry the same rhythmic alternation of syllables with the Hebrew line, but not to the extent of cramping the freedom and spirit of the translation. Where there is sufficient reason, but not elsewhere, take such liberties as the changing of lines or paraphrasing. One who is deficient in scholarship or judgment or poetic appreciation or delicacy, working in this method will simply make a mess of it; but one who is sufficiently endowed with these gifts may have large success in transferring to English both the correct meaning and the poetic fire of a psalm. His work cannot take the place of a mechanically literal translation, but supplementing such a translation, it may lift the reader into an appreciation of the Psalms such as would otherwise be impossible.

This last method is the one employed in Dr. De Witt's book, and Dr. De Witt has the scholarship, the good judgment, the poetic appreciation and delicacy, and the spiritual discernment requisite for making it a success. For a systematic study of the Psalms, this work would hardly supersede the use of a merely literal translation, or of a systematic commentary; and yet it would not be surprising if many students, using this along with other helps, should find it worth more to them than any of the others.

The writer of this notice might specify many things in this book that seem to him to be faults, though most of these would perhaps resolve themselves into differences of opinion between Dr. De Witt and himself, but mainly the work commands his hearty admiration. There are very few brief essays on the Psalms that are anywhere near so well worth a careful reading as the Introductory Essay of this volume. As the work, in earlier form, has been twice before published, once in 1884 and once in 1889, and practically has been rewritten, it has a literary finish that it might not otherwise have attained. In Hebrew scholarship it is up to date, though its position in questions concerning authorship and in all questions that touch the doctrine of inspiration is conservative. Dr. De Witt is one of those conservative scholars who are not afraid to recognize the merits of men who differ with them or to learn even from their opponents. The notes are always to the point and are usually valuable, though they do not constitute a complete commentary on the book. The printer has done his work admirably. The volume contains nearly 400 pages, the printed matter on a page measuring 6¾ by 4 inches.

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QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

CONTENTS PAGES AND DIGESTS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

PRESENT TENDENCIES IN GERMAN PHILOSOPHY. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

The student finds it one of his most difficult tasks to correctly understand the trend of thought in his own line, yet unless he does understand and keep in touch with it, his work is likely to be of very little account. Hence the value of such sketches as are found in the inaugural address of Dr. Falckenberg, which gives a careful *resumé* of the present tendencies of German philosophy.

This is undoubtedly an age of detail, of minute investigation, rather than of larger thought. The colossal systems of metaphysics of the early part of the present century have vanished, and rather than attempt to rear others, men are turning their attention to history and to the physiological basis of psychology. The change has this advantage that it permits quiet, detailed preparation for the future, but is unfortunate so far as it averts attention from the fundamental problems of the human race. Thus there is an immense amount of scattering individual work which makes a proper criticism of results almost impossible.

The last century shows four stages of philosophy. The first, that of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft;* the second, Hegel's work on the orthodox dogma in the universities. In the third there was a general breaking up, only the vestiges of older systems remaining, and science seemed to determine the channel of thought so far as there was one, and materialism held full sway. Dissatisfaction with the idea that thought was a mere physiological product of the brain had spread even before 1865, under the influence of Darwin and the evolutionists, Helmholtz and the physiologists, and Lotze, with his medical studies.

Scientific men have been wont to declaim one moment against philosophy and then to philosophize most wildly, but during this period there were many who worked out from narrower lines to a broader outlook, and the result has been that for the past twenty-five years the watchword has been, "Back to Kant." The general characteristic of the Neo-Kantianism is the rejection of metaphysics. As we know only phenomena, materialism and spiritualism are alike unfounded. The great problem of the philosopher is the theory of knowledge; his work to explain the origin and nature of experience, to find the laws of science, solve the question of causation. This idea is the most striking characteristic of German thought to-day, controlling historians, scientists, and theologians.

The one metaphysical question is, Is metaphysics possible? Some deny it entirely, while a few are trying to construct a metaphysics on the old line and with the old methods. Intermediate between these are a class, seeking to found a new metaphysics with a new method, starting with the relation of mental and physical facts, asking how much of our external world is due to the constitutions of our minds? The method is new in that it is not regardless of facts, the aim modest in that it does not seek to comprehend all reality in one grand system, but studies the results of science and their mutual relation.

The influence of Hegel is still evident in the study of the history of philosophy and in the philosophy of religion, but there is no one of the former leaders of metaphysical thought that has so large a following to-day as Herbart, especially in ethics and psychology, even physiological psychology owing much to his influence.

In ethics the long and rather barren period in Germany is passing, and English utilitarianism is striving with the followers of Herbart, who refer rules of action back to the fundamental ideas of freedom, perfection, etc. Logic, too, is finding new life, being connected with living processes of thought, and acting upon psychology, which again reacts upon it.

German philosophy to-day is exceedingly modest, except for occasional pride of this very modesty. The work is indeed scientific rather than philosophical, gathering the facts for a new era of active production.

Two evils are to be combated: 1. A divorce between what the investigator believes as an individual and what he defends before his companions in thought, the separation between personal conviction and the effort for scientific exactness. 2. A divorce between reason and feeling, a tendency to deny the latter any influence on the results reached by thought. Those who forget that thought and feeling are complementary, and work from a one-sided theory of knowledge, do not and cannot give philosophy its power in the world.

THE DRIFT OF DOGMATIC THOUGHT IN GERMANY DURING THE LAST DECADE. By DR. ADOLF ZAHN, of Stuttgart, Germany. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1891.

In this article Dr. Zahn undertakes to set forth the true nature of what is supposed to be German unbelief, and calls attention to the fact that it is a great mistake to conclude that, as a result of this unbelief, there is in Germany a specially degenerated condition of morals. Everywhere there is a sense of duty, a fidelity in office, a respect for law and order, and a spirit of diligence and painstaking work. The general prosperous condition of the country, as instanced in its cities, is, in truth, the outcome of the Reformation and of the Bible in evangelical common schools. Still it is a fact that the German often turns his back upon the Church, the Bible, and all recognition of Christian things as soon as he has made his public profession. The great mass of the educated class appear indifferent, cold, and disinclined to religious things, while atheism seems to have possessed the working people, resulting in a desire to overturn the entire existing order of things. Thus it results that the best pastor is a little man among his people; and the best professor, shut up to his students, is not in touch with the people, and has no connection with the religious element around him. A revision of the evangelical confessions would in Germany interest the clergy only, not the laity. In connection with this he calls attention to the meagreness of the dogmatic systems of Germany to-day in comparison with those of the time of the Reformation.

Dr. Zahn then calls especial attention to the difference between to-day and former times, and makes a number of points as to the general belief: (1) That the philosophy which denies miracles and prophecy, and recognizes only a pure historical development of things, is assuredly right; (2) the inspiration of the Scriptures conceived of by older writers is too mechanical, and therefore untrue; and in carrying out the rights of criticism we must declare that the Bible is no longer the only source of Christian truth, placing the experience of the believer instead of the Scriptures; (3) the subjection and bondage of the human will is given up; (4) a refined or crude Synergism and Pelagianism dominates every system; (5) predestination or the free choice of grace is generally abandoned; (6) justification and sanctification are confused; (7) sanctification is looked upon in accordance with the laws of human moral development, and, as a consequence, its mystery and Divine origin are lost sight of.

Then follow four sections discussing (1) the preparation for Ritschl; (2) his system; (3) his schools; and (4) the latest discussions. In the preparation for Ritschl the leaders are Luthardt, Dorner, Beck, Heppe, and others, all of whom start from man's self-sufficiency apart from God, and are thus unable to understand such writers as the evangelist John or the apostle Paul. The appearance on the scene of Ritschl, with his dogmatic system, created a profound sensation and held the whole German theological world until his death, in 1888. His tendency is to derive Christian truth entirely from the revelation of God in Christ. The natural religion is to be entirely dispensed with, and there is no general revelation of God outside of the revelation of the Scriptures. The underlying principle of Scripture is restricted by holding that in its revelation no theoretic teaching is developed, only a mere declaring of the Divine will. Man has the ability to free himself from the control of laws of causes, and set in motion a new order of operation, and can realize his end only when there exists a God who subjects nature to the aims and ultimate purposes of the spirit. And so God appears simply as means to an end. Christ is before all else the teacher teaching us to recognize the moral purpose God has for the world as His own self-purpose wherein He gives us proof of His own love and of God's. Love, however, He considers simply the making of another purpose one's own purpose; and the whole of God's revelation of Himself and Christ is summed up in "trust in God, fidelity in calling, and love to man." There is no such thing as original sin. Sin is with us purely voluntary; even our bias toward the bad is not distinctive. And so on through the general discussion in a manner that is distinctively negative and rationalistic, though with the form and appearance of being positive. It is difficult to understand, as Dr. Zahn says, how so void and vacant a system could have won so great applause. Its success is undoubtedly due to the following facts: (1) Speculative theology had produced a general weariness and dissatisfaction; (2) experimental knowledge of the Scripture had more and more died away; everything was considered only in an historic-empirical way; and (3) a most vigorous propaganda was made in his behalf. Taking up those who have followed Ritschl, the most prominent ones are Bender, of Bonn; Kaftan, of Berlin; Haring, of Göttingen; Herman, of Marburg; and A. Harnack, of Berlin, the last by far the most talented. He takes an extremely radical position toward the New Testament, warning against an overrating of the theology of Paul, and claiming that the history of the canon is so obscure that it is impossible to know how the East came into the possession of the Catholic epistles.

The whole article is interesting reading as illustrating the statement, made at the very beginning, with regard to the separation between the professors, who are the leaders in dogmatic discussion, and the people. That simple fact throws a flood of light upon the whole question of German unbelief.

A Neglected Limitation of Criticism. By Rev. Arthur Smith. *Andover Review*, August, 1891.

The writer takes as the basis of his thought the following quotations from Professor Bowen's "A Layman's Study of the English Bible": "I know it is said by those who deprecate any such regard for the consequence of our opinions, that we have only to follow out loyally our own doubts or convictions, be they what they may, since the interests of truth are paramount." But they misconstrue their own adage. We hold as firmly as they do that the truth can do no harm; and it is just because the acceptance of their doctrine does and will do immeasurable harm . . . that we are firmly convinced their doctrine is not the truth." It is often assumed that in the search for truth investigation moves forward from starting points clearly established along lines so plainly marked that the certainty of results reached is assured beyond question by the course followed. On the contrary, changed conditions often affect the methods employed and the accuracy reached, and it is too often the case that methods which would lead to perfectly reliable results under certain conditions are treated as if equally infallible under conditions that are materially different.

Especially is this true in regard to biblical criticism. We are told to judge the difficulties in the Bible just as we would those in any other book. But there is no invariable procedure in other books. An error in one writer is attributed to ignorance; in another to wilful misrepresentation; in still another to accidental oversight. Writings are judged in the same way as acts. An injury is deemed unintentional or deliberate not so much from the act itself as from the nature of the person who did it. In the Scriptures the greater part of the vexed questions have to do with the conduct and testimony of its different characters; and hence, in judging of them, we must recognize certain general principles which rule in other matters of evidence.

Among these the author notes the following: "The rules of legal procedure recognize the impossibility in certain cases of reaching a judicial decision. Not guilty does not necessarily mean innocent—merely not proven guilty: This, however, does not regulate individual judgments, which may be clear, though the court may be undecided."

Again, they do not require the same degree of certainty for different kinds of cases. It is easier to convict of theft than of murder. The consequences of a decision affect indirectly the decision itself, determining the extent of the investigation and the degree of certainty demanded.

The character of the parties involved is taken into consideration; and in the absence of clear proof, evidence is admitted as to what they were likely to do, and this presumptive evidence has great influence before a court. Especially is this manifest in general life. When a grave charge of guilt is brought against one whose life is above reproach, it is rejected at once except under absolutely conclusive proof.

These laws apply to criticism in its various departments, including biblical criticism, as well as to legal procedure. To claim that Scripture must be tested precisely as other ancient records are tested is no doubt plausible, but it requires a consideration which has a rightful place. The graver issues involved in it demand a closer certainty than is needed in regard to a critic's verdict on Grecian or Roman history, and evidence that would be held conclusive in the latter case may simply call for a suspension of judgment in the former.

Then, too, there is the presumption in favor of the truthfulness of Scripture, as indicated by the character of the writers and their writings. The confirmation of certain statements presumes the confirmation of others, when we can get at all the facts. This presumption is not prejudice, it is only a part of the evidence.

It must, however, be remembered that when it comes to the ground of Christian faith, the only possible value of criticism is in furnishing proof of the truth of the record, at least in its essential parts; yet even this is impracticable in full, on account of the fragmentary nature of the parts. The true service of criticism is to show that objections urged do not disprove it.

On the other hand, those who rest their faith in experience, and claim the truth of Scripture because of that experience, have no right to use that as an argument in their scientific criticism. Because they feel that Christianity is true, that does not give them the ground for assertion; it only gives them a ground for presumption. The account of the resurrection stands upon the testimony of witnesses whose integrity and credibility must be held unimpaired. It may not, indeed, guarantee minute accuracy in all the details, but imperfection in one particular must be shown not to vitiate others. The picture as a whole must be true, and not distorted.

The attempt thus to establish the trustworthiness of the Scriptures independently through the witness of the Spirit either in the individual or the Church must fail, as that can only yield a presumption. Inspiration in the sense accepted by criticism can at most only vouch for the integrity of the writers. The whole question is still open until the other qualification of trustworthy testimony can be vindicated.

The claim that faith rests upon experience inevitably affects the results, inasmuch as it makes men satisfied with a less degree of certainty. If the evangelists felt that they were merely writing interesting memories of their Lord, instead of words and deeds on which their faith rested, the presumption of their accuracy is diminished; and although these considerations do not bear upon the truth of the claim itself, they show why it and the arguments in support of it have been so strenuously opposed.

Criticism has won valuable and enlarging results, and a great work lies before it, but it will do it wisely only as the limits of its province are kept clearly in view.

TOLSTOÏ AS A REFORMER. By JOHN H. WORCESTER Jr., D.D. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1891.

The outburst of the Slavic race into the struggle of modern progress has a singular fascination for the somewhat jaded appetite of the intellectual and æsthetic public of Europe and America, not only from the peculiar combinations of imaginative literature and treatises on political economy that are characteristic of its writers, but from the strange and somewhat uncouth personality of its representatives. Of these, the most notable undoubtedly is Count Tolstoï, and in this article Dr. Worcester has given a vivid picture of the impression the Russian has made on an earnest Christian American. First comes a brief sketch of his life, as a man and a novelist, from 1828 to 1878—the date of "Anna Karenina," his last novel, which marked the transition to "My Confession." Then that strange book is summarized, with its story of the influences that made the prosperous nobleman a "Nihilist in the proper acceptance of that word; not a revolutionary socialist, but a man who believed in nothing," and who still, while giving full rein to every lust, was pursuing a vague ideal of perfection along the paths of self-culture. Then came a revolution, which he called a conversion, changing the sense of despair and fear into one of hope and peace, as set forth in "My Religion," published in 1884.

This conversion the writer considers quite fully. Tolstoï finds the corner-stone of his religion, as he found the turning-point in his life, in absolute submission to Jesus, whom, though a mere man, and uninspired, he thinks worthy of unquestioning obedience. From this principle he formulates the following commandments, which he considers as binding upon society, upon the State as upon the individual, unresistance being carried to the extreme:

"I. *Be not angry:* live in peace with all men.

"II. *Do not commit adultery—i.e.*, be true for life to the partner with whom you were first united in cohabitation (for this, not any civil or ecclesiastical ceremony, is real marriage), and seek no divorce for *any* cause. (This interpretation has been since modified into a prohibition of all sexual relations.)

"III. *Take no oath* of any kind, political, military, or judicial. Never bind yourself to do the will of another.

"IV. *Resist not evil.* Neither use nor invoke force of any kind as a protection against wrong. Whatever any one demands of you, give it.

"V. *Love all men as brothers;* the "enemies" whom we are to love meaning foreigners, those of another nationality."

Or, as he elsewhere summarizes the five precepts: "Be not angry, Do not commit adultery, Take no oaths, Resist not evil, Do not make war."

Then comes the point of salvation, which, according to him, is not life hereafter or personal immortality—a thing that Jesus never taught. "Eternal life is the universal life of humanity, past, present, and to come;" hence he who lives for himself perishes. Salvation is repentance, the lifting up in ourselves of the Son of man, and making the life a part of the force that bears men on to the good. For the Church, with its doctrines of the Trinity, the fall, the atonement, the new birth, he has only caricature and ridicule, and holds it the chief obstacle to the spread of the true doctrine. The new social gospel connected with this seems to rest on two propositions: that money is an evil and that physical labor is a duty. The desire for wealth is the cause of the vices of the rich and the miseries of the poor, while physical labor, which is so repugnant to all, is a first law of life, which cannot be violated without loss to ourselves and to others. All, the rich and the intellectual alike, should provide for their own necessities. This theory Tolstoï has set himself to carry into practice so far as may be done without imposing upon his wife and children, against their will, unwelcome conditions of life. He, however, attempts no propaganda. Holding that "truth in action is the only truth," he seeks to make his *life* a continued protest against the whole existing order in Church and State, a practical demonstration of a better way.

With regard to the reform itself and its outcome, Dr. Worcester makes the following points:

1. It is impossible not to be moved by the earnestness, the sincerity, the vast human sympathy of the man; and while we question and criticise, we cannot help asking, Which of us, after all, lives as near to his own conviction of what Jesus really did mean?

2. There is everything in the state of Russian society itself to evoke just such a protest as the life of this man, who is but one of many founders of sects, whom the condition of Russian State Christianity has driven to this very thing, differing from the rest chiefly in the power of his genius and the breadth of his culture.

3. At the same time, we must recognize that the reform lacks logical basis and consistency both in its religious and economic sides, which lack is painfully apparent in his latest and most unhappy utterance, "The Kreutzer Sonata."

4. Another and still more fatal weakness is the lack of a spiritual basis. Divine help is unnecessary. Human reason can assert its control over the life. That is all.

5. It is fatally hampered by its practical inconsistency.

Yet with all the drawbacks there remains the indestructible power of a noble and unselfish life, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, summoning men to repentance, and thus, even though not as he thinks it or plans it, preparing the way of the Lord, making His paths straight.

SLAVERY AS IT APPEARED TO A NORTHERN MAN IN 1844. By REV. A. P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D. *Andover Review*, August, 1891.

This is a very entertaining and instructive retrospect of a trip taken in the year when slavery was at its height, accompanied with some comments made in the light of a quarter of a century of emancipation. It is too full of incident to give even a *résumé* here. We can only call attention to a few of Dr. Peabody's deductions, which probably foreshadow the verdict of later history.

As to the slaves, the conclusion he reached was that, on principle, in habit, and even on the ground of self-interest, the greater part of the slave owners were humane in the treatment of their slaves—kind, indulgent, not over-exacting, and sincerely interested in the physical well-being of their dependents. That there were, however, three classes, forming a very large aggregate who were liable, without protection, to undue exaction, hardship, and cruelty: (1) those under overseers; (2) those owned by immigrants from the North; (3) those owned by men too poor to have more than one or two slaves. As to the white population, Dr. Peabody states that he received the very strong impression that slavery was far worse for them than for the negro, indicated (1) by the mixture of the races; (2) by the proverbial shiftlessness, which was so widespread that it was impossible to secure nice mechanical work; (3) the disregard for even common courtesy in social intercourse whenever the restraint was removed. The article in full is well worth reading.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, July, 1891.

"The 'Chambre Ardente' under Henry II." is a historical study of the persecution of the Protestants under Henry II., especially as carried on by this famous tribunal. It sat customarily in the council chamber, and included two presidents and fourteen counsellors or judges taken from the parliamentary body to serve in a special capacity until such time as there should, by reason of the extinction of heresy, be no further need of their services. Its numbers were stimulated to activity by a salary and fees. The actual history of the commission has long been shrouded in doubt, but has been recently brought to light by M. Weiss, a French writer; and the general facts appear very clearly in this article.

"The Ethical Antecedents of the English Drama" discusses the miracle plays, the moralities and interludes and chronicle plays prevalent in England anterior to the Elizabethan period.

Mr. George Adam Smith's "Isaiah" is a review of a book on Isaiah, written on the old lines of expository preaching rather than based on isolated texts. From the general tone we should doubt whether it gives a very accurate idea of the book; the personal pronoun is a little too prominent.

"The Barrier Act of the Church of Scotland in its Relation to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A." is a discussion by Rev. Dr. William H. Roberts, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, of the influence that that Act may have upon the Revision of the Confession of Faith. In it Dr. Roberts controverts the position taken by President Patton, that the only provisions for the amendment of the doctrinal or administrative standards of the American Church are found in the Adopting Act passed by the General Synod in 1788, and bases his argument upon a historical study of the Government, Constitution, and Laws of the Church of Scotland.

"The Inaugural Address of Professor Briggs" is a critique by Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers, in which he claims that this address illustrates in a startling way the degree to which the favorite speculations of the present day, as betokened by the Broad Churchism of F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Dean Stanley, have affected the tone of theological education in the Presbyterian Church.

"The Presbyterian General Assembly" is a review of the proceedings at Detroit, with special reference to the action in regard to Rev. Dr. Briggs and Revision, and the hope is expressed that some of the more important amendments will be rejected or very much modified.

The Andover Review, July, 1891.

"Poetry and Philosophy," by Professor John Dewey, of the University of Michigan, is a discussion of the relations of poetry to science, based largely upon a study of Arnold and Robert Browning. The writer claims that the power of poetry lies in its ability to give us the true rendering of the reality of affairs, and that its relation to philosophy and science should be far more intimate, it being the office of the latter to justify and organize the truth that the former, with its quick, naïve contacts, has already felt and reported.

"Alexandre Vinet," by Louis Pollens, of Dartmouth College, is a biographical study of the great

Swiss theologian, suggested by a somewhat increased interest in him of late years, and based upon a number of books relating to him and his times. The article closes with copious extracts from his writings, throwing special light on his opinions and his character.

"What Value has Goethe's Thought of God for Us?" by Miss Julia H. Gulliver, of Rockford Seminary, Rockford, Ill., does not attempt so much to present a complete compendium of the great poet's religious views as to bring out a few points in which he can give personal help and inspiration. Among these are his earnest belief in the universe as the expression of the Eternal Reason and of the Eternal Love; in the Eternal Activity and necessarily personality of God, though the latter conception is somewhat vague; and in God as the All-enfolder, All-upholder of us all.

"The Indwelling Christ," by Rev. John W. Buckham, of Salem, Mass., is a consideration of the immanence of Christ in man as truly now as when in the flesh on earth, and a claim that this is the underlying principle of the new theology.

The New Englander and Yale Review, Aug., 1891.

The August number is a distinctively secular number. Three of the articles, "Protection to Private Property from Public Attack," "Ideals of Medical Education," and "Subsidies to American Shipping," being university addresses and essays.

"A Story from the Cyclads" is a poem, and "Pictorial Tone Reaction" and "Lightning Arresters" are scientific articles.

The Old and New Old Testament Student, Aug., 1891.

"A Study of New Testament Precedent," by Rev. Augustine S. Cannan, M.A., of Ann Arbor, Mich., calls attention to the vague and often contradictory ideas prevalent among many people as to the application of New Testament example to the regulation of Christian conduct, and discusses the true method of judging as to such application.

"Inorganic Nature in the Poem of Job," by Rev. A. P. Brigham of Utica, N. Y., is a study of the terms found in Job descriptive of nature.

The Missionary Review of the World, Sept., 1891.

"The Year 1890 in Japan," by Rev. Professor George William Knox, D.D., Tokio, Japan, is a general review of the events of the year, touching upon the general social, political, and theological condition of the people, the stage at which the mission work has arrived; and gives a hopeful view of the future.

"Dr. Griffis on Japan" is a review by the editor-in-chief of Rev. Dr. W. E. Griffis's article on the "Constitution of Japan."

"Buddhism and Christianity" and "Buddhism and Romanism" are attempts to give in brief facts of very wide and very varied import, useful for the casual reader who has little time or opportunity for thorough research rather than for the student.

"Education and Evangelism," by Rev. C. C. Starbuck, of Andover, Mass., is a study based upon the report of the Free Church of Scotland Committee recommending that the schools for higher education be continued, but that additional stress be laid upon evangelistic efforts.

The Expositor, Aug., 1891.

"Interpretation of the Life of the Early Church," by Rev. W. Lock, M.A., Keble College, Oxford, calls attention to certain points brought out by modern biblical criticisms in regard to the early Church. (1) It brings out very clearly the sense of brotherhood implied in its existence. (2) As a result of this, the personality of Christ Himself is thrown into stronger relief.

"On the Moral Character of Pseudonymous Books," by Rev. Professor J. S. Candlish, D.D., discusses the custom of writing books under feigned names, especially in its relation to the attributing of books of the Bible to other than the real authors.

"Lost or Latent Powers of the Five Senses," by Rev. A. B. Grosart. D D., LL.D., is a discussion as to whether the miracles of 2 Kings vi. 8–17 and St. Luke xxiv. 13-35 denoted the probable aggrandisement of the five senses—arguing from one ("sight") to the other four—when present limitations shall be removed and present circumstances changed.

The Unitarian Review, Aug., 1891.

"Did Jesus Claim to be the Messiah?" by Professor J. Estlin Carpenter, is a review of certain points in Rev. Dr. Martineau's "The Seat of Authority in Religion," by one who, sympathetic in the main, is somewhat doubtful whether the application of the methods has not been carried too far. Without undertaking to consider the whole book, special attention is given to the Messianic element in the career of Jesus. According to Dr. Martineau, the claim to be the Messiah was not made by Jesus, but was palmed upon Him by His disciples after His death; and the whole paper is a discussion of this question, with the result on the part of the writer of failure to accept Dr. Martineau's conclusion. He rather believes that Christ, as has been the case not infrequently with noble minds, fed upon what proved to be an illusion; which fact, however, did not interfere in any way with the eternal truths that He taught, nor does it prevent us from entering into the relation He has opened to us between the Soul and God.

"Dissent in Russia," by Cornelia W. Cyr, is a plain, straightforward statement of the position of the Russian Government to the churches, its conception of religious liberty, and the present condition of the most important communities dissenting from the orthodox Greek Church. In general the position of the Government is stated to be that of absolute tolerance of all existing beliefs, but an absolute prohibition of all propagandism except that of the Greek Church. The other churches and religions noted are the Armenians, Protestants (chiefly Lutherans), Catholics (mostly Poles and Lithuanians), Uniats, or United Greeks (members of the Greek Church who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope of Rome), Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists.

"Public Opinion in France," by L. Gilard, is a semi-historical sketch of the development in France of a genuine public opinion, which, after all, is the controlling element in the policy of the Government; and a statement of two of the most evident results of its influence—a genuine desire for peace, and indisposition to war, and the shifting of the position of the Catholic Church from one of exterior influence to internal development. The future struggle will not be between monarchists and republicans, but between liberals and clericals.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1891.

The July number of this review is very valuable. Among the discussions of timely topics are "The Idea of a Parochial School"—viz., that it should be the centre of a system of thorough free education; "The Prospect for Irish Home Rule," which, while not as clear as it was, is, nevertheless, reasonably sure of attainment; and "The Failure of Native Clergy" as raised up on the foreign field by Roman Catholic missions. There are two papers on the Pope's encyclical, and an article on "The Proofs of the Existence of God; Drawn from the Metaphysical or Ideal Order," and "The Mystery of Christian Marriage." The most valuable, however, are the historical articles on Fancis De Montmorency-Laval, Bishop of Quebec; Windthorst, the famous leader of the German Catholics in their fight with Bismarck, and the man to whom, more than to any one else, was due the great German's "return to Canossa;" and the chapter on "The Popes and the Temporal Power." This able review should be examined by all who seek to keep posted on Roman Catholic plans and purposes.

CONTENTS OF SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September has these contents: Frontispiece—Beatrice, "Kill Claudio"—illustration for "Much Ado about Nothing," drawn by Edwin A. Abbey; "Much Ado about Nothing," nine illustrations (including frontispiece) by Edwin A. Abbey—comment on the play by Andrew Lang; the fifth paper of the superb series of illustrations of Shakespeare's comedies; "The New York Chamber of Commerce," by Richard Wheatley, with nine illustrations from drawings by T. de Thulstrup, paintings by Trumbull, and photographs——an interesting and comprehensive history of one of the most influential institutions in this country—its organization—its purposes and methods—what it has accomplished for New York and for the country at large—sketches of some of its most active members; "An Imperative Duty," a novel, Part III., by William Dean Howells; "Letters of Charles Dickens to Wilkie Collins," Part I.. edited by Laurence Hutton—familiar letters written during the time of the most intimate companionship and literary co-operation of the two great novelists, now published for the first time; "Peter Ibetson," a novel, Part IV., by George du Maurier, with fourteen illustrations from drawings by the author—the wonderful dream-lapse of the hero begins to be developed—how he acquired the art of dreaming "true"—a tragedy; "Glimpses of Western Architecture," Chicago, II., by Montgomery Schuyler, with ten illustrations drawn by H. D. Nichols, E. J. Meeker, and B. G. Goodhue—architecture of other public buildings in Chicago—the Insurance Exchange—the Phœnix building—domestic architecture—residential Chicago, and the peculiar characteristics of some of its dwelling-houses; "A Wheat-field Idyl," a story, by Elizabeth Stoddard; "Germany, France, and General European Politics," by Mr. de Blowitz—a striking paper on the present political situation in Europe, with conjectures and predictions concerning the inevitable outcome; "An Untold Story of the Florida War," by Harriet Pinckney Huse—a reminiscence of the war with the Seminoles, giving an account of the murder of Dr. Perine and the escape of his family in a boat—now published for the first time; "Chinese Secret Societies," by Frederick Boyle—an entertaining history of the most important among the innumerable secret societies of the Chinese; "London—Plantagenet, II., Prince and Merchant," by Walter Besant, with fifteen illustrations from drawings by Harry Fenn and H. D. Nichols—discoveries of antiquaries—mediæval London, a city of palaces—Baynard's Castle—Crosby Place—the streets of mediæval London—a merchant prince—Dick Whittington—other city worthies—barons and their followers—guilds and trades associations; "Under the Minarets," by F. Hopkinson Smith, with thirteen illustrations from paintings and drawings by the author—the story of experiences and adventures during a summer's sojourn as an artist in the city of Constantinople; "Ill-considered Utterances," full-page illustration drawn by George du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis: Jenny Lind—a self-delusion—the right of privacy—Mozart's music; "Editor's Study," by William Dean Howells; the hour of the short story—criticisms of some recent works of fiction; "Editor's Drawer," conducted by Charles Dudley Warner; Monthly Record of Current Events (to July 15, 1891).

THE CENTURY for September has these contents: "Portrait of Thomas Bailey Aldrich," frontispiece; "A Winter Journey through Siberia," George Kennan, pictures by George A. Frost and Henry Sandham, and from a sketch by an exile; "The Wood-Nymph's Mirror (Adirondacks)," Charles Henry Lüders; "The Poems of Thomas Bailey Aldrich," Frank Dempster Sherman; "David and Goliath," from a painting by William L. Dodge; "To California in 1849 through Mexico," A. C. Ferris, pictures by F. Remington, E. W. Kemble, W. J. Baer, Gilbert Gaul, and from a photograph; "Elder Marston's Revival," Le Roy Armstrong, picture by Alfred Kappes; "Vigilance," Charlotte Fiske Bates; "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," Henry Cabot Lodge; "The Squirrel Inn" (conclusion), Frank R. Stockton, pictures by A. B. Frost; "Building," John Albee; "The Faith Doctor," VIII., Edward Eggleston; "'Zeki'l," Matt Crim, pictures by E. W. Kemble; "De Morte Beata," Theodore C. Williams; "Present Day Papers: The Government of Cities in the United States," Seth Low; "A Painter's Paradise." Play in Provence, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, pictures by Joseph Pennell; "Italian Old Masters," Francia, Ghirlandaio, W. J. Stillman, with notes and engravings by T. Cole; "Treatment of Prisoners at Camp Morton:" I. A Reply to "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton," W. R. Holloway; II. Rejoinder. John A. Wyeth, pictures by W. Taber after War-time photographs, plans by Charles Manney, Jr.; "Country Newspapers," E. W. Howe; "The Possibility of Mechanical Flight." by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, S. P. Langley. "Topics of the Time:" "The Sub-Treasury Cheap Money Plan;" "Notable Civil Service Gains;" "Progress of Ballot Reform." "Open Letters:" "The Question of Pensions," Frank Bell, M. W. Sloane; "Weakness and Danger of the Single Tax," William W. Folwell; "A British Consul's Confidence in the Union Cause," E. M. Archibald; "A Brotherhood of Christian Unity," Theodore F. Seward; "W. L. Dodge," W. Lewis Fraser; "Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln." "Bric-à-Brac:" "To Jessie's Dancing Feet," W. D. Ellwanger; "The Ill-Omened Crow," V. F. Boyle; "My Sweetheart," M. E. Wardwell; "Exit," Margaret Vandegrift; "Bouillabaisse," H. Tyrrell; "That Note in Bank," W. B. Chisholm; "'Tis Ever Thus," R. K. Munkittrick.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for September has these contents: "Carlotta's Intended," by Ruth McEnery Stuart; "Julia Marlowe," with portrait, by Alfred Stoddart; "Where Love Hath Been," by Susanna Massey; "September," by Bessie Chandler; "Real People in Fiction," by William S. Walsh; "A Murderer for an Hour," by Julius Chambers; "Life," by Douglas Sladen; "A Plea for Helen," by Julia C. R. Dorr; "Thou or I," by Jeanie Gwynne Bettany; "Derby Day on Clapham Common," by Thomas P. Gill, M.P.; "Incense," by Clinton Scollard; "Society in Different Cities," by Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood; "Love's Calendar," by Charles Morris; "Country Roads and Highways," by John Gilmer Speed; "Encouragement for Poets," by Louise Imogen Guiney; "Mrs. Van Brunt's Convert," by Raymond Driggs; "No Tears for Dead Love," by Philip Bourke Marston; "Notes from an Engineer's Camp," by Henry Collins; "To a Cloud," by William Rice Sims; "His Majesty the 'Average Reader,'" by Edgar Fawcett; "The Days that are to Be," by J. K. Wetherill; "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists.)

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for September has these contents: "The Disturber of Traffic," Rudyard Kipling; "Rabiah's Defense," Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Speech as a Barrier between Man and Beast," E. P. Evans; "Song for Setting," inscribed to Karl Pflueger, Melodist, Thomas William Parsons; "Dyer's Hollow," Bradford Torrey; "The House of Martha," XLIV.-XLVII., Frank R. Stockton; "Town Life in Arkansas," Octave Thanet; "A Study of Analogy," John Burroughs; "An Innocent Life," Lillie B. Chace Wyman; "The Quest of a Cup," Alice Brown; "Europe and Cathay," John Fiske; "At the Market of the Dead," Lafcadio Hearn; "Forecasting," Philip Bourke Marston; "The Lady of Fort St. John," IX.-XII., Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "Courts of Conciliation," Nicolay Grevstad; "The Author Himself," Woodrow Wilson; "A Modern Mystic;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

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CHRONICLE.

July 13—21. The International Congregational Council was held in London. Delegates were present from all parts of the world. The presiding officer, the Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D., of Birmingham, made the opening address on The Divine Life in Man. The sermon was by the Rev. E. P. Goodwin, D.D., of Chicago. Among the specially important addresses were the following : The Present Direction of Theological Thought in American Congregationalism, the Rev. L. F. Stearns, D.D., Bangor, Me.; Effective Organization of Congregationalism, the Rev. A. Hastings Ross, D.D., of Michigan ; The Place of Ecclesiastical Councils, the Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., New Bedford, Mass. ; Doctrinal Conditions of Church Membership, the Rev. A. H. Bradford, D.D., Montclair, N. J.; The Place of Congregationalism in the making of Great Britain, the United States and the British Colonies, the Rev. Guinness Rogers, of London, the Rev. B. M. Fullerton, of Massachusetts, and the Rev. Dr. Jefferis, of Australia ; The Needs of Scattered Populations in Decaying Districts, the Rev. Hugh Pedley, of Manitoba ; The Attitude of the Church to the Social Movements of the Times, the Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., of Columbus, Ohio, and Ben. Tillett, President of the Dockers' Union (this was one of the most remarkable addresses of the Convention) ; Federation of the English-speaking Peoples, the Rev. F. Herbert Stead (brother of W. T. Stead, editor of *The Review of Reviews*) ; Congregationalism and the Church Catholic, Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford; and the Valedictory Address, by Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker. Members of the Council also attended, July 24, the unveiling at Leyden, Holland, of a memorial to John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.

July 21. The one hundred and forty-eighth conference of the Wesleyan Methodists of England met at Nottingham. Action was taken condemning card-playing, and especially criticising the action of the Prince of Wales. Resolutions were also adopted looking toward an abolition of the three years' term of itinerancy.

July 29. The seventy-third annual conference of Bible Christians opened at Plymouth, England.

August 12—14. The twelfth International Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations was held at Amsterdam, Holland. There were about 500 delegates present, representing America (100 delegates), England (100 delegates), Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden, Italy, Russia, India and many other countries. The report of the Rev. Gustave Tophel, of Geneva, for the Central Committee, showed 4151 associations affiliating with that Committee, of which 1305 were in the United States, 800 in Germany, 614 in Great Britain, 387 in Holland, 379 in Switzerland, 223 in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, 92 in Asia, 80 in Canada, 66 in France, 13 in Africa, 9 in Russia. London was chosen as the place for the next world's Convention, which will be held in 1894, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Association.

There has been considerable disturbance in China during the month, culminating in attacks upon several mission stations, notably Wusueh, where the Rev. Mr. Argent, a missionary of the Wesleyan Methodists of England, was killed. Other stations in the valley of the Yang-tze and the Min have also been attacked and some buildings injured, but no other lives lost. Hostility seems to have been specially manifested toward the Roman Catholics. It is generally considered by those best informed that the movement is partly political, as well as social and religious. Continued trouble is not feared.

The Rev. D. M. McIntyre, of Willesden, has been appointed colleague and successor of Rev. Dr. Andrew Bonar at Glasgow, Scotland.

The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon has continued so seriously ill that his life has been despaired of ; but he seems to be recovering, and to have the promise of good health.

The Rev. John Hopkins Worcester, Jr., D.D., of Chicago, has been elected to the Chair of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Professor James Woodrow, D.D., the same man over whom there was the theological controversy in the Southern Presbyterian Church, has been elected President of South Carolina College.

The Rev. Professor Arthur S. Hoyt, of Hamilton College, has been elected Professor of Sacred Literature.

The Rev. George Whitaker, D.D., of Marshall, Texas, has been elected President of Willamette University.

OBITUARY.

Ellicott, Gilbert, D.D., Dean of Bristol, at Bristol, England, aged 91.

Hopkins, John Henry. D.D., at Hudson, N. Y., August 13, aged 71 ; widely known as an ecclesiastic journalist, author and hymn-writer.

Lindsley, A. L., D.D., Professor of Practical Theology, San Francisco Theological Seminary, at Portland, Oregon, Aug. 12.

Sheshadri, Narayan, D.D., of Bombay, India, at sea, on his way from New York to Glasgow, July 21, aged 68. One of the first high-caste Brahmins converted to Christianity, and for many years a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland.

Newton, John, D.D., missionary of the Presbyterian Board, at Murree. India, July 2, aged 86.

CALENDAR.

Oct. 5. Methodist Œcumenical Conference, Washington, D.C.

Oct. 13. Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Pittsfield, Mass.

Oct. 14. Consecration of Phillips Brooks, Bishop of Massachusetts.

Oct. 20. Missionary Council of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Detroit, Mich.

Oct. 20. Meeting of the American Missionary Association, Cleveland. Ohio.

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Rev. J. A. Hall, D.D., Cincinnati, O.
A Biography of Rev. Thomas William Luther Dosh, D.D.
Rev. P. Bergstresser, D.D., Middletown, Md.
The Word of God in the Lord's Supper.
Rev. John Tomlinson, A.M., Abbottstown, Pa.
The Duties of Church Members to the Sacraments in Regard to their Children.
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THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW.
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The Interpretation of Scripture Progressive. Prof. J. C. Bowman, A.M.
Introduction to a Commentary on the Apocalypse.
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THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.
Boston, Mass., July.

Christianity the Ultimate Religion.
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Rev. E. L. Houghton.
Immortality: Some Reasons for Believing in it. Rev. B. F. Rogers.
Samuel Adams, and the Background of the American Revolution.
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An Intermediate State.
Rev. Massena Goodrich.
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